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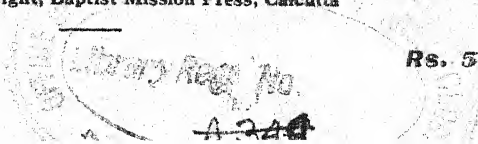
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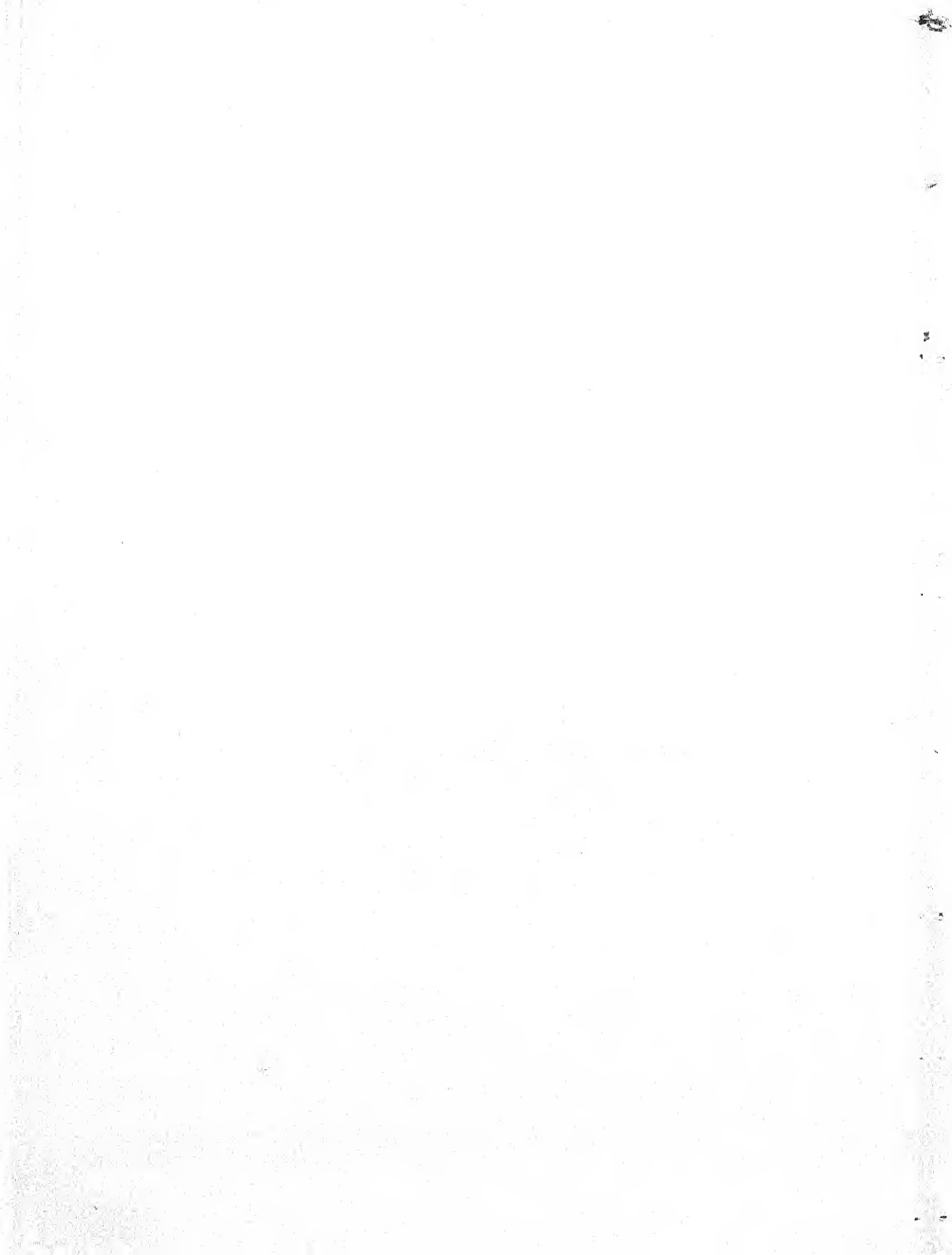
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1930-31.

[PART I.

Narasinghpur Charter of Uddyotakeśarī Mahābhavagupta IV.

By Pandit Binayak Misra,

*Assistant Lecturer in the Department of Indian Vernaculars,
Calcutta University.*

When I got the information of the discovery of this charter, I requested my informant Babu Girish Chandra Roy to kindly bring it to me from the Tikayat Sahib of Kanika, for decipherment. The informant kindly complied with my request and reported that in the July last, a villager of Balijhari in the Narasinghpur State, unearthed an earthen pot, the mouth of which was covered with another pot, at the depth of about 3 feet, while digging the ground for laying the foundation of a wall. The villager opened the pot and found the plates within, which he subsequently produced before the mother of the minor Chief of the Narasinghpur State.

This charter consists of 3 plates, each measuring $8\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 6". They are strung on a ring $1\frac{1}{2}$ " thick and 2" in diameter, which passes through the holes cut in the middle of the left end, at a distance of $\frac{3}{4}$ " from the edge of each plate. Both ends of the ring are secured by a lump of copper, the top surface of which is $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. It contains, in relief, the figure of a Mahā-lakṣmī seated on a lotus and flanked on each side by an elephant with trunk uplifted. No legend is discernible.

The inscription begins on the second side of the first plate, and ends on the second side of the last plate, which contains 7 lines. When the charter came to my hand, I found the last plate cut at the hole and strung on the ring, taking the place of the second plate. It appears to me that the last plate had not been strung through oversight before the ends of the ring were secured.

The characters of the grant fully resemble those of Kāṭaka copper plate grant of the third year of Mahābhavagupta¹ and they require no special remark. But the orthography of this charter deserves a comment. The dental "S" has taken the place of cerebral and also of palatal "S"; as for example, *Śālī* (1. 1), *pīyūsa* (1. 2) and *aṃsu* (1. 10) have been written for *śālī*, *pīyūṣa* and *aṃsu* respectively. In the colloquial Oriya the only dental sound of "S" is in use. The Savara dialect has been characterised by the phonetic peculiarity that the only dental sound of "S" is used in it². This charter refers also to the inhabitation of Savaras in Orissa³ and therefore the disappearance of cerebral and palatal sounds of "S" in Oriya, is not a matter of wonder.

The word *dhriṣṭi* (1. 2) written for *dhūrjṣṭi* represents the phonetic characteristic of the Oriya language (cf. *mṛti*, *mṛchhā*, and *dhṛta*, the corrupted Oriya forms of Sanskrit *mūrti*, *mūrchhā*, and *dhūrta*).

The sound of cerebral "N", which is still retained in Oriya, is often pronounced as a dental one when conjoined with another consonant. This is why the Sanskrit *punya* has been written as *punya* in line 47.

Even now the Sanskrit *tāmra* is pronounced as *tāmbra*, as written in line 47, by the uneducated middle class people of Orissa, who attempt to use Sanskrit words in the ordinary speech, discarding the provincial forms of the Sanskrit words.

The i—mark in place of ī—mark, is often noticeable in this charter. Besides, a good deal of orthographical errors, such as

¹ E.I. Vol. III, pp. 355-58.

² Nāṭya-Śāstra, by Bharatamuni, Ch. XVII, 13.

³ Second plate, first side, 1. 20.

prātātha (l. 12) and *tastha* (l. 34) for *prasthitā* and *sthita* respectively, crept into the plate.

The grant was issued from *Yayātinagara*, the place of issue of some plates of Yayāti Mahāśivagupta¹, which has been identified with different places by different scholars, the latest identification being Binkā in the Sonepur State². The description of Yayātinagara, as found in Yayāti's plate, indicates that it was the capital of the country over which the Gupta Kings of Kosala established supremacy. Bhīmaratha Mahābhavagupta II who also issued his grant, referred to before, from Yayātinagar, is said in the present charter to be the patron of architecture (l. 8). It can, therefore, be said on conjecture that he built temples in the capital. But there is no architectural remains at Binkā to bear evidence to the identification mentioned before.

The present plate discloses that after the death of *Dharmmaratha*, the *Kosala* kingdom was made over to Naghuṣa, brother of the ruler of the Eastern Country. This statement is in support of the supposition that Dharmmaratha and his predecessors permanently resided in the Kosala country which comprised the Sambalpur district. It is, therefore, evident that Yayātinagara was situated in the western Orissa. It was probably somewhere near Sonepur, the place of issue of Marāñjamurā charter³, and of Kumāra Someśvaradeva's plate as well⁴.

The temples in the vicinity of Sonepur now exhibit the ancient architectural beauty, and the natural grandeur of the place, where they stand, recalls the description of Yayātinagara, as found in the plates. I, therefore, think that the Gupta Kings of Kosala made Sonepur capital of their kingdom and built there two residential buildings—one in the congested area for carrying on the official business and other in the secluded place for performing the religious duties. The Oriya word *na-a-ra*, which has been derived from the Sanskrit *nagara*, signifies a palace; consequently Yayātinagara signifies the palace built by Yayāti.

¹ E.I. Vol. XI, pp. 198-200.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 188-189.

³ Above Vol. II, pp. 45-55.

⁴ E.I. Vol. XII, pp. 237-242.

The inscription begins with the description of the moon, the progenitor of the Gupta dynasty of Kosala. Then the names of JANMEJAYA, YAYĀTI, and BHĪMARATHA run successively. Bhīmaratha is said to have been succeeded by his son DHARMMARATHA to the throne. Thereafter the text refers to a ruler of the eastern country, whose brother NAGHUṢA succeeded Dharmmaratha. Again it is said that the former was succeeded by his younger brother YAYĀTI. The eastern country was no other than eastern Orissa and again there was evidently a Yayāti II in the same Gupta dynasty of Kosala.

The donor of the grant was UDDYOTAKEŚARĪ, son of Yayāti II. The name Uddyotakeśarī appears twice—once on the second side of the last plate in connection with the date and secondly on the first side of the second plate in connection with the genealogy. But in the beginning portion of the documentary text, he and his father are called Mahābhavagupta and Mahāśivagupta respectively. Neither their names nor their *Kesarī* titles appear there.

The villages *Kontalaṇḍā* and *Lovākaraḍā*, belonging to *Airāvattamaṇḍala* in the *Oḍri* country, were granted to Śaṅkara Śarmā and Balabhadra Śarmā respectively. The donees belonged to the *Gārgga* Gotra and were the students of Ṛgveda. They were also two uterine brothers and emigrants from *Palāsa* in *Tirabhukṭi-maṇḍala*.

Kontalaṇḍā is said to have been situated on the bank of the *Mahānadī* and therefore I identify it with *Kaṇṭilo* in the Khandapara State, not far from the find-place of the charter. Lovākaraḍā is probably *Māraḍā*, about four miles from *Kaṇṭilo*. *Airāvatta* may be identified with *Raṭāgarh* in *Banki*, about 16 miles from *Māraḍā*. *Oḍri* is nothing but *Oḍra*, i.e., Orissa. *Tirabhukṭi* is probably *Tirhut* in Behar.

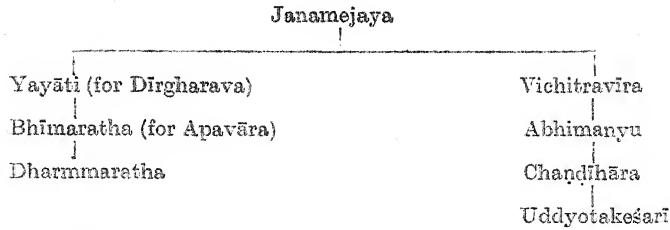
The *Mahāsandhivigrahī* (Minister for War and Peace) was *Rudra-Datta* and the scribes were *Bāheru* and *Mangāka*. The grant was issued on the 10th day of bright fortnight of the month of *Mārggaśīrṣa* in the 4th regnal year of Uddyotakeśarī.

Among other inscriptions of Uddyotakeśarī, hitherto pub-

lished, Brahmeśvara stone inscription of Bhuvaneśvara¹ is of much historical importance. But it is a matter of great regret that the accurate text of this inscription is not available, since the stone, containing the inscription, got broken and a good number of letters were mutilated. However, our thanks are due to them who deciphered, restored, and published the text.

The pedigree, available from the published text, differs from that given in the present charter. We get from the published reading of Brahmeśvara inscription that Janamejaya, the lord of Trilinga (Telengana) country and conqueror of Orissa, was succeeded by his son Dirgharava and the latter by his son Apavāra who died childless. Thereafter Vichitravīra, another son of Janamejaya, ascended the throne and after his death Abhimanyu, Chandihāra, and Uddyotakeśari ruled successively. Again neither the title Mahābhavagupta nor the title Mahāśivagupta occurs in the Brahmeswar inscription. But after a careful scrutiny of the facsimile-print of the said inscription, I have found some inaccuracies in the published reading. In the fourth line the restored word Yayāti may be possible, the initial letter "Ya" being distinct, but the succeeding four letters (nrpavad=yo), being totally damaged, are doubtful. In the fifth line the name Bhimaratha is distinct instead of Dirgharava. Again there will be no harm if we read *Dharmmaratho=payātaḥ* instead of *dharmmaparo=pavāraḥ* in the sixth line where the letters are indistinct. Besides the word *tatslhānī*, which has been restored in line 7 to get the absurd meaning that Apavāra was succeeded by his grandfather Vichitravīra, can utterly be discarded. I am also at a loss to understand why the letter "tri", preceding to *Kalingādhīpati* in the last line, has been omitted by the reader. However, I now strongly believe that if the text discussed above be accurately restored and deciphered, the following pedigree will be obtained.

¹ J.A.S.B. Vol. VII, 1838, pp. 557-62.



The mention of Uddyotakeśari and that of Abhimanyu found in the Sonapur plates of Kumāra Someśvaradeva¹, establish the connection between the Brahmeshwar inscription and the copper-plate inscription under discussion. Someśvaradeva meditated on the feet of Mahābhavagupta and then made mention of Uddyotakeśari. The charter under discussion, reveals that Uddyotakeśari was Mahābhavagupta. Someśvaradeva's grant was issued from Sonapur, in the vicinity of which Yayātinagara, the place of issue of the present plate, stood as has been shown before. It can, therefore, be held that Mahābhavagupta, whose feet were meditated upon by Someśvaradeva, was Uddyotakeśari. We learn from the Brahmeshwar inscription that Abhimanyu was the grandfather of Uddyotakeśari. I shall show later on that Abhimanyu was the ruler of Orissa, not of Kosala. In that case, the text *Śrīmad=Uddyotakeśari rāja-deva-prasādīkṛta-Kośala-rājyā=bhīṣikta Śrī Abhimanyu-devasyā=tīta-rājye*, occurring in the Sonapur plate, can be interpreted differently. In my humble opinion, it conveys the meaning that the ruler of Kośala, which was granted (to the ruler) by Uddyotakeśari, being in the country of Abhimanyu, ordered..... Someśvaradeva probably was in eastern Orissa, when the grant was issued in Kośala by his order. Consequently the interpretation that Kośala was granted to Abhimanyu by Uddyotakeśari, as given by the learned editor of the Sonapur plate, cannot be accepted as correct. However, Uddyotakeśari of Brahmeshwar inscription seems not to be different from Uddyotakeśari either of the Sonapur plate or of the present plate.

The title *Kumāra* of Someśvaradeva is extremely signi-

¹ E.I. Vol. XII, pp. 237-42.

ficant. In the royal families, the title *Kumāra* is generally assumed by the younger princes. It is not a custom in the ruling houses that the younger son of the king should use the epithet *Kumāra* even after his accession to the throne in the case of death of the eldest son (of the king), without issue. I therefore hold that Someśvaradeva was the younger son of Uddyotakeśari, whose feet were meditated upon by him. Again it may be held that Uddyotakeśari gave Orissa to his eldest son and Kośala to his younger son. The phrase *Abhimanyudevasyā = tīta-rājye* clearly indicates that Abhimanyu was not alive when the grant was made. It can now be gathered from the Sonepur plate that Uddyotakeśari was later in date than Abhimanyu, as disclosed by Brahmeshwar inscription.

The panegyrical description of Chaṇḍihāra, the father of Uddyotakeśari of Brahmeswara inscription, is fully in harmony with that of Yayāti II, the father of Uddyotakeśari of the present plate.

L. 8.....tasyo=patejāḥ sutaḥ śrī Chaṇḍihāra ity=
abhun=narapatih sarvvair=amātyaiḥ kṛtaḥ.....
samparipālya rāṣṭra-dvayam=ubhayaṁ niṣkaṇṭaki-
kṛtaḥ yaḥ....

L. 9.....bhuto=neka-narendra-śekhara-maṇi-prod-
gachchhad=amśu.....(u) dbhāsita pāda-padma-
yugalaḥ.

These lines may be compared with the verses (l. 22-25) relating to Yayāti II of the present plate. We find similarly that Chaṇḍihāra of Brahmeshwara inscription and Yayāti II of the present plate, both were elected as king by the subordinate chiefs and they ruled the joint kingdom of Utkala and Kośala, after effectively repulsing the enemies. Again we find in the Brahmeshwara inscription that after the death of the great grandson of Janmejaya, the successor came from outside the kingdom. Similar statement also occurs in the present plate. Taking all these facts into consideration, I hold that Uddyotakeśari of Brahmeswara inscription is no other than the donor of the present plate. If it be tenable, Chaṇḍihāra of Brahmeshwar inscription will be identical with Yayāti II who was preceded by two elder brothers as revealed by the present inscription.

The statement that Yayāti II was elected as king by the subordinate chiefs leads me to suppose that there occurred a dispute over the accession to the throne, which culminated probably in either expulsion or murder of rival claimants of Yayāti II (akaṇṭakaṁ sādhayataḥ I. 24). We gather from the present plate that Yayāti II was preceded by two brothers. Abhimanyu had evidently three sons.

The Maraṇjamurā charter of Yayāti¹ may now be taken into consideration. The charter belongs to the 3rd regnal year of the donor. The panegyrics of Yayāti, occurring in the Maraṇjamurā charter, are not found in the other 5 grants issued after the 3rd regnal year of Yayāti. In this charter he is said to have conquered Rāḍha, Gauḍa, and Karṇṇāṭa. It appears in the Brahmeshwara inscription that Uddyotakeśari defeated the kings of Chōḍa, Gauḍa, and Siṁhala in the course of play in his childhood (vāla-kṛidābhir=eva). This statement leads me to suppose that Uddyotakeśari rendered assistance to his father in the war. In that case, Yayāti of Maraṇjamurā may be taken as the father of Uddyotakeśari. This assertion is also borne out by the statement occurring in the Maraṇjamurā plate that Yayāti was voluntarily elected as king of Kaliṅga, Koṇḡgaḍa, and Utkala², as I have shown before that the father of Uddyotakeśari was elected as king. Besides another fact corroborates my assumption that the donor of Maraṇjamurā was Yayāti II, not Yayāti I. Rudra-Datta, the Mahāsandhivigrahi of Maraṇjamurā charter, seems to be the same Mahāsandhivigrahi Rudra-Datta of the present plate. Rudra-Datta is said in the former charter of Yayāti's 3rd regnal year to be the son of Siṁha-Datta's brother. Siṁha-Datta held the office of Mahāsandhivigrahi in the 28th year of Yayāti I's reign³ and continued in that capacity during the reign of Bhīmaratha⁴. It is therefore not possible that Siṁha Datta was preceded by his brother's son in the office of Mahāsandhivigrahi during the 3rd regnal year of Yayāti I. On this ground, I hold that

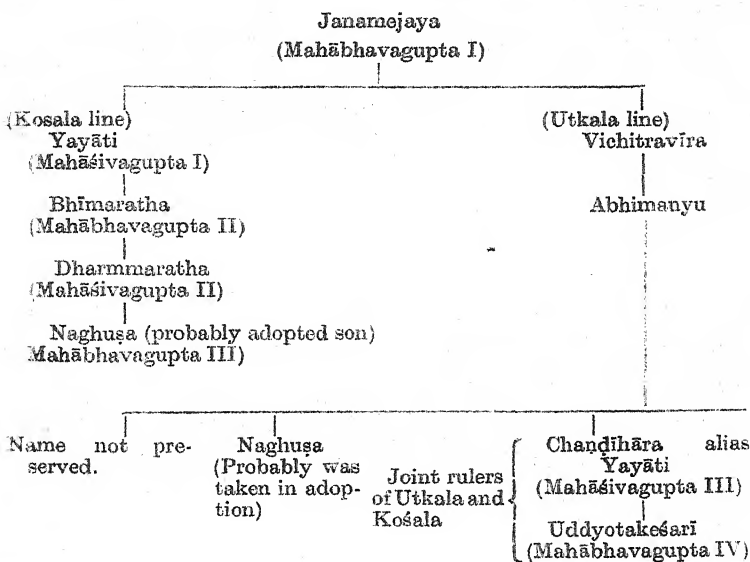
¹ Above Vol. II, pp. 45-55.

² Kaliṅga-koṇḡgaḍo=ṭkala-kosala-svayamvara-prasiddha (I. 2).

³ J.A.S.B. 1905, pp. 19-23.

⁴ E.I. Vol. III, pp. 355-56.

Rudra Dutta of Maraṇjamurā is the same Rudra-Datta of the present plate. Now all the points discussed above lead me to identify the donor of Maraṇjamurā charter either with Yayāti II of the present plate or with Chaṇḍihara of Brahmeshwar inscription. However we can now construct the following genealogical table of Somavarṁśī kings of Orissa :—



As Yayāti II's successor had *keśarī* title, I hold that Yayāti II himself assumed also the same *Keśarī* title. In that case, the traditional Yayāti Keśari, who revived Brahmanism in Orissa by inviting 10,000 Brahmins from northern India to conduct the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice held at Jajpur, may be identified with Yayāti II alias Chaṇḍihāra. Again Yayāti Keśari of Mādalāpāñji or temple chronicle of Puri, who brought back the image of lord Jagannātha to Puri from Sonapur, may be taken as the same Yayāti II, since it was possible for him while he ruled the joint kingdom of Utkala and Kośala. Besides, Yayāti Keśari who, according to tradition current in Orissa, built the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneshwar, may be supposed to be the same Yayāti II, who according to the version recorded in the Maraṇjamurā charter, was a powerful ruler and at the same time builder of temples, and who is again said

in the present plate, to have performed many good acts, the reward of which was enjoyed by his son Uddyotakeśari. It is, therefore, not difficult to ascertain now why Yayāti Keśari's name in Orissa has not been shrouded in oblivion.

Again it is stated in the present plate that Yayāti II's eldest brother used to reside at Kaṭaka in the eastern country. One grant of the 31st year, probably the last year of Janmejaya's reign, was found at Chaudwar near Cuttack.¹ Other two grants of that year of that very king, are also supposed to have been found in the vicinity of Cuttack.² All these grants were issued from the victorious Kaṭaka established in the pleasure-garden (Ārāma-samavāsita-śrīmato-vijaya-kaṭakāt). Dr. Fleet identified this Kaṭaka with Cuttack.³ But Mr. Rangalal Banerjee identified Kaṭaka with Chaudwar,⁴ the find-place of one of the grants, where according to local tradition, Janmejaya performed *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. In all the ancient records, the present Cuttack town has been called Bārāṇasi Kaṭaka.⁵ Even now the western portion of Kaṭaka, where the Kathjori branch rises from the Mahanadi, is called Biḍānāsi, which is a corrupted form of Bārāṇasi. It now occurs to me that the prefix *Bārāṇasi* was added to Cuttack in ancient time in order to distinguish it from other Kaṭakas. In the temple chronicle of Puri, Chaudwar is mentioned as a Kaṭaka along with other four Kaṭakas. I, therefore, identify Kaṭaka of the present plate with Chaudwar, where some sculptures assigned to pre-Gaṅga period by Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda, are now found.⁶ The name Chaudwar is of a later origin. The people who settled at Chaudwar in a considerable later period found there a dilapidated fort having four entrance doors, each on a different side, and therefore they called the place Chaudwar, signifying four doors. It is, therefore, not improbable that in ancient time Kaṭaka was the name of Chaudwar.

¹ E.I. Vol. III, p. 345.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 341.

⁴ J.A.S.B. Vol. XLVI, p. 149.

⁵ J. & P., A.S.B. Vol. XII 1916, p. 42.

⁶ Memoirs of A.S.I. No. 44.

We find in the Brahmeśvara inscription that Janamejaya, who acquired Orissa after killing the king of that country, had two sons. I, therefore, hold that he appointed his second son as Governor of Orissa, establishing a capital at Chaudwar. Again some grants of 31st year of Janamejaya's reign, the villages of which grants are identified in the Sambalpur district,¹ have been discovered at Chaudwar and in its vicinity. I, therefore, suppose that Janamejaya died at Chaudwar when the said grants were executed by his order to be issued in Kosala, but could not be done, because he died in the meantime. Moreover, it can be held that all the plates of Gupta kings were issued in Kosala after being written and incised in the western Orissa, since no script was probably in use in Kosala (western Orissa). The fact that no epigraphic record of the pre-Gupta (Kosalan Gupta) period has been discovered in the western Orissa corroborates the assumption that the scripts were not introduced there before the Gupta rule, under discussion, was established. We are, however, not far to seek why the plates of the Gupta kings, containing the village names, which are identified in the western Orissa, have been discovered in the eastern Orissa.

The title *Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati*, held by Uddyotakeśari as well as by his predecessors, now deserves a comment for ascertaining the time of the present plate. Now there can be no doubt as to the supremacy of Gupta kings over Utkala and Kosala. We gather from the plates of Daṇḍimahādevi² of Bhauma dynasty that Koṅgada was included in Utkala in the 9th century A.C. Since then there was no need of separate conquest of Koṅgada which intervened between Utkala on the north and Kaliṅga on the south. This is why the records of Choḍagaṅgadeva are silent about Koṅgada when they mention Choḍagaṅgadeva's conquest of Orissa from Kaliṅga. We can, therefore, assert that Janamejaya acquired also Koṅgada along with Utkala. But there is no evidence as to the personal

¹ E.I. Vol. XI, pp. 198-200.

² See J.B. & O.R.S. Vol. XVI, pp. 69-83, for genealogy and time, and E.I. Vol. VI, pp. 133-42, for lordship over Koṅgada.

rule of Gupta kings over Kalinga. It will not be absurd to suppose that the rulers of Kalinga acknowledged the supremacy of the Gupta kings in the 10th century A.C. when no Ganga ruler in Kalinga appears to be powerful. In that case, credence can be given to the statement recorded in the Marañjamura charter that Yayāti was elected as ruler of the Kalinga, Koṅgada, Utkala, and Kośala.

We find in the grants of Janamejaya that he had Kośalendra and Trikalīṅgādhipati titles.¹ It is therefore evident that the former title indicates his supremacy over Kośala and the latter over Kalinga, Koṅgada, and Utkala.

After the disintegration of the vast Kalinga empire, there flourished 3 kingdoms—Kalinga, Koṅgada, and Utkala—which were not under one sovereign power for a long period. No grant of a king earlier than Janamejaya contains the Trikalīṅgādhipati title of the donor. Janamejaya's father was not Trikalīṅgādhipati, but it was Janamejaya himself who first assumed this title after bringing the 3 Kalingas under one sovereign power. This should be borne in mind that no king could assume the Trikalīṅgādhipati title without subduing the paramount power of the united kingdom of Kalinga, Koṅgada, and Utkala. We find that Kalachuri king Gāṅgeyadeva Vijayāditya subjugated the king of Utkala in the fourth decade of the 11th century A.C. and consequently his son Karṇadeva assumed the title under discussion. I, therefore, hold that Uddyotakeśari was earlier than Vijayāditya. In that case, Uddyotakeśari may be assigned to the beginning of the 11th century A.C.

The title Mahāśivagupta of Bālārjuna led the scholars to connect the Gupta family of Orissa with that of Sirpur. Tivaradeva, the elder brother of Bālārjuna's grandfather, was requested by one Mādhava of Śailodbhava family for help to regain the kingdom of Koṅgada which he (Mādhava) acquired by force and subsequently lost. Tivaradeva, having complied with the request, waged war against the king of Koṅgada, but was defeated at Fāsika² (modern Fāsi in Ganjam). Thereupon

¹ E.I. Vol. XI, pp. 139-46.

² E.I. Vol. XIX, pp. 265-70.

Mādhava did not return to Koṅgada to take quarter, but became old at the foot of Vindhya or in the kingdom of Tivara-deva¹. It can be held now that Mādhava's presence at Sirpur did not obliterate the aforesaid disgraceful event from the memory of Tivaradeva's successors. When Bālārjuna, the grandson of Tivaradeva's younger brother, became powerful, he probably took vengeance upon Śailodbhava family of Koṅgada. It is found in the Sirpur stone-inscription² that Bālārjuna conquered the earth by the help of his younger brother Raṇakeśari. The fragmentary stone-inscription at Govindapur in the Nayagarh State, which most probably formed a part of Koṅgada, contains the name Raṇakeśari³. I am now tempted to identify this Raṇakeśari with Bālārjuna's brother. Raṇakeśari very likely took Śivagupta title when his elder brother became Mahāśivagupta. If it be tenable, Janamejaya may be supposed to be the son of Raṇakeśari who probably acquired Koṅgada.

The aforesaid fragmentary stone-inscription contains the year 811 of an unspecified era. There is no alternative but to take it as Śaka era. In that case, the year corresponds to 889 A.C.

I have stated before that 31st year was the last year of Janamejaya's reign. I, now, hold that Yayāti I died in his 28th regnal year⁴. We get 13th year of Bhīmaratha's reign in the Kudopali plate⁵. If these years be taken as Orissan Aṅka year, we shall find that Janamejaya reigned for 26 years, since 1 and all the figures ending in 0 and 6 (except 10) are omitted in the system of Aṅka year⁶. Similarly Yayāti I and Bhīmaratha may be supposed to have ruled 24 and 10 years respectively. Dharmmaratha and Naghuṣa probably could not rule long. If we now make an allowance of 10 years in this way or that way,

¹ Vindhya-pādeṣu jirṇṇaḥ.

² E.I. Vol. XI, pp. 184-201.

³ J.B. and O.R.S. Vol. XIII, pp. 186-7.

⁴ J.A.S.B. 1905, p. 105.

⁵ E.I. Vol. IV, p. 254.

⁶ Gaṅga kings used either Śaka era or their own Gaṅga era in Kalinga. But after the conquest of Orissa in the 11th century A.C. they began to use Aṅka year. I, therefore, assert that Aṅka year was introduced in Orissa by the Gupta kings.

it will be found that the length of the total reign of these kings was not more than 70 years. If Janamejaya be placed in the last decade of the 9th century A.C. the commencement of Yayāti II's reign falls between 960-70 A.C.

We learn that Tailapa Āhavamalla of the western Chālukya family wrested the fortune from the Rāṣṭrakuṭa king, having vanquished the armies of Choḍa, Andhra, Pāṇḍya, and Utkala¹. It now appears that the king of Utkala was an ally of the Rāṣṭrakuṭa king. Had it been so, the king of Utkala must have helped the Rāṣṭrakuṭa king in defeating the Chālukya king. Again we learn that the Pāla kings in Bengal were weak in the 10th century A.C.². Moreover we find in the history of Rajahmundry that a bitter dispute took place in the eastern Chālukya family over the accession to the throne of Veṅgi in the 10th century A.C., in which the king of Kalinga played a part³. I have been tempted by these political conditions to give credence to the statement occurring in the Maraṇjamurā charter that Yayāti II conquered Karṇāṭa, Lāṭa, Gujjara Gaṇḍa, Rāḍha, and Drāviḍa.

Tailapa Āhavamalla defeated the Rāṣṭrakuṭa king and restored his kingdom before 973 A.C.⁴. Apparently his own defeat by the Rāṣṭrakuṭa king must have been earlier. However Yayāti II's succession to the throne cannot be later than 973 A.C. In that case, Uddyotakeśari can be assigned to the beginning of the 11th century A.C. at the latest. This assertion is also borne out by the fact that Karṇakeśari, most probably a descendant of Uddyotakeśari, was defeated by Rāmapāla in the 2nd half of the 11th century A.C.⁵.

I edit the text from the original.

¹ E.I. Vol. IV, pp. 204-205.

² The Pālas of Bengal by Late Mr. R. D. Banerjee, p. 69.

³ J.A.H.R.S. Vol. III, pp. 160-69.

⁴ Ind. Ant. Vol. XXI, p. 187.

⁵ See memoirs of J.A.S.B. 1910 Vol. III, for Karṇakeśari's defeat and J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XIV, p. 538, for Rāmapāla's date.

Text

First plate (Reverse).

- L. 1.....Om ¹jotsnāsāli ²-samud=vibhuḥ kumudini-hā-
sauk-sampā-
- L. 2.....danā-dhūrto dhṛjaṭi ³-mauli-saudha-va(sa)tiḥ
piyūsa ⁴-dhārā-grhaṁ (|) tārā=nta(h) pu-
- L. 3.....ra-nāyako ratipateḥ śastre kṛśāno palāḥ ⁵ kṣīrodā=
rṇava-
- L. 4.....nandano vijayate devaḥ sudhādīdhitih || ⁶ asyā=
nvaye mahati sāndra-tamaḥ-
- L. 5.....kalaṅka-vichchhāya-digvalaya-mārjjanakṛch=
chakrasya ⁷ (|) utpedire sakala sad=gūṇa-
- L. 6.....janma-kandāḥ kundā=vadāta-yaśaso jagatām bhu-
jas=te || ⁸ rājā=bhūj=Janamejaya=
- L. 7.....tha nṛpatir=jāto Yayātiḥ tataḥ Śrīmān=Bhīmara-
tho=bhavat=tadanucha
- L. 8.....kṣmā-chakra-rakṣāmaṇiḥ (||) aṣṭāṣv=eva digan-
tareṣu vijaya-stambhāvali-chchha-
- L. 9.....dmanā hr (chchha) lyāni diśābhu (jā) mapi samā-
roptapair ⁹=vviṣphuṭam (|) tasmād=Dharm-
ma-
- L. 10.....ratho manorathaphala (h) śītāṁsu ¹⁰-vaṁśa-śriyo
nistriṁs=aika-śakhā ¹¹-śikhā-
- L. 11.....maṇi=rabhūsa ¹² niḥśeṣa-bhūmibhujāḥ ¹³ (||) yas-
min dig=viṣyā=vatāriṇa ¹⁴ pu (rā)
- L. 12.....vidveṣi-bhūmibhujāḥ prātāthantya ¹⁵ digantaram
tadanucha sphitās=chamū-reṇavaḥ || se-
- L. 13.....tupānta ¹⁶-vanāntare himavataḥ payanta ¹⁷ bhūsi-
mani prāga=mbhodhitatā=vaṇiṣu kaṭa=

¹ Śārddula-vikrīdita metre.² Read sāli.³ Read dhūrjjaṭi.⁴ Read piyūsa.⁵ Read phalaḥ.⁶ Vasanta-tilaka metre.⁷ Read kṛt=karasya for the correctness of the metre.⁸ Śārddula-vikrīdita metre.⁹ Read samāropya=ntapaiḥ.¹⁰ Read śītāṁsu.¹¹ Read sakhā.¹² Read rabhūn=niḥśeṣa.¹³ Read bhujāḥ.¹⁴ Read avatāraṇa.¹⁵ Read prasthitā=ntya.¹⁶ Read prānta.¹⁷ Read paryanta.

- L. 14.....ke pūrvve=tara kṣmābhṛtaḥ (|) yasyo=tkam
pada=rāti-rāja-yuvati niḥśvāsa-jhañjhā=nilaiḥ
L. 15.....vyāsaṅga-svanada=ntarāla-mukharair=ggītaṁ ya-
śaḥ kichakaiḥ ¹ || bhrātā tasya babhūva
L. 16.....bhūtala-patiḥ (bhūte) śa tulya prabhah prakhyātah
kṣiti-bhūṣaṇa (h) Naghuṣa ityu=rvvi-pa-
L. 17.....tī (nām pati)ḥ | yaddor=ddaṇḍa-bhujāṅgamenā
vilasan=nistrimśa-jihvābhṛtā=pitā=sau

Second plate (Obverse)

- L. 18.....paripanthi-pārthiva-chamū-kañṭhā=ntari ² mārū-
tāḥ || atrā=ste karivṛndamu=nmadam=
L. 19.....iha praṇḍho=sti pañchānanah santye=tāṣu jagad
=gṛho-giri-dari-kumbhiṣu ku-
L. 20.....mbhinaśaḥ | snehādi=tya=bhidhāya vṛddha-
śavari-varggeṣa vaddhā=śruṇā yad=vai (ri)-
L. 21.....pramadā-jano vanabhuhah sañchārama=dhyāpitaḥ
|| ³ tasyā=nujo nata-samasta-sa-
L. 22.....patna-mauli-ratnāṁsu ⁴-mālita-(su) pāda-saroja-
rociḥ vidyānidhiḥ pratinidhir=ma
L. 23.....dhusūdanasya jāto=tha viśvavijayi nṛpatir=
Yayātiḥ ⁵ || bhaṭair=avaṣṭabdhām=
L. 24.....idaṁ narendraiḥ rāṭa ⁶-dvayaṁ Koṣalam=Ut-
kalañcha | akañṭakam sādhayataḥ sa (h)
L. 25.....samantād=bhujadvaya yasya kṛtārthamā=sit ||
tasmāt (ta) taḥ sukrta-
L. 26.....phala-saphalikṛta-loka-lochanas=tanayaḥ samajani
gunaikasimā
L. 27.....Śrīmān=Uddyotakesari nṛpatiḥ || bhakti-dūra-
nata-kuntala-skhalana-mallikā-
L. 28.....kusuma-rājayaḥ | dhaukanta iva kīrtti santati ⁷
ya (h) praṇity ⁸=arahito mahābhujah (||)
L. 29.....Svasti Śrī Yayātinagarāt | paramamāheśvara pa
(ra) ma bhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhi-

¹ Read kichakaiḥ.

² Read ntari.

³ Vasanta-tilak metre.

⁴ Read aṁsu.

⁵ Read Yayātiḥ

⁶ Read Rāṣṭra.

⁷ Read Santati.

⁸ Read praṇitya.

- L. 30.....rāja paramesvara somakulatilaka trikalīṅgādhipati
śrī mahāśivagu-
- L. 31.....pta rājadeva pādānudhyāta (h) | paramamāheśvara
parama-bhaṭṭāraka mahā-
- L. 32.....rājādhirāja paramesvara somakulatilaka trikalīṅgā-
dhipati śrī mahā-
- L. 33.....bhavagupta rājadevaḥ kuśali | Oḍri deśiya Airā-
vaṭṭa maṇḍala saṁsa-
- L. 34.....rāva khaṇḍiya kontalaṇḍā grāma tasmin tastha¹
kheṇḍiya brāhma-

Second plate (Reverse)

- L. 35.....nānā=pūjya samāhatṛ sannidhātṛ niyuktādhikari
dāṇḍapāsika piśu-
- L. 36.....na vetrikā=avarodhajana rājñī rāṇaka rājaputtra
rājavallabha | bhogijana-pra-
- L. 37.....mukha janapadān | samājñāpayati viditamastu
bhavatām | yathā=smābhira=yam
- L. 38.....grāmaḥ sagarttoṣira Mahānadi-arddha śrotaḥ²
sameta chatu (h) sīmāvachchhi-
- L. 39.....nnaḥ sisu madhūka tāla prabhṛti nānā vīkṣa
sanidhiḥ sopanidhiḥ hastidaṇḍa va-
- L. 40.....ravalāvanda | choṭāla | andhāruvā | pratyandhā-
ruvā | adattā | padātijiva |
- L. 41.....ahidaṇḍa | antarābaḍḍi | vandhadaṇḍa | vijaya-
vandāpanā | mārggaṇika prabhṛti
- L. 42.....bhaviṣyatkara sahitaḥ sapratihāraḥ sarvva (vā)
dhā (va) jitaḥ³ sarvvoparikarā=dāna sa-
- L. 43.....hitaḥ Tirabhukti maṇḍeliya Palāsa grāma vinirgga-
tāya | Gārgga go-
- L. 44.....trāya | tryarṣaya⁴ pravarāya | Rgvedā=dhyā-
yine | bhaṭṭaputra Chateśvara pau-
- L. 45.....trāya | bhaṭṭaputra Bāmana putrāya | bhaṭṭa-
putra Śrī Śaṅkara śarmma
- L. 46.....ṇe | salila dhārā-puraḥsara ācandrārka ksiti-sama-
kālo=pabhogārtham

¹ Read sthita.² Read srotaḥ.³ Read varjita.⁴ Read tryarṣāya.

- L. 47.....mātā-pitrōrā=tmanāś=cha punyāya¹ siddhivrd-
dhaye tāmvrā² śāsanenā=karikṛtya
L. 48.....sampradattaḥ Airāvattamaṇḍala saṁsarāva khaṇ-
ḍiya Lovākarāḍā grāmaś=cha
L. 49.....tasya sodara bhrātr Śrī Balabhadra sarmmaṇe
evaṁ sampradattaḥ | ityavaga-
L. 50.....tya samuchita karabhoga bhāgādikam=upanayad-
bhir=bhavadbhiḥ sukhena prativasta-
L. 51.....vya sadettir=iyam=asmadiya-dharmmagaura-
vād=asma(da)=nurodhād=vā svadattair=iva-
L. 52.....nupālaniyā || tathāchoktaṁ dharmmaśāstre bahu-
bhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhi (h)

Third plate (Obverse)

- L. 53.....sagarādibhiḥ yasya yasya yadā bhūmiś=tasya
tasya tadā phalaṁ | mābhūda=pha-
L. 54.....la-śankāvaḥ³ | svadattāt = phalamā = nantyaṁ
paradattā=nupālāne || śaṣṭivarja sahasrā-
L. 55.....ni svargge modati bhūmidah | ākṣiptā chānuman
tācha dvau tau naraka-gāminau ||
L. 56.....agnerapatyaṁ prathamam suvarṇam bhūr=vai-
ṣṇavi sūryya-sutāś=cha gāvaḥ | ya (h) kāñcha-
nam
L. 57.....gāñcha mahiñcha dadyād=dharttā trayas=tenu
bhavanti lokāḥ āsphoṭayanti pi-
L. 58.....taro valgayanti pitāmahāḥ || bhūmidatā kule jātah
sa nas=trātā bhaviṣyati |⁴
L. 59.....bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛhṇāti yaścha bhūmiṁ praya-
chhati | ubhau tau punya⁵ -karmamāṇau niya-
L. 60.....taṁ svarggagāminau || tadāgānāṁ sahasreṇa vāja-
peya śatānicha | gavām
L. 61.....koti pradānena bhūmiharttā naśudhyati || sva-dat-
tām paradattām=vā yo
L. 62.....hared=vasundharām sa viṣṭhāyām kṛmīr=bhūtvā
pitṛbhiḥ sahapachyate ||

¹ Read punyāya.² Read tāmra.³ Another line is omitted.⁴ Read bhaviṣyati.⁵ Read panya.

- L. 63.....gāmekāṃ suvarṇṇamekāṃ bhūmerapyarddhaman-
gulaṃ haran=narakamāyāti yāvadāhṛta-
L. 64.....sambhāvaḥ || harati hārayedvasu manda vuddhis-
tamovṛtaḥ | sa vaddho dāruṇaiḥ
L. 65.....pāśaistiryagyonim sa gachchati || sāmānyoyani
dharmma śetu nṛpāṇāṃ kāle kā-
L. 66.....le pālaniya bhavadbhiḥ || sarvvānetānbhāvinaḥ
pārthivendrān || bhūyo bhūyo yā-
L. 67.....chate Rāmabhadraḥ || iti kamala-dalām vuvu-vīndu-
lolaṃ śriyamanucintya manuṣya ji-
L. 68.....vitañcha sakalamidamudāhṛtañcha vudhvā nahi¹
puruṣaiḥ parakirttayo vilopyā ||
L. 69.....yat kirtti bhuvana-trayasya kuhare saśvattani par-
ṇayan=mantriṇaḥ(su)-chira praṇāma-
L. 70.....rahitāḥ kṣaṇibhujo bhoginaḥ yaddorddaṇḍa-bha-
va-pratāpa śikṣino² nistriṇśa-

Third plate (Reverse)

- L. 71.....dhūma-chchhaṭā dūrasthopi ◡ - ◡ - ◡ ◡ ◡ ---
manasyāmaham³ || U-
L. 72.....tkle Kośale deśe sa mahāsandhivigrahi | aśvāṅgaṇa-
gaṇādhāro Rudra-
L. 73.....Datta iti śrutaḥ || Mahākṣapaṭalādhyaḥ Śrīmad=
dakṣaḥ Śatāmataḥ | aṇa-
L. 74.....likhavid-tāmvra⁴ -śāsana śatru-sasanaḥ⁵ || Mahā-
rājādhirāja para-
L. 75.....meśvara Śrīmad=Uddyotakeśari rājadevasya
pravarddhamāna vijaya
L. 76.....rājye chaturthe samvare⁶ Mārgga=vadi daśamyām |
yat rāṇke samvatat |
L. 77.....Mārgga vadi 10 suvarṇṇavithivijñāni Bāheru- Mañ-
gākābhyām utkī (rṇṇa)=
L. 78.....midam ||

¹ Read nahi.² Read śikhino.³ Read manasyāmaham.⁴ Read tāmvra.⁵ Read śāsanaḥ.⁶ Read samvatsare.

Translation

Ls. 1-4....The joyful luminous and nectar-rayed lord (moon)
—who is skilful in causing the lilies to laugh—
who rests on the mansion of the head of Dhūr-
jjati—who is the store of nectar-streams—who is
the lord of the stars in the inner apartments—
who serves as point of arrow of the good archer
love-god and who is the son of milk-ocean—
triumphs ever.

Ls. 4-6....In this illustrious dynasty of the moon, whose
lustre dispels the spots of intense darkness cover-
ing the horizon, were born the enjoyers of the
earth, who, like bulb sent forth all the good
qualities, and whose fame was as white as Kunda
flower.

Ls. 6-9....Janamejaya became king and then his son king
Yayāti was followed by Bhimaratha, the orna-
ment of the protectors of the earth. He
(Bhimaratha), through his frontier guards, built
the pillars of victory on all sides beyond his king-
dom, which served as glittering weapons piercing
the heart of the possessors of the regions.

Ls. 9-12..Dharmmaratha, the son of the glory of the lunar
dynasty, the achiever of the desired object and
the only friend of the sword, became the head-
jewel of all the kings, when the hostile kings
retreated to the extremity of the far-off country,
being chased by his soldiers marching on Dig-
vijaya, in the course of which the dusts swelled.

Ls. 12-15..There was a king, other than mentioned before, at
Kaṭaka in the countries, lying on the coast of
eastern sea, extending from the Himalayas up to
the forest adjoining the Setuvandha. His fame
was chanted by the hollow bamboos, standing
adjacent to (the palace of hostile kings), when
they sounded, being struck with the high wind,
exhaled in sigh by the trembling women of the
enemies.

- Ls. 15-16..His brother Naghuṣa, the over-lord of the country and the celebrated ornament of the earth, was as mighty as the lord of animate beings.
- Ls. 16-18..His (Naghuṣa's) rod-like hand, being adorned with the tongue of (double edged) sword, resembled the snake when it took the air separated from the throat of enemy's soldiers (who are slain).
- Ls. 18-21..The old Śavara women, having suppressed the tears in order to teach how to wander in the forest, took pity on the females of his (Naghuṣa's) enemy and told them that there are many ruttish elephants and there is also a strong lion having irresistible access all over the world and again there are huge snakes in the holes in the caves of the hills.
- Ls. 21-25..His (Naghuṣa's) younger brother Yayāti, the conqueror of the world, the representative of Madhusūdana and the ocean of learning, was elected as king of the two countries—Kosāla and Utkala—by the warrior chiefs. He (Yayāti) effectively repulsed the enemies. His lotus-like feet were radiant with the wreath of the rays of head-jewels of all the prostrate enemies and his hands accomplished well his purpose on all sides.
- Ls. 25-28..Then his son king Śrīmān Uddyotakeśari enjoys the rewards of good acts (of his father), brightens the world and possesses immense good qualities. He is never destitute of the leadership and his fame resembles the Malli flowers dropped down from the hairs of the kings, who bow down in reverence from a long distance when offering the presents.
- Ls. 29-33..Hail from Yayātinagara. Paramamāheśvara, Paramabhāṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara, Somakulatilaka and Trikalingādhipati, Sri Mahābhavagupta—meditating on the feet of Paramamāheśvara, Paramabhāṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhī-

raja, Paramēśvara, Somakulatilaka and Tri-
kalinṅādhipati Śrī Mahāśivagupta—being in
good health and having worshipped the Brah-
mans of Kheṇḍiya—intimates and orders :—

ls. 33-37..Samahatṛ (Collector of Revenue), Sannidhātṛ
(treasury-officer), Niyuktādhikārī (officer in
charge of the appointment department), Dāṇḍa-
pāśika (village chowkidar, now called Dandūāsi),
Piśuna Betrikā (cruel cane-holder, i.e., constable),
Avarodha-jana (females residing in the harem),
Rajñī (queen), Rāṇaka (trival chief), Rājaputra
(younger son of the king), Rājavallabha (favour-
ite of the king), Bhogijana (village headman)
and Janapadān (rural people), etc.

ls. 37-48..Be it known to you that the village Kontalaṇḍā
a part of Airāvattamaṇḍala including half
the bed of the Mahānadi, with its boundaries
and Garttoṣira (silted up tank and barren
land)—with various trees, such as Sisu, Madhūka
and Tāla—with mines and minerals—with
Hastidaṇḍa (the right of killing elephant),
Baravalāvanda, Chotāla, Andhāruvā, Pratyān-
dhāruvā, Adattā (rent-free land), Padātijiva
(the holding of the soldiers), Ahidaṇḍa (the
right of killing snake), Antarāvaḍḍi, Bandha-
daṇḍa (power of conviction and punishment),
Bijayavandāpanā (right of receiving present of
welcome), Marggaṇika (tax on ceremonial occa-
sion of the king)—with all future taxes and
cesses with the rights of collecting all other
additional taxes and with the right of confiscat-
ing the land—being exempted from encroach-
ment—has been granted by the means of copper
plate deed to Śāṅkara Sarmma, son of Bāmana
and grandson of Chateśvara, an immigrant
from Palāsa in Tirabhuktimāṇḍala and a student
of Ṛgveda, belonging to Gārgga Gotra and to
Pravara of the three sages—to enjoy as long as

the moon, sun and earth exist—for the increase of merit of self and the parents.

Ls. 48-49...Again the village Lovākaradā in Khaṇḍiya in Airāvattamaṇḍala has been granted to his uterine brother Balabhadra Śarmā.

Ls. 49-51...Being aware of this, you should live with happiness, paying the rents and other shares due to them.

Ls. 51-52...This grant of mine should be preserved as their own gift, by the future kings from a regard for religious laws and my own request.

Ls. 52-55...It has been written in the scriptures. Lands have been granted by many, such as the king Sagara and others; the rewards of these grants belong to whosoever at any time possesses the earth. Oh kings! Have no doubt. The maintenance of another's gift has a far greater reward than one's own gift. The grantor of the lands enjoys happiness in the heaven for 60,000 years while both the confiscator and the person who acquiesces in so doing go to hell.

Ls. 56-57...Gold is the first offspring of fire, the earth is the daughter of Viṣṇu and the cows are born of sun. He, who gives gold, cows, and land, by him and by that act, possesses the three worlds.

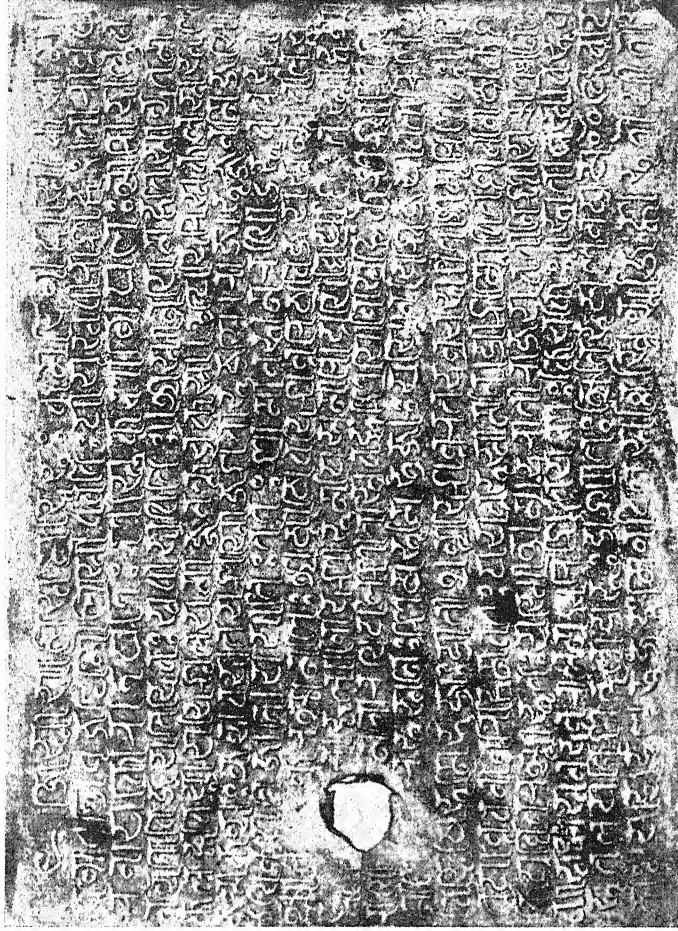
Ls. 57-58...Forefathers clap their hands and leap from joy saying "A giver of land has been born in our family and he shall become our deliverer".

Ls. 59-60...Both the giver and receiver of the land are doers of the meritorious works and will certainly go to heaven.

Ls. 60-61...A confiscator of the land is not purified even by the excavation of a thousand tank, by the performance of a hundred Vājapeya sacrifices and by the gift of a crore of cows.

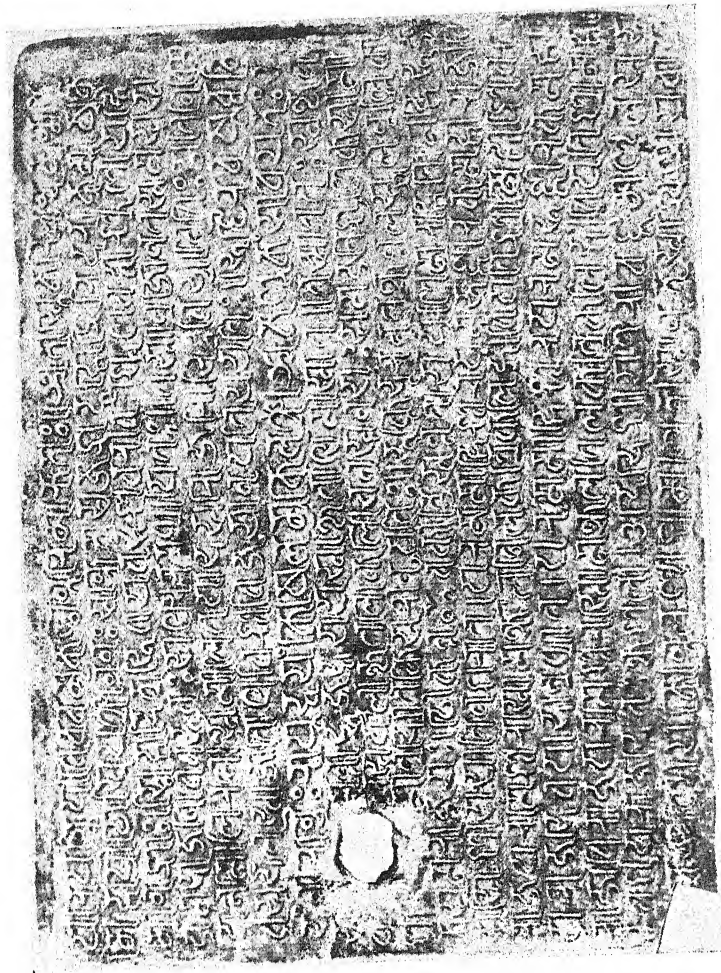
Ls. 61-62...He, who confiscates the land granted by either himself or by other, becomes a worm in ordure and rot with his forefathers.

- Ls. 63-64..He, who steals a piece of gold or a cow or even a half-a-finger's breadth of land, is consigned to hell, losing every possibility (of delivery).
- Ls. 64-65..The ignorant fool, who confiscates or causes confiscation of land, being tightly bound in the fetters of Varuṇa, is reborn of lower animals.
- Ls. 65-67..It has been requested by Rāmabhadra that this bridge of religion is common to all men and therefore it is to be preserved by all future kings.
- Ls. 67-68..No one should confiscate the land granted by other than self fully understanding the above mentioned verses and remembering that the life and the health of the man are unsteady like the drop of water on the petal of lotus.
- Ls. 69-71...I, whose good acts shine ever in the three worlds, being at a great distance from the sword resembling the smoke and the glowing heat arising out of prowess of the rod-like hands of the luxurious kings, who never get salutes from the ministers, make obeisance to.....
- Ls. 72-73..The minister for war and peace in the Utkala and Kośala countries is Rudra Datta by name, who is Asvāṅgaṇagaṇādhara (?).
- Ls. 73-74..The able Mahākṣapatalādhyaṅga is Śatāmata, who knows to inscribe the copper plate grant and controls the enemies.
- Ls. 74-78..In the fourth year of the victorious reign of sovereign lord Śrīman Uddyotakeśari. On the 10th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Mārggaśīrṣa. That is the year which is in the figure. The 10th day of dark fortnight of the month of Mārggaśīrṣa. This is incised by both Bāheru and Maṅgāka, the goldsmiths.



Narasinghpur Charter of Uddyotakesari-Mahābhavagupta IV.

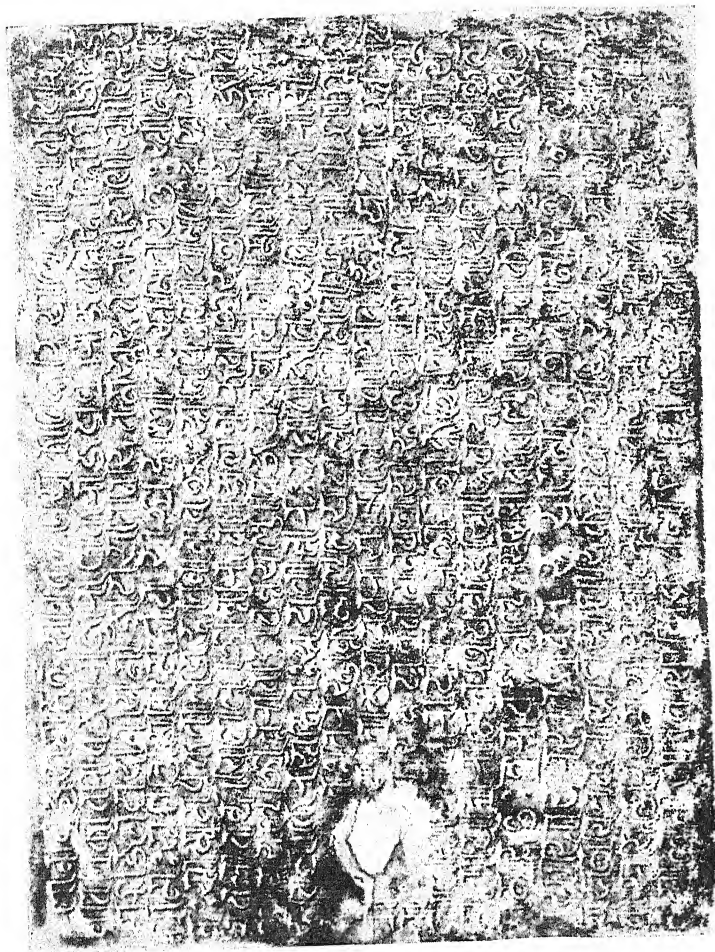
First plate (Reverse).



(8) 17 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33

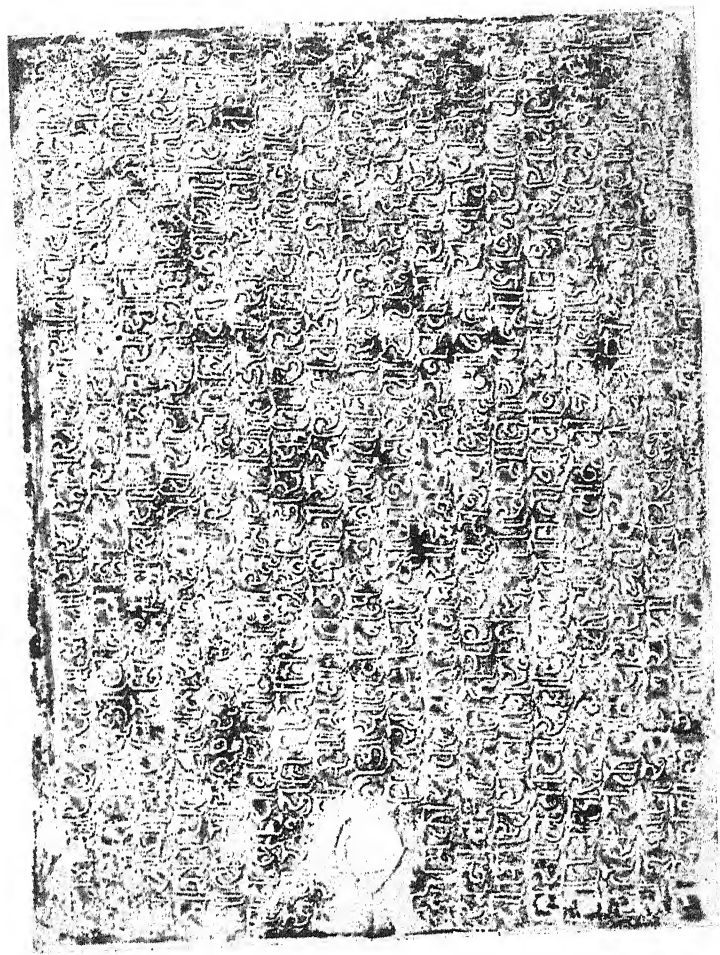
Narasinghpur Charter of Uddyotakesari-Mahābhavagupta IV.

Second plate (Obverse).



Narasinghpur Charter of Uddyotakesari-Mahābhavagupta IV.

Second plate (Reverse).



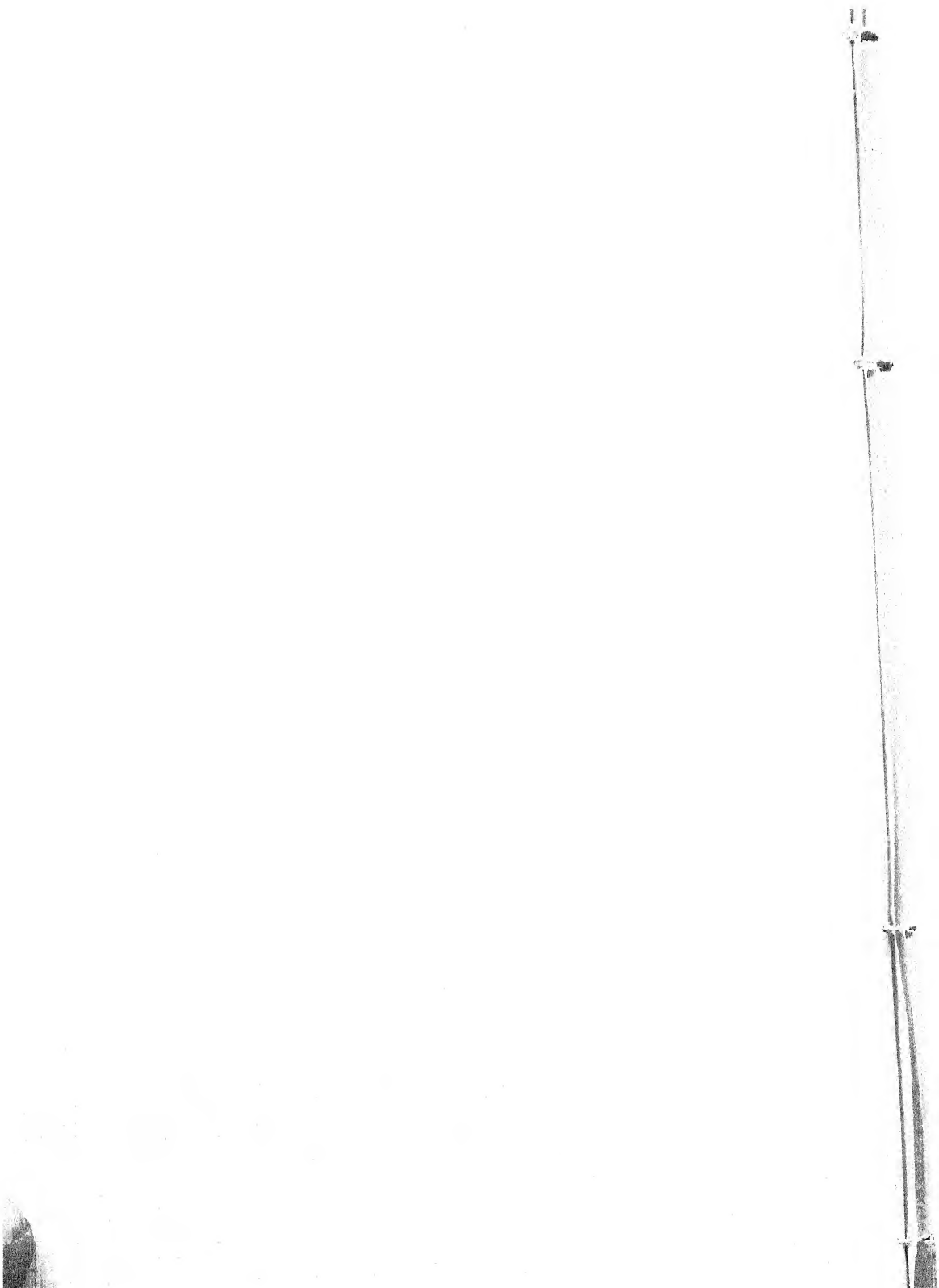
Narasinghpur Charter of Uddyotakesari-Mahābhavagupta IV.

Third plate (Obverse).



Narasinghpur Charter of Uddyotakesari-Mahābhavagupta IV.

Third plate (Reverse).



On the Interpretation of some Doubtful Words in the Atharva-Veda

By Tarapada Chowdhury, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.

[The system of transliteration followed here differs from that adopted in the Journal in representing ऋ by ṛ, ॠ by ṝ, ॡ by ॠ̄, ॢ by ॠ̄̄, the Anunāsika by ~, and in marking only the Udātta accent (').]

Prefatory Note

This is an attempt to find the value of a certain number of obscure words found in the Atharvaveda. The suggested readings and meanings are by no means absolutely certain: they are to be taken for what they are worth. The main criteria (besides context) in determining them have been the following: (1) text-criticism, (2) linguistic principles holding in the Indo-European or Indo-Aryan languages or in Sanskrit itself, (3) uses, remarks, or parallel passages in later literature, and (4) facts otherwise known.

In suggesting an emendation of the text there is always a

Abbreviations

AB.=Aitareya Brāhmaṇa: Ait. Āraṇ.=Aitareya Āraṇyaka: Āp. Śr.=Āpastamba Śrautasūtra: ASS.=Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series: AV.=Atharvaveda: Av.=Avestic: Baudh. Śr.=Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra: Beng.=Bengali: Bloomfield=M. Bloomfield, Hymns of the Atharvaveda. Sacred Books of the East, vol. 42: Boisacq=H. Boisacq, Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Grecque. BR.=Böhtlingk and Roth, Sanskrit Wörterbuch: Brugmann=K. Brugmann, Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen: Ch. 8=Chambers, No. 8. manuscript of the Atharvaveda: Dhanva. and Rāja.=Dhanvantari- and Rājanighaṇṭu: Dār.=Dārila, commentator of Kauśikasūtra: GBr.=Gopatha Brāhmaṇa: Geiger, Pali Gramm.=Pali Litteratur und Sprache by W. Geiger: GOS.=Gaekwad's Oriental Series: Grassmann=H. Grassmann, Wörterbuch zum Rigveda: Grill=J. Grill, Hundert Lieder des Atharva-veda: Guj.=Gujrati: H.=Hindi: Henry=V. Henry, French translation of books vii-xiii of the AV.: Ind. Stud.=Indische Studien: Kauś.=Kauśika Sūtra: Keś.=Keśava, commentator of Kauśikasūtra: KS.=Kāthaka-Saṁhitā: Ludwig=vol. iii of his Der Rigveda: Mān.

tacit assumption that (1) the mss. either originate from the same source or could possibly be compared with and corrected by each other, and that (2) the tradition has been for the most part a written one. The results speak for themselves: but the following facts may be considered. (1) Most of the mss. come from Gujarat (12 out of the 20 authorities of S. P. Pandit, who, at p. 16 of the introduction to his edition, admits giving mostly the Gujarat tradition); (2) S. P. Pandit, *Atharvaveda*, vol. III, pp. 216 and 315, remarks (on the basis of the traditional readings of certain words as compared with their developments in the later languages) that the tradition of this Veda is derived from mss. and is not strictly oral. As to the time when these graphic confusions [*viz.*, of *p* (प) and *y* (य), *kt* (क्त्) and *tt* (त्त), etc.] may have occurred, Bühler's *Palæographic Charts* IV, col. XVI and VI, col. V show that about the sixth or seventh century A.C. the respective letters began to be sufficiently similar to be confused with each other.

ākṣu-

*mṛtyór āṣam ūpadyantām kṣūdham sedim vadhm bhayām :
Indraś cā'kṣujālābhyām Śārvaḥ sēnām amūm hatum. 8. 8. 18.*

*ākṣum opasām vitataṁ sahasrākṣām viṣūvāti : āvanaddham
abhikītaṁ brāhmaṇā vī cītāmasi. 9. 3. 8.*

Śr.=Mānava Śrautaśūtra: Mār.=Mārāthi: MBh.=Mahābhārata: MS.=Maitrāyaṇi-Saṁhitā: Nigh.=Nighaṇṭu: Nir.=Nirukta: Nep.=Nepali: Oldenberg=Rgveda, Text kritische und exegetische Noten. Pāṇ.=Pāṇini: Pet. Lex. or PW.=Sanskrit Wörterbuch by Böhtlingk and Roth: Pischel, Prak. Gramm.=Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen by R. Pischel: Ppp.=Paippalāda rescension of the AV: PTS.=Pali Text Society: Punj.=Punjabi: RV.=Rgveda: Śāṅkh. Āraṇ.=Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka: ŚB. or ŚBr.=Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa: SBE.=Sacred Books of the East: SPP.=Shankar Pandurang Pandit as editor of the Bombay edition of the AV.: TA.=Taittirīya Āraṇyaka: Tāṇḍ. Br.=Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa: TPr.=Taittirīya Prātiśākhya: TS.=Taittirīya Saṁhitā: Up.=Upaniṣad: v.=verse: Ved. Chrest.=Vedische Chrestomathie: Ved. Concord.=Vedic Concordance by M. Bloomfield: Ved. Myth.=Vedic Mythology: Ved. Stud.=Vedische Studien: Vj.=Vaijayanti of Yādavaprakāśa, edited by G. Oppert: VS.=Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā: Wack.=J. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik: Walde=A. Walde, Indogermanisches Wörterbuch. Wh.=Whitney, Translation of the AV.

*ā vān dānāya vavṛtīya dasrā gōr ōheṇa Taugryó ná jivriḥ :
apāh kṣonī sacate mākhiṇā vān jūrṇó vām ākṣur āmhaso yajatrā.
RV. 1. 180.5.*

Previous Scholars: The commentary on both the AV. passages is wanting. Śaṅkara on the RV. passage takes *ākṣu-* as an adjective (= *vyāptāḥ*) qualifying *ṛsi-* or *yajamāna-* understood; *apāh*, according to him, means either *antarikṣam* or *udakāni*; *kṣonī* is either nom. du. (= *dyāvāpṛthivī*) or loc. sing. (= *bhūmyām*). 'Eine Art Netz', BR. 'Wagenachse', Nachträge to the shorter Pet. Lex. Geldner, Ved. Stud. 1, 136f., equates *ākṣu-* with *jāladanḍā-* in AV. 8. 8. 5 and renders it with 'pole', which in RV. 1. 180. 5 is 'die Stange der Wagens=Deichsel'. He is not, however, sure of the epithet *sahasrākṣā-* in AV. 8. 8. 18. See also his notes, Trans. of RV. vol. I, pp. 233f. Henry (who renders with 'perche' in AV. 8. 8. 18) on AV. 9. 3. 8, Bloomfield, SBE 42, pp. 586 and 598, and Oldenberg, RV. 1. 180. 5, cannot accept Geldner's meaning because of the epithet *sahasrākṣā-*, which they understand to mean 'with thousand holes' (Bloomfield). Accordingly Bloomfield, *l.c.* p. 598, suggests that 'a covering of wickerwork' might be meant in AV. 9. 3. 8. This, of course, does not fit in with the other two occurrences of the word. Grill renders, 'Flechtennetz'.

It seems that *ākṣu-* is only a bye-form of *ākṣa-*, both originally meaning 'pole', but the latter eventually being restricted to the pole between the wheels of a chariot, namely, the axle. Such duplicate forms ending in *-a* and *-u* are not rare, cf. for instance: *kṛkavāka-* AV. 20. 136. 10: *kṛkavāku-* 'hen,' *kṛiḍā-* RV. 1. 37. 1, 5: *kṛiḍú-* 'playing' ib. 9. 20. 7, *tanyatā-* f. RV. 1. 180. 12: *tanyatú-* 'thundering', *turvāśa-*: *turvāśu-*, n. pr., *pāda-*: *pādú-* RV. 10. 27. 24 'foot', *māyā-*: *māyú-* in *durmāyú-* RV. 3. 30. 15 'magic', *śayā-* f. RV. 3. 55. 4: *śayu-* in *śayutrā* ib. 1. 117. 12, 10. 40. 2 'couch', *śára-*: *śáru-* 'arrow', *harṣa-*: *harṣu-* in *harṣu-mánt-* RV. 8. 16. 4 'joy', etc.

Prāk. *akkha-* has a meaning 'a measure of length, four cubits or twenty-four angulis',—Seth, *Pāiyasaddamahanavavo s.v.*,—just the same idea as in the English measure of length, 'pole'. Pāli *akkhavāṭa-* 'fencing round an arena for wrestling' probably contains *ākṣa-* in this sense. Beng. *ākh-* 'sugar cane', the *u* at the end of which is still perceptible in the pronunciation of Western Bengal, seems more likely to have come from *ākṣu-*, because of its resemblance to a

bamboo pole, than from *ikṣu*.¹ Beng. (Manbhum, dial.) has another word *ākhun* to denote a hooked bamboo pole, used for separating straw from corn.

It seems also probable that Gr. *ἄξιν* 'axe, battle-axe'. Lat. *ascia* (<**acsia*, cf. *viscus*: *ἰξός*, *vespa* <**vepsa*), Goth. *agizi*, old H. Germ. *acchus*, Germ. *axt*, old Ice. *ax*, *qax*, Ang. S. *æx*,—Boisacq, Greek Dictionary, s.v. *ἄξιν*—and Eng. *axe* are connected with *ākṣu*—*ākṣa*—, the meaning in these cases having conceivably been transferred from the 'handle of the axe' to the 'axe' itself.

We shall now see how this meaning suits the passages quoted above. In AV. 8.8.18 *āṣa-* is an uncommon word, which Whitney, followed by Henry, emends to *ōṣa-* and translates *mṛtyór āṣam āpadyantām* as 'let them go unto death's burning (?)'. He remarks, however, that only two of his MSS. read *ōṣam*, all the rest *āṣam*, 'which must accordingly be regarded as the traditional text, although unintelligible'. It is probably the same word as *āsá-* 'nearness' cerebralised by mistake, helped probably by the nearness of the preceding *r*.² *Mṛtyór āṣam*, etc., can then be paralleled by 3. 11. 2b=RV. 10. 161. 2b, *yádi kṣitāyur yádi vā páreto yádi mṛtyór antikdān nítā evá*. If this be acceptable, we may modify Whitney's translation thus: "Let them go unto the nearness of death, unto hunger, debility, the deadly weapon, fear; by pole and net, O Śarva, [do thou] and Indra slay yonder army". Poles of the net or the club are referred to as instruments of killing in the same hymn: v. 5, *antárikṣam jālam āsíd jāladaṇḍō dīśo mahīḥ: tenā 'bhidhūya dāsyūnām Śakrah senām āpārapat*: v. 11, *trṇédhv enān matyām Bhavāsya*; and v. 12, *Sādhyā ēkam jāladaṇḍam udyātya yanty ójasā: Rudrā ēkam Vāsava ēkam Adityaír ēka údyatak*.

¹ *Vahśa-* is given as a synonym of *ikṣu-*, *Dhanvantari-* and *Rāja-nighaṇṭu*, ASS., p. 156. Hindi *ūkh* (besides *īkh*) is probably a case of assimilation, *īkēuḥ* > *īkkhu* > **ukkhū* > *ūkh*. Cf. Pr. *ucchu*=*ikṣu-*, Brugmann, *Kurze verg. Gram. d. idg. Sprachen* § 330.

² Such irregular cerebralisation is found elsewhere in the text. Cf., for instance, *gtūbhyaḥ tēwā* 3. 10. 10, *sām naḥ tēbhīḥ* 2. 35. 2, *vi taṣṭhīrē* 4. 6. 2, etc.

AV. 9. 3. enumerates the different things used in the construction of a *sālā*, a particular kind of thatched house still in common use in India. A description of a modern *sālā* with reference to the Atharvan hymn may be found helpful in properly understanding the hymn as a whole and the verse under discussion in particular. In the Mānbhūm district, before the walls are raised, a frame-work of the house is made by fixing posts (*upamīt*-¹, v. 1) at short distances which are connected at the top by posts running all round (*parimīt*-, v. 1). On these connecting poles rests one end of the slanting cross-poles (*saṁdamśā*-², v. 5), which, with their other ends, hold the dividing pole at the top (*pariṣvañjalya*-³, v. 5, *viṣūvānt*-, v. 8).

These are laid over with sliced pieces of bamboo (prob. *paladā*-⁴, v. 5 and 17) tied to the crosspoles by means of strings, made of a kind of grass, or bamboo-skins (v. 4). The top of this frame-work is then covered with straw, which is kept together by means of sliced bamboos spread upon it and tied to those below (v. 17). Walls are then raised, or, in some cases, the supporting posts are first connected by a net-work of rushes (v. 18), which is then plastered with earth. Sometimes the crosspoles of the thatch hang down a little beyond the walls and are then supported by a series of slanting poles, fixed against (*pratimīt*-, v. 1) the outer sides of the supporting poles. Of furniture in such a house, two pieces are almost invariably

¹ *Upamīt*-, *parimīt*-, and *pratimīt*- are all from the root *mi*- 'to build', 'to erect'. *Upamīt*- is found also in RV. 1. 59. 1, 4. 5. 1, where a supporting pillar or post is intended, as well as *mīt*-, ib. 10. 18. 12, with the same meaning.

² *Saṁdamśā*- usually means 'tongs'. These poles are so called, because each pair of them holds the ridge-pole as a pair of tongs. In Beng. they are called *kāci* 'scissors', which gives the same idea.

³ *Pariṣvañjalya*- is probably a corruption for—*ṣvañjanya*-, 'that which is to be embraced (*viz.*, the ridge-pole, by the cross-poles on either side)'; cf. Ppp. reading, *pariṣvañcanadasya*. For interchange of *n* and *l*, cf. *kanyānā*- RV. 8. 35. 5: *kanyālā*-AV. 'maiden', *pśani*-f.: *peśala*- 'beautiful', *mulālī*-AV: *mṛnālī*- 'lotus-stem', and Wack. 1. 175 (c). *n*.

⁴ *Paladā*- seems to be a Prakritism for *pra-radā*-, containing the root, *rad*- in the sense of 'scraping', 'slicing', 'splitting', cf. *tāsara*:- *trasara*-, 'shuttle'.

to be found: the sling (*śikhyā*-, v. 6), made of ropes, for hanging vessels on and the bamboo pole, sliced or intact, for hanging clothes on. The latter is hung down either from the crosspoles or from the ridge by means of cords tied to either end. When heavily laden, it would, of course, make a curve and thus resemble a head-band (*opasā*-, for which see below). This must be intended by *ākṣu*- in the verse under discussion (*viz.*, 9. 3. 8); the epithet 'thousand-eyed (*sahasrākṣā*-)'—which, under any circumstances, would be an exaggeration—referring to its knotty joints. These, oval and slowly rising, resemble the eyeball to some extent, and for this reason they are often referred to as the 'eyes' of bamboo, cane, sugar cane, etc., in Bengali and other modern Indian languages.¹

Accordingly, we may translate: "The out-stretched thousand-eyed pole, (like) a headband, hung down from (*āvanaddha*-) and tied on to (*abhikṛita*-) the ridge, do we unfasten with our spell". The two epithets *āvanaddha*- and *abhikṛita*- are significant as referring to the clothes-pole.

The RV. verse may be translated: "May I turn towards (*i.e.*, be inclined to give) a present for you, O wonderful ones, by the offering of a cow, like the aged son of Tugra (*viz.*, Bhujyu). Through your greatness, from water he goes to the earth; by you two (*vām*) his pole of distress is shattered, O adorable ones."

The pole here intended must be that, with slings at both ends, used for carrying loads (*vivadhā*- or *vihaṅgikā*-, Hindi *bāhāṅg*), the idea being that he was thereby relieved of the load of distress that he had been carrying. I take here *apāh* as ablative singular of *áp*-, cf. Grassmann, s.v. *áp*, for use in singular; *kṣonī* as instrumental singular of *kṣonī*- 'earth', which is quite in consonance with the pada-pāṭha's considering it a *pragṛhya*, cf. Ved. Gr. § 72. 2 (c), and the pada-text of *āstri* AV. 6. 27. 3b, *māhi* 18. 1. 39b etc.; *māhinā* = *māhi(m)nā*, the first vowel lengthened for the sake of metre and then confused with *māhina*-, which accounts for the accent; cf. *pāthiṣṭhām* AV.

¹ Nepali has *akhaṭo* for notches, which seems to be an extension of *akṣa*-.

14. 2. 6d (*pathesṭhām*, RV. 10. 40. 13d), 'accented as if it were a superlative' (Wh.); and *vām* in d as instrumental dual, cf. RV. 1. 158. 3a, *yuktó ha yád vām Taugryāya perúr ví mádhye árnaso dhāyi pajráh*, and ib. v. 4d, *mā mām édho dásatayaś citó dhāk prá yád vām baddhás tmáni khādati kṣām*. For the story of Bhujyu's deliverance from the waters onto the dry land, cf. RV. 1. 116. 3-5, 117. 14, etc.

ākṣya-

ēhi jīvdām trāyamāṇām párvatsyā'syáksyam : víśvebhír devair dattām paridhír jīvanāya kām. 4. 9. 1.

Previous Scholars : '*parvatasya trikakunnāmno gireḥ akṣam aśi cakṣur bhavasi*'—Sāyaṇa. '... bist eine Salbe vom Gebirge (?)',—Grill, who referring to 19. 45. 3 (*parvatīyam āñjanam*), suggests an emendation to *āñjana-*. Quoting Roth's opinion that *ākṣya-* may mean 'belonging to the eye, i.e., an eye-ointment', he remarks that the characteristics of the remedy do not admit of such a limitation and that he can rather conceive of an epithet *akṣayya-* or *akṣara-*. "Come hither! thou art the living, protecting eye-ointment of the mountain given by all the gods as a safeguard unto life."—Bloomfield, who remarks in the notes, "Aksham does not mean 'eye', akshyam is otherwise unquotable. Nevertheless we have translated akshyam, for the passage seems to be a tantalising reverberation of Śat. Br. III. 1. 3. 12 (viz., *yatra vā Indro Vṛtramāḥams tasya yad akṣy āsīt tañ girīm trai-kakudām akarot tad yad traikakudām bhavati cakṣusy evai'taḥ cakṣur dadhāti*). He refers also to MS. III. 6.3. and TS. VI. 1. 1. 5, each of which gives a version of the same story. "Come thou, rescuing the living one; of the mountain art thou for the eyes(?)..."—Whitney, who remarks, "The meter indicates that the true reading at the end of b is *ākṣyam*....; but *ākṣya* is unknown elsewhere and its meaning in this connection is obscure."

The bad construction and obscurity of meaning which follow from the usual way of splitting b seems to suggest that we have to deal here with two words instead of three, viz., *párvatsyā āsyáksyam*, 'living in the mouth of the mountain'. This would be a fitting epithet for *āñjana-*, one variety of the soft rock from which it is made being found in the cavities of some mountains, the other in the beds of certain rivers; cf. v. 10, *yádi vā'si traika-kudām yádi yāmunám ucyāse : ubhé te bhadré nāmñi*...., and *sauvīrāñjana-* and *sroto'ñjana-* in Vaidyaka, e.g., Dhanva. and Rāja., p. 125, Bhāvaparakāśa, Śrīveṅkaṭeśvara Press ed., p. 43. *Āsyáksya-* (to be read *āsiakṣia-*) contains the present stem of the

root *kṣi-* 'to live' (cf. pres. *kṣiyanti*) followed by the suffix *-a*, formed like *cakram-āśajā-* RV. 5. 34. 6, *a-paśy-ā-* ib. 1. 148. 5, *sadāprṇ-ā-* ib. 5. 44. 12, etc., Ved Gr. § 115. 3a, which (denoting the agent) normally accent the suffix. The verse may thus be translated: "Come thou! rescuing the living one, who art a liver in the mouth of the mountain; given by all the gods, an enclosure, as it were, for life."

The confusion of the copyist of the pada-pāṭha is easily accounted for in the reminiscence of the story referred to above and in the fact that *āñjana-* generally means an eye-ointment. I say, 'generally', because there are indications in the same hymn and elsewhere that it was applied to other parts of the body as well, being thus equivalent to an ordinary ointment or medicated oil. Cf. v. 4., *yāsyā'ñjana prasārpasy āngam-aṅgam párusparuk :* *tāto yākṣman vi bādhasa ugró madhyamaśir iva ;* v. 8, *trāyo dāsū āñjanasya takmā balāsa ūd āhiḥ ;* and 19. 45. 5, *ākṣvai 'kam manim ekam kṛṇusva snāhy ékenā pibai 'kam eṣām : cāturvīram naiṣṭēbhyaś cātūrbhyo grāhyā bandhēbhyaś pári pātv asmān.*

In this connection may be considered *āhi-* in v. 8 quoted above. The present state of accent and the padapāṭha require us to take *ādahiḥ* as two words and the commentator accordingly explains *āhi-* as 'snake-poisoning.' But coming together with *takmān-* (fever) and *balāsa-* (cold ?)¹ it would rather refer to some malady as Whitney also has suggested. No disease of the name, however, is known. I should think that it is one word, *ādāhi-* 'burning, i.e., the sore caused by burning,' cf. *ājāni-* 'birth' RV. 3. 17. 3, *ābhogī-* 'enjoyment' ib. 1. 113. 5, *śantani-* 'clashing noise', etc. As ointments, including medicated oils, are prescribed for fever, cold, and burnt-sores, in their various stages, this meaning would suit the context quite well.

adrūkṣṇa-

*yāt te vāsaḥ paridhānam yām nīvīm kṛṇuse tvām : śivām
te tanvè tāt kṛṇmaḥ saṁsparśé 'drūkṣṇam astu te.* 8. 2. 16.

¹ *Balāsa-* is used frequently in the medical Śāstras as equivalent to *kapha-* or *śleṣman-* 'phlegm', 'expectoration.' Cf. Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya, Sūtra. 23, 19; Uttara. 40, 31; and B.R., s.v.

Previous Scholars: 'tac ca vastram saṁsparśe viṣaye adrūksṇam arūksam yathā mardavam āśnute (for astu te) vyāpnoti gacchati taihā kṛṇmah.'—Sāyaṇa. '...nicht rauh sei's zur berührung dir'—Ludwig, p. 497. '...puisse ce contact t'être une caresse'—Henry. '...not rough to thy touch shall it be'—Bloomfield. '...be it not harsh to thy touch'—Whitney, noting that "SPP. reads 'with all his authorities' *adrūksṇam* in *d*. Our mss. might doubtless all be understood in the same way, but some of them look more like *-ḍū-* or *-dū-*; *-rū-*, which our text unfortunately gives, is not found in any; neither *rūksṇa* nor *drūksṇa* appears to be met with elsewhere."

Adrūksṇa- is undoubtedly the correct reading, which even the corrupt '*duksṇam*' of Ppp. points to. The word apparently contains the root *druh-* 'to harm', followed by the suffix *-sna*, Ved. Gr. § 118, and preceded by the negative particle. The absence of aspiration in *-dru-* points to the fact that *-kṣ-* in cases like this represents an earlier *-gzh-*,¹ which has been lost in Sanskrit, Wack. I. § 209. a.

The lengthening of the root-vowel is similar to that found in *tīksṇā-* 'sharp': *tij-* 'to sharpen', *tigmā-*, TS. *hālīksṇa-*: VS. *halīksṇa-* 'a kind of animal', *śīksā-*: *śīksā-* 'phonetics', which, according to Wack. I. § 39. n., have their *ī* from the desiderative, where *ī* is found several times before *-kṣ-*, partly in place of older *i*. To these may be added *nīksṇa-*: *nīks-* 'pierce,' and probably *dīks-* 'to initiate a pupil': *diś-* 'to direct' and *rūksa-* 'rough': *ruj-* 'to break', 'to harm', with the same underlying idea as in *adrūksṇa-* (BR. connect it with *rūṣ-* 'to make dusty', which is not convincing, both as regards meaning and change of *-ṣ-* to *-k-*, cf. Wack. I. § 118. n.). As instances of the lengthening of *u* gives Wack., loc. cit., *pratyavarūhya*: *pratyava-ruh-* (Aufrecht, AB. 427), *nirūhya*, AB. 7.5.1: *nir-uhya*, *tūṣṇīm* 'silent': *tūṣ-* 'to be silent', VS. *sūmnā-*: elsewhere, *sumnā-*, Up. *sūkṣma-*: VS. ŚB. *sukṣmā-*.

It will be seen in the above instances that the *i* or *u*

¹ Other instances from the RV. are: *dāksat* 1.130.8, 2.4.7, *dakṣi* 2.1.10, *dakṣi* (voc.) 1.141.8, *dakṣūṣaḥ* (g.s.) 1.141.7, *dākṣoḥ* (g.s.) 2.4.4: *dah-* 'to burn'; *aduksat* 1.33.10, *aduksata* 1.160.3, *duksāḥ*, 7.4.7, *duksān* 1.121.8, *dūduksan* 10.61.10, 74.4, *dūduksat* 7.18.4: *dūh-* 'to milk', etc. In all these cases the pada-text replaces *d* (the second one in reduplicated stems) by *dh* after the manner of later Sanskrit. Cf. Wack. I. § 160.

in each case is followed by a conjunct whose last member or the last two, when it consists of three, are continuatives. Such conjuncts are, of course, easier to be pronounced as one whole, whether at the beginning or in the middle of a word. There grew up thus a dialectical tendency, as testified by TPr. 21.7.9 (mentioned in Wack. I. § 240. b), to consider such a conjunct in the middle of a word as belonging to the following vowel. The heaviness of the immediately preceding vowel, which is usual before a conjunct, being thereby shaken, there was occasion for a compensatory lengthening which is what we have in the above instances. The reason, then, why this phenomenon is not universal may possibly lie in the fact that the spelling was constantly corrected, where etymological connections were obvious.

Ādrūkṣṇa- would thus mean 'unharming' (cf. *druhila-* in Mān. Śr. 2.14.14, ..*druhīlam āhataṁ vāsaḥ paridhāya*..., 'putting on rough, new clothes') in the above passage: "That which is thy cloth for putting round, the waist-strip that thou makest; we make it auspicious for thy body, be it unharming in touch to thee."

ādroghāvitā

kṛṇutā dhūmām vṛṣaṇaḥ sakhāyó 'droghāvitā vācam āccha : ayām Agnīḥ pṛtanāṣāt suvīro yēna devā āsakanta dāsyūn. 11.1.2=RV. 3.29.9, which has *kṛṇota*..*vṛṣaṇam* in a, '*sredhanta itana vājam āccha* in b, and *devāso* in d.

V. l.: Wh.'s collation-book gives *-avitāḥ* in b as pada-reading without note of variant. SPP. gives *-avitā*, following one or two of his mss. and the commentator. Ppp. is corrupt, but has in b, *adroghā vitā vātam matsa*.

Previous Scholars: '*adrohakāriṇām sucaritrāṇām avitā rakṣitā vācam āccha ...gṛhṇāṁ vācam abhilakṣya*,'—Sāy. 'Adj. Wahrhaftigkeit liebend'—BR. Bloomfield, p. 611, thinks that the Śaunakīya text scarcely yields sense in b, and that the RV. and the Ppp. texts suggest the reading, *ādroghā vitā vājam āccha* or *ādroghā āveta* etc., on the basis of which he translates: 'unharmful by wiles go ye into the contest.' Henry translates b, 'dans la direction de la parole (sacrée) confiants dans la faveur du (Dieu) inoffensif.' "Make ye smoke, O ye bulls, companions, ye that are aided by the unhateful (?), unto speech: the Agni (is) fight-overpowering, having good heroes, by whom the gods overpowered the barbarians"—Wh.

Ādroghāvitā vācam āccha seems to be an exact paraphrase of *āsredhanta itana vājam āccha* in RV. *Ādroghāh* and *āsredhantaḥ* both mean 'unharming' or 'unharmed.' For double Sandhi between *ādroghāh* and *avitā*, see under *eru*. The meaning 'to move', 'to go', for *av-*, given in the Dhātupāṭha and quoted by BR., has to be assumed for several cases: for instance, *avatkā-* in *adó yád avadhāvaty avatkām ādhi párvatāt: tát te kṛṇomi bheṣajām súbheṣajām yáthā 'sasi*, AV. 2.3.1, 'what runs down yonder, gliding off the mountain', etc.¹; *ávani-*,² 'stream', 'river', or 'course of river', connected by some with *av-* 'to protect' and by others with *áva* 'down', both unsatisfactory: *ud-ávantaṁ* in *ahám enāv údatisṭhipan gāvau śrāntasádāv iva: kurkurāv iva kūjantāv udávantaṁ vfkāv iva*, AV. 7.95(100). 2. 'I have made these two stand up like two weary-sitting cows: barking like dogs (du.) springing up like wolves (du.)'³; *pra-av-* in *marúdbhīḥ prácyutā meghāḥ právantu pṛthivīm ānu* AV. 4.15.9 c, d, 'let the clouds dropped forth by the Maruts glide along the earth'⁴, etc. For the older form *avita* instead of *avata*, cf. RV. 7.59.6, *á ca no barkhīḥ sádātā 'vitā ca spārhāni dātave vásu*.

Vācam is a case of de-voicing, which, so common in the Ppp., is also found several times in the Śaunakiya text; cf., for instance, *áva-tīryatīḥ* (mss.) for *-dīrya-* (Wh.) in 19.9.8d, *sám no bhūmir vepyamānā sám ulkā nīrhataṁ ca yát: sám gāvo lóhitakṣīrāḥ sám bhūmir ávatīryatīḥ; vitāvati* for *vidhā-*

¹ Whitney renders "What runs down yonder, aiding (?) off the mountain," and remarks, "*Avatkā* (*ava* 'ikām': quoted in the comment to Prāt. i. 103: ii. 38; iv. 25) is obscure, but it is here translated as from the present participle of root *av* (like *ejatkā*, v. 23.7. [cf. *abhimādayatkā*, QB., *vikṣīnatkā*, VS.]); this the comm. favours (*vyādhiparīhāreṇa rakṣakam*)."

² Johansson, IF. 2, 62, derives *ávani-* and *avatká-* (fn. 2) from an I.-E. root *eye-* 'to be wet.' Cf. also Persson, *ib.* 35, 200.

³ "...like (two) growling dogs, like (two) lurking (? *ud-av*) wolves,"—Whitney, noting, "The comm. explains *udávantaṁ* by *goyūthamadhye vatsān udgṛhya gacchantau*: Henry renders, 'that watch one another' [He would reject *ud* in a]".

⁴ Whitney renders c, d: "let the clouds, started forward by the Maruts, show favour (*pra-av*) along the earth."

(BR.) in 12.2.38d (of which **c**, **d** are repeated as **c**, **d** of v. 52), *múhur gṛdhyaiḥ prā vadaty ārtim mārtyo nātya : kravatyād yān agnir antikād anuvīdvān vitūvati ; priyāsam* for *bhriyāsam* (Sāy., Wh., Weber) in 3.5.4c, *Somasya parṇāḥ sāha ugrām āgann Īndreṇa dattó Váruṇena śiṣṭāḥ : tām priyāsām bahú rócāmāno dīrghāyutvāya śatásāradāya ; bhārcikah* (majority of SPP.'s and one of Wh.'s mss.) for *-rjīkah* in 18.1.30c ; *mathavyān* for *madhavyān* in 2.35.2c ; *yāti* for *yādi* (Wh.) in 10.3.6b, *svapnām suptvā yādi páśyāsi pāpām mṛgāḥ sṛīm yāti dhāvād ājuṣṭām : parikṣavāc chakūneḥ pāpavādād ayām mañir varanō vārayiṣyate*, etc.

aparāparaṇāḥ

avāstūm enam āsvagam āprajasām karoty aparāparaṇō bhavati kṣīyāte. 12.5.45. (12.11.7). *yā evām vidūṣo brāhmaṇasya kṣatriyo gām ādatté*. v. 46.

Previous Scholars : 'Adj. ohne Forsetzung, ohne Nachkommenschaft',—BR. "Elle le prive de fortune, de patrimoine, de posterité : il n'a plus ni ancêtres ni descendants, il perit. . .,"—Henry. "Celui (*viz.*, sense) de *aparāparaṇō* paraît ressortir à la fois du contexte et de l'analyse du mot,"—*ibid.*, commentary, p. 259. "Without abode, without home, without progeny, she makes him ; he becomes without succession (?) ; he is destroyed :"—Whitney.

BR. and Henry evidently connect *aparāparaṇāḥ* with *parā-* *para-* which expresses the idea of relativity such as, 'far and near', 'prior and posterior', 'before and behind', etc. But how they explain the suffix *-na* is not clear. In its absence it would rather have meant 'without anything else to stand by, far or near, before or after, in future or in the past', 'all alone by himself', 'stranded in the world'. A change in accentuation would, however, enable us to see in it two words (with double Sandhi), **āparāḥ* 'devoid of riches (: *rai-* 'riches')' and **āparaṇāḥ* 'devoid of pleasure', cf. *āpavrata-*, *āpodaka-* etc. For the correspondence, *ā-* (before consonants) : *āy-* (before vowels), cf. Wack. I. § 91, Ved. Gr. § 362. Compare also *satú-rā-* RV. 10. 106. 5, which, according to Grassmann and Macdonell (*loc. cit.*), has *rai-* for its second member.

arāṭakī-

éyam agann ósadhēnām vīrúdhām vīryāvati : ajaśṛṅgy arāṭakī tīkṣaśṛṅgī vy īṣatu. 4. 37. 6.

Previous Scholars: "*arā adātāro himsakāḥ tām asmāt sthānūti aṣayati uccāṭayati* 'ti *arāṭakī*; *tīkṣṇasṅgī* *tīkṣṇe ugraganāthe śṅgāḥ* *tī phale yasyāḥ evaṅgunavīśiṣṭā*,"—Sāyaṇa. "N. der Pflanze *Agacṣṭigī* oder *Beiw.* derselben. Vielleicht verwandt mit *arāla*."—BR. "Hither hath come this mighty one (*vīryāvānt*) of the herbs, of the plants; let the goat-horned *arāṭakī*, the sharp-horned, push out".—Wh. Ludwig and Bloomfield also do not translate *arāṭakī*, nor *ajasṅgī*, and they consider *tīkṣṇasṅgī* as if in the instrumental ('with its sharp horns').

Arāta- in *arāṭakī* is evidently the same word as *arāḍa*-¹ in MS. 2. 5. 9, p. 59. 17, *aruṇās tūparās caitreyo devānām āsīn (?) śyétō 'yāśrṅgah 'saineyō 'surānām, té 'surā utkrodīno 'carann, arāḍo 'smākam tūpa 3 ro 'mīśām iti*, and *arāḍi*- in Ś.Br. 4. 5. 5. 5, *atha yad upāmsu b, hṛtvā ūrdhvaṃ anumārṣi tasmād imā ajā arāḍītarā ākramamānā iva yanti*, and in TS. 5. 6. 21. 1, *vārunī kṛṣṇé vaśé arāḍyā*² *divyāṁ ṛṣabhaū parimaraū*. Sāyaṇa explains *arāḍyā* in TS. as *ucchritasṅgau* 'high-horned', but in view of the passage from MS. quoted above, where *arāḍa*- is contrasted with *tūparā*- 'hornless', the meaning seems to be simply 'horned'. The first element in *arāta*-, viz., *ara*-, is most probably connected with *arā*- 'spokes', *ala*- 'sting of the scorpion (or, of an insect in general, cf. *alim*- 'bee')', *ārā*- 'awl', etc., all denoting something pointed, considering how frequently the idea of piercing is associated with *śṅga*- 'horn', cf. *śīśīte śṅge rākṣase vinikṣe* RV. 5. 2.9d, 'he sharpens his (two) horns in order to pierce the demon.' The second element is the suffix *-ta*, so frequently found in Apabhramśa. It is probably identical with the suffix *-ta*,³ cerebralised through the influence of the neighbouring *r*-sound,

¹ Sans. *ṭ*, between vowels, regularly becomes *-ḍ*- in Prākṛit, and most of the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars, cf. Pischel, *Prak. Gramm.* § 192; Geiger, *Pali Gramm.*, § 38.

² Sāyaṇa (followed by others) connects *arāḍyā* with *ṛṣabhaū* and accordingly takes *arāḍyā*- as the stem; but in view of the other two passages it seems preferable to take *arāḍī*- as the stem, the word qualifying *vaśé*.

³ Suffix *-ta* is found in *an-ap-ta*- RV. 9. 16. 3 'not watery': *ap*- 'water', *āntita*- AV. 6.4.2, 8.5.11 'near at hand': *ānti*- 'near', *āmānyuta*- AV. 12. 3. 31 'not wrathful': *manyū*- 'wrath', *avatā*- 'well': *āva*- 'down', *pārvata*- 'mountain' (lit., 'rugged'): *pārva*-joint, *śrómata*-: **śroman*- (Grassmann), etc. It appears as *-ita* in *puṣpita*, *phalita*, etc.

although not immediately preceding.¹ For lengthening of the stem-vowel next preceding the suffix and a similar cerebralisation, cf. *kṛkāṭa*- 'neck-joint': *kṛka*- 'throat', *śṛṅgāṭa*- '*Trapa bispinosa*': *śṛṅga*- 'horn'.

Later Sanskrit *arāla*- 'bent', 'curved', 'crooked', must be a further development of the same word. From 'horned' to 'bent like a horn' seems to be an easy step. Intervocalic $\ddot{t} > \ddot{d} > l$ (l) is a common phenomenon in middle Indian, cf. Pischel, Prak. Grammar, § 238; Geiger, Pali Grammar, § 386.

As is clear from the quotation from Sāyaṇa above and from the synonyms *viṣāṇikā*- and *meṣaśṛṅgī*- given in the Dhanvantarinighaṇṭu, p. 23, the names and various epithets of this plant (*Odina pinnata*) are due to the hornlike shape of its fruit. The last two pādas of the above verse may be translated: "Let the horned *ajaśṛṅgī* ('goat-horned'), the sharp-horned, (or, with its sharp horns), pierce (the Gandharvas and Apsarases, mentioned above)." Cf. *arāyyāṁ brahmaṇaspate tikṣṇaśṛṅgo 'dṛṣann ihi RV. 10. 155. 2, śṛṅgābhyāṁ rākṣa ṛṣaty dvartim hanti cākṣuṣā AV. 9. 4. 17, etc.*

alajī-

visalpāsya vidradhāsya vātīkārāsya vālaḥ: yāksmāṇām sārveṣāṁ viṣām niravocam ahām tvāt. 9. 8. 20.

Previous Scholars: *Alajī-* has been rightly identified by BR. and others with *alajī-* of the medical Śāstras, but the meaning of the latter has unfortunately been narrowed down, doubtless through an oversight, to 'a disease of the eye', and Bloomfield goes so far as to render it with 'inflammation of the eyes'. Henry reads *bālaḥ*- instead. Whitney does not translate it.

As a matter of fact, *alajī-* appears to be a kind of boil which may be formed in any part of the body. BR. were misled by the occurrence of the word among diseases of the eye in Suśruta, Uttara. Chap. 2, and thought they found support in the word *andhālajī-* (*ghanām avaktrām piḍakām unnatām parimaṇḍalām: andhālajīm alpapūyām tām vidyāt kaphavātajām*, Suśr., Nidāna. Ch. 13, 6) which is simply a boil without a

¹ Cf. Pā. *paṭi*: *prati*, Pā. *paṭhama*:- *prathama*-, Samh. *dārvāghāṭa*-class. *cārvāghāṭa*:- *ūghāṭa*-, *garuḍā*:- *garutmant*-, class. *aṣṭpāṭa*- 'bleeding' (lex.): *aṣṭk-pāṭa*-,—Wack. I. § 146 (a), para 5.

mouth. Bhelasamhitā, p. 91, considers the fifth layer of skin (of which it counts six layers) as the base of *alajī*- and *vidradhi*-, and Suśruta, Sūtra. Ch. 2. 7, 9, considers it as due to the morbidity of the flesh, along with various kinds of tumours and swellings (*adhimānsā*-*rvudā*-*rśo*-*dhijihvo*-*pajihvo*-*pakuṣa-gala-śuṇḍikā*-*lajī*-*māmsasaṁghātau*-*sthaparakopa-gala* [*gaṇḍa*]-*gaṇḍa-mātā*-*prabhṛtayo māmsadoṣajāḥ*). Vāgbhata counts it among boils due to Gonorrhoea (*prameha*), *dakati tvacam utthāne bhṛśaṁ kaṣṭā visarpiṇī* : *raktakṛṣṇātīṛṣphoṭa-dāha-moha-jvarālaḥ*, Aṣṭāṅgharḍaya, Nidāna. 10, 39 (cf. Suśruta, Nid. 6. 14, 18), '*alajī* burns the skin, while rising, is very troublesome, expansive, reddish black, and attended with severe thirst, eruption, inflammation, fainting, and high temperature'; among diseases of the face, *gaṇḍālaḥ sthiraḥ śopho gaṇḍe dāhajvarānvitaḥ*, ib. Uttara. 21. 12, '*a gaṇḍālaḥ* is a firm tumour on the cheek, attended with inflammation and high temperature'; among diseases of the eye, *kanīnasyāntar alajī śopho ruk-toda-dāhavān*, ib. Uttara. 10. 9 (cf. Suśruta, Uttara 2. 8.), '*alajī* is a tumour in the pupil with pain, pricking sensation, and inflammation'; and elsewhere. A comparison of the above passages would point to its being a boil or tumour similar to *vidradhi* (abscess), but much smaller.

ālpaśayu-

yé mā krodhāyanti lapitā hastīnaṁ maśākā iva : tān ahaṁ manye dūrhitān jāne ālpaśayūn iva. 4.36.9.

V. l.—Sāyaṇa has *lipitāḥ* (= *upadigdhāḥ*, *saṁkrāntāḥ*) in a, and *dūrhatān* (= *duṣṭāhananena viṣayikṛtān*) in c. The pada- mss. read *lapitā*, which SPP. emends to *-tāḥ*. Whitney suggests emendation to *lapitvā*.

Previous Scholars : '*... jāne janasaṁghe tatsaṁcārasthale avasthīhān ālpaśayūn, parimāṇataḥ, alpakāyāḥ śayanavabhāvāḥ saṁcārakṣamāḥ kīṭā ālpaśayavaḥ, te yathā prāṇisaṁcāreṇa hanyante tadvad aham anāyāsena apunarbhavaṁ hanmītyarthaḥ*.'—Sāyaṇa. 'Ein bestimmtes lästiges Insekt oder dgl.'—PW. (V. 1055), and others have followed ('Ungeziefer'—Grill, 'small vermin'—Bloomfield, 'mites (?)'—Whitney), except Ludwig, who translates : 'die mich erzürnen, zum sprechen gebracht (wie fliegen den elefanten) | mein ich, sind sie unglücklich, nur kurze zeit im volk verweilend. ||' Grill ('durch Gesumm') and Bloomfield ('with their jabber') seem to consider *lapitā* as if in the instrumental.

The redundant syllable in the first pāda and the two obscure words *lapitā* (or *lipitāḥ*) and *ālpaśayu-*, which can hardly be

reconciled with the context in a satisfactory manner, make it obvious that the passage is corrupt. The meaning of *ālpaśayu-* as given by Sāyaṇa and hesitatingly followed by others is a mere guess. The word does not appear to be found anywhere else. *Śayu-* is found elsewhere in the sense of 'the sleepy one', especially the snake called *ajagara*, or of 'couch' as in *śayutrā* (RV.). Neither of these meanings would suit *ālpaśayu-*, which, as a Bahuvrīhi, would mean 'one having few *śayus*'. On the other hand, the adjective *dūrhitān*, which means 'miserable' as in RV. 8. 19. 26 (*nā tva rāsīyā 'bhīśastaye vaso nā pāpatvāya santya : nā me stotā 'mativā nā dūrhitah syād Agne na pāpāyā*), suggests that *ālpaśayūn* is probably a corruption for *ālpapaśūn* (so also Grill, p. 139). Compare, AV. 12. 4. 25, *anapatyām ālpapaśūn vaśā kṛṇoti pūruṣam*, and 4. 17. 6, *kṣudhāmārām tṛṣṇāmārām agótām anapatyātām*, where, as in many other places, want of cattle is considered equivalent to misery. The process might have been this : by an unconscious metathesis in the mind of the copyist *ālpapaśūn* was written in place of *-paśūn*, which then was easily simplified to *-śayūn*, helped by the similarity of the letters *p* (प) and *y* (य)¹ as well as by the comparative intelligibility of *-śayu-* as against *-śapu-*.

The first hemistich seems to have originally read, *ye me dhāyanti lohītā* (or *-tām*) *hastīno maśākā iva*. The first step seems to have been probably the intrusion of the root *krudh-* from the following verse, after which *lohītā* (or *-tām*) might have been

¹ Another curious instance of confusion of these two letters, followed by a syncopation of the preceding vowel, appears to be *abhiśastyā-* in 6. 120. 2, *bhūmir mātā 'dīr no janitram bhrātā 'ntāriṣam abhiśastyā naḥ : dyāuḥ naḥ pitṛyāc chām bhavāti jāmim ytvā mātā' va patsi lokāt*, which is of such an obscuring character that Whitney is forced to remark ; 'the variants are of the kind that seem to show that the text was unintelligible to the text-makers, and that we are excusable in finding the text extremely obscure'. If, however, we see *abhiśastyā(h) < -śastiyāh < -śastipāh*, the meaning is quite clear : "The earth our mother, Aditi our birthplace, the atmosphere our brother, are our protectors against imprecation; may heaven our father be weal to us from paternal (guilt); having harmed my relatives, may I not fall down from the wished-for-world". The reading in a, *abhiśasta énaḥ*, in TA. 2. 6. 29 is due to a different kind of confusion, that between *p* (प) and *e* (ए); thus, *abhiśasta énaḥ < -śasti panah < -śastipā naḥ*. For other examples, see *eru*.

consciously changed to *lapitā* ('jabbering'?) in order somehow to agree with it and, of course, the genetives *me* and *hastino* to the corresponding accusatives. Sucking of blood being what is expected of the *piśācas*, the eaters of raw flesh (cf. AV. 5. 29. 9, *kravyādam Agne rudhirām piśācām*), against whom the whole hymn is directed, the verse may be translated (with these emendations): "Those who suck my blood as mosquitoes that of the elephant; them I consider wretched, as, among the people, those who have few cattle".

avarjūṣiṇām

turāṇām āturāṇām viśām āvarjūṣiṇām: *samaitu viśvato bhāgo antarahastām kṛtām māma*. 7. 50(52). 2.

tvām no vāvav eśām āpūrvyaḥ sōmānām prathamāḥ pītīm arhasi sūtānām pītīm arhasi: *utō vikhīnmatīnām viśām vavarjūṣiṇām*: *viśvā ite dhenāvo dukra āśīram gṛtām duhrata āśīram*. RV. 1. 134. 6.

Previous Scholars: '*dyūtakriyām aparityajanīnām*',—Sāyaṇa on AV. "Ob reich sie sind oder nicht, die Leute helf kein Widerstand:"—Grill. "Of the quick, of the slow, of the people that cannot avoid it (?), let the fortune come together from all sides, my winnings in hand".—Whitney. "The meaning of *avarjūṣiṇām* in *b* is extremely problematical; the translators "wehrloss" etc. Comparison with *viśām vavarjūṣiṇām* RV. 1. 134. 6. and the irregularity of the unreduplicated form, make the reading very suspicious; Ppp. has instead *devayatiṃ*. . . ."—*ibid.*, notes. Grassmann and the RV. translators in general consider *vavarjūṣiṇām* as containing *vrj-* 'to spread', thus meaning 'those who have spread the kuśa-grass'.

The meaning given to *vavarjūṣiṇām* in RV. may suit the context quite well, but *viśām vavarjūṣiṇām* and *viśām āvarjūṣiṇām* are so much alike that one cannot help thinking that they probably express the same idiom and contain essentially the same words. Both *vavarjūṣiṇām* (: *vrj-* 'to spread') and *āvarjūṣiṇām* (: *vrj-* 'to give up') are irregular if they are really perfect participles with *-vas*, the former because there is scarcely another example in Sanskrit of *-vas* with the strong stem of the perfect,¹ and the latter because of the want of reduplication. The Ppp. reading *devayati(nā)m* 'worshipping the gods' in the

¹ Cf. Ved. Gr. § 491-92: Brugmann, Grundriss § 136. para. 4, "die Wurzel silbe erscheint meist in Tiefstufengestalt, regelmässig im Arischen. . . ." The latter, *loc. cit.*, notes some exceptions from Gr. and Goth.

corresponding passage seems to be a paraphrase of *avarjusiṇām* in the Śaunakiya text. For the phrase, cf. RV. 1. 36. 1 (*viśām devayātīnām*), 1. 77. 3, 3. 6. 3, 7. 69. 3 (*devayātīr viśāh*). Now, *avarjusiṇām*, if containing *avas-* 'help, protection (of the gods)' and root *juṣ-* 'to enjoy', 'to relish', with suffix *-i*, would give almost the same idea. The Rigvedic passage might in that case be considered as containing *viśām u avarjusiṇām*, which would first become *viśām v avar-*, as in VS. 23. 44, *sām v astu tanvè tīva*, or AV. 6. 56.3, *sām v āsnā 'ha āsyām*, and later on, when the meaning had become obscure with the consequence that *avarjusiṇām* was considered one word, *-m* would naturally be changed to Anusvāra. Change of *-as* to *-ar* is not regular, but there are instances. Cf. *ānar-viś-*. RV. 1. 121. 7: *ānas-* and Wack. I. § 28 (γ). Or else, which is more likely, *avar-* may be a parallel stem with *avas-*, just as *amnar-*: *amnas-* (Pāṇ. 8. 2. 20), *usār-*: *usās-*, *ūdhar-*: *ūdhan-*: *ūdhas-*; *āhar-*: *āhan-*; *ratharyati*: *rātha-*, *vādhar-*: *vadhā-*, *vanar-* in *vanargū-*, *vanārśād-*: *vāna-*, *saparyati-*: *sap-* 'to worship', etc.

Avār- in *avār mahā Indra dādṛhi śrudhī nah śusóca hí dyauh kṣā ná bhīṣā adriyo ghrñān ná bhīṣā adriyah* RV. 1. 133. 6, in the hymn just preceding the one considered above and attributed to the same Parucchepa Ṛṣi, may also be the same word. It has been so far considered an instance of *avās-* 'downwards', —the only instance of its ending in *r*. But its identification with *avas-* gives a much better meaning, when *dādṛhi* (which has been tabulated by Grassmann under *dar-*, *dir-*, 'to burst', 'to split up', with a query) is, at the same time, considered a form of the root *dr-* 'to take notice of', 'to regard', which would be quite regular: "Take notice of our great cordial (Grassmann, s.v. *avas-*, meaning ii), O Indra, (and) listen to us: for the heaven has burnt like the earth (?) for fear, for fear of heat, O you carrying stone . . ." If that be the true meaning, the explanation of the present accentuation lies in the confusion of *dādṛhi* as above noticed.

asvakṣabhā-

iṣirā yóṣū yuvatīr dāmūnā rātrī devāsya Savitūr Bhágasya : asvakṣabhā suhāvā sámabhṛtaśrīr ā paprau dyāvāprthivī mahitvā,
19. 49. 1.

Previous Scholars: "*asūni āsūni svavīṣaye śighra-pravṛtīni aksāni cakṣurādindriyāni abhībhavati tiraskaroti*'ti *asvakṣabhā*, *cakṣurādīnirodhike* 'ti *yāvat*. . . . *yad vā 'asvasya budhnam puruṣasya māyūm* 'ity *uttaratra vakṣyamāṇatvād ayam arthaḥ: asvān kṣāpayati kṣāpayati* 'ti *asvakṣū*, *asvakṣā bhā dīptir yasyāḥ sū*." — Sāyaṇa. "The lively woman, household maiden, night, of god Savitar, of Bhaga, all-expanded, of easy invocation, of assembled fortune (?-*ṣrī*), hath filled heaven-and-earth with greatness". — Whitney. "In c, all the mss., with the comm. and SPP., read *açvakṣabhā* (*açvā kṣabhā*), which, as being unintelligible, our edition emends at a venture to *viçvā-vyacāṣ*, and the translation follows the latter, for lack of anything better. Ppp. reads *açvakṣarā*." — *Ibid.*, notes.

The correct reading may probably be *asvakṣubhā* 'restless or swift like a horse': *kṣubh-* 'to put in motion,' 'make restless,' cf. *kṣubhā* (Grassmann, "*kṣubh*, f., schnelle Bewegung") in RV. 5. 41. 13, *vidā cin nū mahānto yé va évā brāvāmo dasmā vāryam dādhanāḥ: váyas canā subhvā ā'va yanti kṣubhā mṛtam anuyatam vadhasnāḥ*. If this be the true reading and meaning, it would lend the idea of swiftness to the verbs *ā paprau* in d, and *āti aruhat* in v. 2 a.

asamsūktagilā-

Rudrásyai 'labakārēbhyo 'samsūktagilēbhyaḥ: idān mahā-syebhyaḥ svābhyo akaram nāmaḥ. 11. 2. 30.

Previous Scholars: "To Rudra's howl-making, unhymned-swallowing (?), greatmouthed dogs I have said this homage." — Whitney, who notes, "The obscure *asamsūktagilā* (Ppp. *-girebhyaḥ*) is paraphrased by the comm. with *asamīcinam açobhamāna-vacanān gṛṇāti bhāṣante*. How *asamsūkta* should come to mean 'unmasticated' as given in the Pet. Lexx. does not appear. The translation given above conjectures 'not having a hymn with it'". "Aux hurleurs de Rudra, | qui dévorent ceux qui n'ont point d'hymnes [à leur chanter]. . . .", — Henry, who remarks in the commentary, "Je lis *asūkta* 'dépourvu d'hymnes,' le sens implicite étant: 'par conséquent, ils ne nous dévorent pas, nous qui avons un hymne à te chanter'".

The correct reading appears to be *asamsūta-gilēbhyaḥ* 'swallowing what is not properly cooked (or not cooked at all)'; *sūta-*, past participle of *svād-* (alternating with *sūd-*, cf. *sūda-* 'cook' and Wack. I. § 20 and § 79 b) 'to make tasteful', 'to cook', formed in the same way as *nuttā-*: *nud-*, *vittā-*: *vid-*, *sattā-*: *sad-*, etc. The mistake may be due to one of the following reasons: (i) *tt* (त्त) and *kt* (क्त) are very easily

confused: (ii) *kt > tt* in Pāli, Prāk. and the vernaculars, this being known to the reader or writer, a mistaken attempt to re-Sanskritise it is conceivable; and (iii) *sūkta-* being in much more general use than *sūta-*, an emendation of the latter, if it is not understood, to the former is also conceivable. It will be seen that 'uncooked-swallowing' is a much happier epithet for dogs than any other that could come from *asam-sūkta-*.

āharjāta-

sām vo goṣṭhēna suṣādā sām rayyā sām sūbhūtyā: āharjātasya yān nāma tēnā vaḥ sām srjāmasi. 3. 14. 1.

ā tvā cṛtatv Aryamā Pūṣā Bṛhaspātīḥ: āharjātasya yān nāma tēnā tvā 'ti cṛtāmasi. 5. 28. 12.

Previous Scholars: '*ahany ahani jāyata ity āharjātaḥ prāṇivīṣeṣaḥ, tasya yān nāma āharjāta iti tena nāmā.*'—Sāyaṇa on 3.14.1. Whitney renders *āharjātasya yān nāma* in both the places with 'that which is the name of the dayborn one' and comments (under 3.14.1), "The obscure third pāda is found again below as V. 28. 12.c; it is altogether diversely rendered (conjecturally) by the translators (Weber, "with the blessing of favourable birth"; Ludwig, "with all that which one calls day-born"; Grill, "with whatever a day of luck brings forth"); R. suggests 'with all (of good things) that the day brings, or that is under heaven': none of these suits the other occurrence." "..... 'auspicious' comes very near its sense. Its opposite is *anahar-gāta*, *Sāṅkh.* Sr. XIV, 51, 2-5 'born on an unlucky day' = *pāpa-nakṣatre gātaḥ*, Kaus, 46, 26 and elsewhere..... Either it is 'born on a good (*punya*) day' or 'born by day in distinction from night' (cf. *naktarīgāta* I. 23. 1.).... 'with the name' might mean 'with kind or species', cf. V, 4, 8."—Bloomfield, p. 351.

It seems that *āharjāta-* here probably refers to the god Bhaga and that there is a pun upon the word, as it also means 'luck'.¹ Cf. AV. 19.45.9, *Bhāgo mā bhāgenā'vatu*; 3.16.5, *Bhāgo evā bhāgavā astu devās tēnā vayām bhāgavantāḥ syāma*; 14.1.34, *sām Bhāgena sām Aryamnā sām Dhātā srjatu vārcasā*, etc. Bhaga is frequently mentioned together with Aryaman, Pūṣan, Bṛhaspati, etc. (cf. AV. 3.20.3, 6.4.2, 6.74.1, 14.1.50, etc.),

¹ Cf. Macdonell, *Ved. Myth.*, p. 45, "The word *bhaga* also occurs about twenty times in the RV. with the sense of 'bounty, wealth, fortune', and the ambiguity is sometimes played upon."

and might naturally be expected in 5.28.12 as well as in 3.14.1 (the latter immediately followed by, *sām vah sṛjātṛ Aryamā sām Puṣā sām Bṛhaspātīḥ : sām Indro yó dhanañjayāḥ* . . .). In RV. 1.123.5, Uṣas is called sister of Bhaga, which suggests that the latter was a morning deity, probably a particular aspect of the sun.¹ AV. 3.16. (=RV. 7.41.), devoted to Bhaga, is composed as if to be chanted in the morning. This supports the above contention and makes it plausible that *prātarjātām* in v. 2, which is generally translated as 'early-rising' and which Sāyaṇa (on RV.) takes as two separate words, is probably a corruption of *prātarjātām* 'born in the morning', essentially the same as our *āharjāta*-.

āṇḍika-

eṣā yajñānām vītato bāhiṣṭho viṣṭārīṇām paktvā divām ā viveṣa : āṇḍikām kumudām sām tanoti bisam sātūkām śāphako mulāk : etās tvā dhārā ūpa yantu sārvaḥ svargé loké mādhumat pīnvamānā ūpa tvā tiṣṭhantu puṣkarīṇīḥ sāmantāḥ. 4.34.5.

nā'sya kṣētre puṣkarīṇī nā'ṇḍikām jāyate bisam : yāsmiṇ nāṣṭrē nirudhyāte brahmajāyā 'cityā. 5.17.16.

Previous Scholars: "This extended, is of sacrifices the best carrier; having cooked the *viṣṭārīṇ*, one has entered the sky; the bulb-bearing lotus spreads (*sam-tan*), the *bisa*, *śālūka*, *śāphaka*, *mulāk*: let all the streams (*dhārā*) come unto thee swelling honeyedly in the heavenly (*svargā*) world; let complete (*sāmanta*) lotus-ponds approach thee."—Whitney (4.34.5). "Not in his field is a lotus-pond, the bulb (? *bisa*) of the bulb-bearing lotus is not produced (*jan*), in whose etc., etc."—*ibid.* (5.17.16). Under 4.34.5 he notes, "The mss. (with the exception, doubtless accidental, of our P.K.) all read *bāhiṣṭhas* at the end of *a*, and this SPP. retains, while our text makes the obviously called for emendation to *vāh*-. The things mentioned in *c*, *d* appear to be edible parts of water-lilies; the bulbous roots, leaf-stems, and radical fibres, which in some species, as the *Nymphaea esculenta*, are savory, and which are eaten somewhat like asparagus. . . . The *kumuda* is the *N. esculenta* (*kairava*, comm.); and the comm. explains *bisa* (he reads *viśa*) as the root-bulb of the *padma*

¹ Cf. Ved. Myth., p. 44, "In the aggregate sense they (i.e., the Ādityas) are the gods of celestial light, without representing any particular manifestation of that light, such as sun, moon, stars, or dawn", and p. 45 "Dawn is Bhaga's sister (1.123.5). Bhaga's eye is adorned with rays (1.136.2), and hymns rise up to Viṣṇu as on Bhaga's path (3.54.14). Yāska describes Bhaga as presiding over the forenoon (Nir. 12.13)'

(*Nelumbium speciosum*) [cf. Lanman, JAOS. XIX. 2d. half, p. 151f.], *ṣālūka* as that of *utpala* (a *Nymphaea*), *ṣaphaka* as a hoof-(*ṣapha*) shaped water-plant, and *mulāli* as=*mṛṇālī*. *Ṣaphaka* occurs also at Āp. Ṣs. IX. 14.14., where it seems to signify an edible plant or fruit, perhaps a water-nut".

Of the six names given in 4.34.5c, d, the meanings of three are definitely known: *kūmuda*-is the water-lily, *ṣālūka*-is its root, and *mulāli* is the root of the lotus (Pāli has exactly the same form), of which the latter two are edible. *Bisa*-, in later literature, is often confused with *mṛṇāla*-(*mulāli*-); it is, however, distinct from the latter (cf. *mṛṇālam ca bisānvitam*, Caraka, Cikitsā. 11, 78; *bisāni ca mṛṇālam ca*...., ibid. v. 82; *bisa-mṛṇāla-kaṣeruka-sṛṅgāṭaka*....., Suśruta, Sūtra. Ch. 21.) and must originally have meant the stem of plants like water-lily, lotus, etc. The water-lily grows a bulbous (egg-shaped) container of seeds and the lotus, one which looks like a horse's hoof with a circular flat top gradually tapering downwards until it joins the stem; both of these are edible (*i.e.*, only the seeds). The former¹ may be the *āṇḍika*- and the latter the *śaphaka*-². The three pairs of words in the above verse stand in such a way that one in each pair seems to be the subject of *sām tanoti* and the other its object, thus: "The water-lily spreads the 'egg-like' (at the top), the (lily)-stem—the lily-root (down), (and) the lotus-root—the 'hoof-like' (at the top)". This would imply emendation of *śaphako* to *-kaṁ*. A similar emendation seems to be required also for *vitato* and *vāhiṣṭho* (as emended by Wh.) in a, which would then agree with *viṣṭāriṇam* and thus leave *eṣāḥ* free to be the subject of *paktvā* and *ā viveṣa*.

āśuṅgā-

nir balāse 'tāḥ prā patā 'śuṅgāḥ śiśukó yathā: ātho īta iva hāyanó 'pa drāhy āvirahā. 6.14.3.

Previous Scholars: 'he balāsa.....yathā yena prakāreṇa āśuṅgaḥ aśugāmī śiśukaḥ etatsamjño mṛgo dūram dhūvati tadvat gaccha'.—Sāyana.

¹ It is interesting to note that it is called *bhēṭ* in Bengali, while what is known as 'egg-fruit' in English is called *bhāṭā* in Hindi.

² *Ṣaphaka* in Āp. Śr. 9. 14. 14, *kṛṣṇājinaṁ kūṭo vā karṇo vā gardabho hariṇo vā harinapṛṇākā vā śyāmāka-pātro vā śaphako ve'ti vijñāyate*, is explained by the commentator as 'a deer that has lost a hoof' and Caland follows him in his translation.

"M. wohl so v. als *āsuga*, N.eines Thieres, vielleicht eines Vogels. Möglich ist die Auffassung (in AV.): wie ein Füllen, das zum Rosse (*āsu*) ¹läuft."—BR. "Fly forth from here, O *balāsa*, as a swift foal (after the mare). And even, as the reed in every year, pass away without slaying men".—Bloomfield. "Fly forth, O *balāsa*, like a young *aṣuṃgā*,"—Whitney.

In the present reading it is doubtful whether we have to take *āsuṃgāh* or *śisukāh* as the substantive. If following BR. and Whitney we take the former as a noun, denoting some bird, and *śisukāh* as its adjective, the comparison falls flat, since a young bird can hardly fly. On the other hand, if *āsuṃgā-* is an adjective, the formation causes difficulty. As a rule, when, in a compound word, a nominal stem has a nasal just before the verbal root following it, it is simply the sign of the accusative of that stem. *Āsu-* being an adverb can only have *āsu* in the accusative. The only other apparent exception to this rule is *makṣuṃgamā-* in *makṣuṃgamābhīr utībhiḥ* RV.8.22.16 [cf. Wack. 2. 1. § 86 (e). n: Ved. Gr. §. 276 (p. 164. fn. 5.)]. But *makṣuṃgamā-* may be explained as meaning 'going to the quick (in sacrifice)', not 'quickly-going'.

Śisu (kā)- means 'the young of an animal or man' and it often stands for the calf as in RV. 2.34.8, *dhenūr nā śisve*: the latter may be its meaning also here, its running away (at the approach of man, owing to nervousness), which is the point of comparison, being well-known. In view of this *-tā' suṃgāh* may be considered a corruption for *-ta aśṛṅgāh*, helped by the pronunciation of *ṛ* as *ru* in some parts of Southern India, cf. *tābhi śṛuṭó, sruṭó*, or *stutó* for *bhis-tṛptó* in AV. 19.4.1d (Wh.'s notes). *Aśṛṅgāh* 'hornless' would imply that the calf is very young and would thereby support the point of comparison.

āsrāvā-

yāthā dyām ca pṛthivīm cā'ntās tiṣṭhati téjanam: evā rōgam cā' srāvām cā'ntās tiṣṭhatu mūñja it. 1. 2. 4.

ād angā kuvid angā satām yā bheṣajāni te: tēṣām asi tvām uttamām anāsrāvām ārogaṇam 2. 3. 2. nīcāḥ khaṇanty āsurā arusāṇam idām mahāt: tād āsrāvāsyā bheṣajān tād u rōgam anīśat. v. 3. (of which c and d are repeated as c and d of vs. 4 and 5).

śatām yū bheṣajāni te sahasraṁ sāṁgatāni ca : śreṣṭham āsrāvā-bheṣajām vāsīṣṭham rogaṇāśanam. 6. 44. 2.

Previous Scholars : Sāyaṇa explains āsrāvā- as mūtrātisāra-(diabetes) in 1.2.4, *atisārā-timūtra-nāḍīraṇādayaḥ* (diarrhoea, diabetes, ulcer, etc.) in 2.3.2, and *raktasrāva-* (bleeding) in 6.44.2. "Ein Körperschaden, Gebrechen",—BR. 'Diarrhoea',—Bloomfield and Grill. The latter remarks (p.80): "2.b. āsrāvā nicht: Fluss, eiternde Wunde,... sondern... Durchfall (Dārila: *atisāra*). Die dreimalige Zusammenstellung mit *rōga* lässt für letzteres die Bedeutung: Leibweh (cf. *rūj* f.) annehmen (so ist z.B. *gīroroga*=*gīrśakti* Kopfweh bei Dār)." "Āsrāvā is rendered by the indefinite term 'flux', its specific meaning being uncertain;" —Whitney, under 2.3.2.

It seems to me that the specific meaning 'bleeding' is required in all the above occurrences of āsrāvā. The following are the reasons: (1) AV. 1. 2. is about the defiance (v. 2) and avoidance (v. 3) of the arrows of the enemy. V. 4. would fit in with the other verses only if it relates to a wound already made and its cure; otherwise, as Whitney suggests, it would seem unconnected. See Kauś., 14. 7 and 12, and Whitney's introduction to the hymn. (2) Hymn 2. 3. contains the word *arusrāṇa-* 'wound-healer' twice (vs. 2 and 5), and appears to be directed only against the healing of wounds and stoppage of bleeding. (3) *Rōga-*, found in every case with āsrāvā-, seems to have a special meaning here, probably a derivative and archaic one, 'wound', lit. 'breach (in the body)': *rūj-* 'to break'. This would help to clear the obscurity of the second half of the first verse quoted above, showing at the same time its special connection with āsrāvā-, and would also give a point to 6. 44. 1: "The heaven has stopped, the earth has stopped, this whole world has stopped: the erect sleeping trees have stopped, may this thy wound (i.e., its bleeding) stop." And lastly (4), 6. 44. 3 contains the word *vātīkṛta-nāśanī* which as shown by Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 389, means 'healer of the wound'. Thus all the three hymns in which āsrāvā- is found are solely directed towards the healing of wounds.¹

¹ *Vātīkṛta-* is found again at 6. 109. 3 together with *kṛpta-* ('bruised', Wh.) and *ativeddhā-* ('pierced'), and *vātīkāra-* at 9.8(13).20 together with *visalpā-*, *vidradhā-* and *alajī-*, all referring to an abscess or boil of some kind. Zimmer identifies *vāta-* with Germ. 'Wunde'. It

uttaradrāv

*meśā iva vai sām ca vi co'rv ācyase yād uttaradrāv ūparaś
ca khādathaḥ : śīrṣṇā śīrō 'psasā 'pso ardayann amśūn babhasti
hāritebhir āsābhīḥ. 6. 49. 2.*

Previous Scholars: Sāyaṇa, following Kauś. 46. 14, considers all the three verses in the hymn as addressed to Agni by the pupil on the occasion of his preceptor's cremation. His reading is slightly different, having *ucyase* (< *uc samavāye*) for *ācyase* in a, *aparaḥ* for *ūparaḥ* in b and *bibhasti* (= *bhaksayati*) in d. He explains *uttaradrāv* either as *upary-avasthita-kūṣṭha-yukte dāhyaśarīre* or *utkṛṣṭataradrume mahāvṛkṣabhūyisṭhe vane* and supplies *Agniḥ* as subject of *babhasti* in d. "wie ein beutel [blasbalg] ziehst du zusammen weit dann auseinander dich, wenn der oben laufende [uttara-drāv ?] stein und untere freszen, [drängend kopf an kopf, wange an wange frisst er die stängel mit grünem maul."—Ludwig, p. 432. "Like a ram, thou art bent together and wide apart, when in the upper wood the upper and the lower stone devour; exciting (*ard*) head with head, breast (*āpsas*) with breast, he gnaws the soma-stalks with green mouths."—Whitney.

The verse is one of three forming a hymn, which seem to have been originally unconnected (see Whitney, introduction to the hymn). As it stands it hardly gives any connected sense, and the text (given by Wh. in the notes) as found in Ppp., KS., or Āp. Śr. is still worse. The correct reading seems to be : *meśā iva vai sām ca vi co 'rv ācyase yād uttara dvāv ūparaś
ca khādathaḥ : śīrṣṇā śīrō 'psasā 'pso ardayann amśūn babhatsi
hāritebhir āsābhīḥ*. "Like a ram, thou art bent together and wide apart, when, O upper stone, thou and the lower one, the two, devour; pressing head with head, breast with breast, thou gnawest the soma-stalks with green mouths."

As Whitney also has suggested alternatively, the action of the stones here is compared to that of the rams, butting and drawing back, in a ram-fight, a favourite pastime even now in India. The corruption would be explained by a graphic confusion in the change from *dvā-* (द्व) to *drā-* (द्र), followed by an emendation of *khādathaḥ* to *-taḥ*, and a metathesis in *babhatsi*

seems to contain a root *van-* 'to cut' which is probably to be traced also in *van-vāna-* 'wood', *vaṁśā-* 'bamboo' (cf. *vṛkṣa-* 'tree': *vraśc-* 'to cut') *vāśi-* 'axe' etc. If this is identical with *van-* 'to like', 'to enjoy', the development of meaning may be traced thus: 'to cut' > 'to divide' > 'to share' > 'to enjoy'.

to -*sti*, the former being the second person, singular, present of root *bhas-*, viz., **babhas-si* (for change of *s* to *t*, cf. Wack. I. 153).

Similar must be the case with *babhasti* in v. 1 of the same hymn, *nahí te Agne tanvāḥ krūrām ānāmsa mártyaḥ : kapí babhasti téjanam svām jarāyu garú iva*, which Whitney translates, "Surely no mortal, O Agni, hath attained the cruelty of thy self (*tanú*). The ape gnaws (*bhas*) the shaft (*téjana*) as a cow her own after-birth." Here the second half-verse as it stands, presents no traceable connection with the first, and as nothing is known about the ape's gnawing a shaft, the comparison is obscure. But an emendation of *babhasti* to -*tsi* and *téjanam* to *te jánam* not only brings out a good sense, but also supports Kausika's injunctions: "The tawny one, thou gnawest thine own man (i.e., worshipper, namely, my preceptor), like a cow her after-birth." For *kapí-* in the sense of 'tawny', cf. Abhidhāna-Rājendra, s.v. *kavi*, and also *kapila-* and *kapīṣa-*.

ṛdantu

Índra jahi púmāmsam yātudhānam utā strigam māyāyā śāsādānām : vigrīvāso nūradevā ṛdantu mā té dṛśant sūryam uccārantam. 8. 4. 24.=RV. 7. 104. 24.

Previous Scholars: *ṛdantu*=*naśyantu*, *śāsādānām*=*himśantīm*.—Sāyaṇa, RV. and AV. BR., followed by Grassmann, consider it a form of *√ard-* and give the meaning 'in Bewegung (der Theile) gerathen, zerstieben, sich auflösen'. "O Indra, frappe le sorcier mâle | et la femelle qui s'enorgueillit de sa magie : || que le démons au col tors soient anéantis : | qu'ils ne voient pas le soleil se lever."—Henry. "O Indra, smite the man sorcerer, likewise the woman who is prevailing with magic (*māyā*); let the neckless false-worshippers vanish (*ṛd*); let them not see the sun moving upwards."—Whitney, with the remark, "The obscure *ṛdantu* is glossed by the comm. with *naśyantu*".

Besides here the root *ṛd-* is found in the following typical instances: (a) *ārdra-* RV. 1. 116. 4, 2. 13. 6, AV. 1. 32. 8, and in the compounds °*dānu-* AV. 16. 3. 4, VS. 18. 45, °*pavi-* AV. 16. 3. 4, °*pavitra-* AV. 9. 6. 27, °*hasta-* AV. 12. 3. 13; (b) *ṛdu-* in *ṛdūdāra-*, epithet of Rudra RV. 2. 33. 5, of Mitra, Varuṇa, and the Ādityas *ib.* 3. 54. 10, of Soma *ib.* 8. 48. 10, and *ṛdūpē* (p. *ṛdu*° *pē*) and *ṛdūvṛdhā* (p. *ṛdu*° *vṛdhā*) RV. 8. 77. 11;

(c) *ārdan dhānvāni* RV. 4. 17. 2; (d) *kāṭām ardati* AV. 12. 4. 3; (e) *ardati* 'to pray,' *ardanā-* 'prayer,' later Sans.; (f) *prārdayo nīcīr apāsah samudrām* RV. 6. 17. 12; (g) *udadhīm ardāya* AV. 4. 15. 6,—*ardayāti* ib. v. 11; (h) *pārāñcam śūsman ardāya* AV. 6. 65. 1, (i) *vṛtrām ardāy-* RV. 1. 187. 1, 10. 142. 2, *Āyām Kūtsam, Atithigvām*....8.53.2 *vī parirāpaḥ*....2.23.14; (j) *śiṣṇā śirō 'psasā 'pso ardāyan* AV. 6. 49. 2 and later Sans.

Outside Sanskrit it is found in the Gr. verb *ἄρδω*, *ἄρδευω* 'to sprinkle, to water' and in the derivatives, *ἄρδμός* 'water for sprinkling,' *ἄρδύιον* 'vase of water'; also in Av. *arədvī* 'goddess of the waters.'—Boisacq, Greek Dictionary, s.v. *ἄρδω*.

All facts considered, the original meaning appears to be, (1) 'to be or make wet or watery,' from which, through association of ideas, must have developed the following meanings: (2) from the impression of running water or rainfall, (i) 'to glide,' (ii) 'to fall'; (3) from moistening one's heart through prayer, 'to pray, to ask for'; (4) in the causatives, (i) 'to make something, such as water, glide,' (ii) 'to make fall,' 'to send down rain,' etc., (iii) 'to make an enemy fall,' i.e., 'to defeat or kill'; (5) from 4 (iii) 'to press or oppress.'¹

We shall now see how these meanings fit in with the above typical instances.

To begin with, (a) *ārdrā-* not only means 'wet' (i.e., soaked with water) as in RV. 2. 13. 6, *yó bhōjanam ca dāyase ca vārdhanam ārdṛād ā śūskaṁ mādhumad dudōhitha*, but also 'watery' (i.e., composed wholly of water) as in RV. 1. 116. 4, *tisrāḥ kṣāpas trīr āhā 'tivrājadbhir Nāsatyā Bhujyūm ūhathuk patāṅgaḥ: samudrāsya dhānvann ārdṛāsya pārē tribhī rāthaiḥ*

¹ Prof. Sieg thinks there are probably two different roots, (1) *ṛd-* 'to water' contained in the Gr. and Av. instances, in *ārdrā-*, and probably in *ṛdu-*, and (2) *ṛd-* 'to fall' contained in the other instances. But considering the relationship of *dru-* 'to melt,' and *dru-* 'to glide,' 'to run fast,' of *gal-* 'to melt' and *gal-* 'to slip or fall,' H. *girnā* 'to fall,' and of Eng. verbs *drip* and *drop*, it seems not unlikely that they are one and the same root in different stages of development of meanings. Walde, s.v. *erl-* "(zer)fließen, Feuchtigkeit," also connects *ardati*, *ṛdāti* 'flows, etc.', *ardayāti* 'kills, etc.', *ārdrā-* 'wet,' *ṛduḥ-* 'moisture', and Av. *arədvī-*, although he separates Gr. *ἄρδω* etc., from this group.

śatāpadbhiḥ śālasvaiḥ, and in *ādrādānu-* 'having watery drops,' cf. VS. 18. 45, *samudrō 'si nābhasvān ādrādānuḥ*.

(b) Yāska, Nir. 6. 8, equates *ṛdūdāra-* with *mṛdūdāra-* and is followed by Sāyaṇa and BR., the latter giving the meaning 'mild, sanft, gnädig.' Following the traditional accentuation Grassmann splits up the word into *ṛdu'dāra-* (suggested also by BR.); the pada-text does not divide it. As there is hardly another instance of loss of an initial *m*, Grassmann is evidently right in holding that an element *ṛdu*¹ (which has nothing to do with *mṛdu*-) is to be seen in the three words *ṛdūdāra-*, *ṛdūpé*, and *ṛdūvṛdhā*. *Ṛdūdāra-* probably has the same meaning as *vapódāra-* in RV. 8. 17. 8, *twigrīvo vapódāraḥ subāhūr āndhaso mādē: Índro vṛtrāṇi jighnate*, which does not appear to mean 'obese' as taken by Grassmann, but rather 'one having fat (here a special variety of it, namely, ghee) in his stomach' (like *vājajathara-*, epithet of *gharmā-*, 5. 19. 4); cf. the epithets, *ghṛtānnau* RV. 6. 67. 8, *ghṛtāsutī* 1. 136. 1, 2. 41. 6, and *ghṛtāyonī* 5. 62. 2 of *Mitrā-Vāruṇā*, *ghṛtāsutī* 6. 69. 6 of *Índrā-Viṣṇu*, and *ghṛtāsrī* 10. 65. 2, *ghṛtāsnū-* 9. 88. 5, of Soma. Compare also *vapūvanti-*, epithet of Agni RV. 6. 1. 3, with *ghṛtāvantaṁ yónim* of Agni RV. 10. 91. 4. Thus *ṛdu* = *vapū-* or *ghṛtā-* (: *ṛd* with meaning 2. i.), and the second element is *udāra-*, not *dāra-*.

This meaning of *ṛdu*- suits also RV. 8. 77. 11, *tuviḥśām te súkṛtaṁ sūmayāṁ dhānuḥ sādḥūr bundó hiranyáyaḥ: ubhā te bāhū rānyā sūsaṁskṛtā ṛdūpé cid ṛdūvṛdhā*, of which the fourth pāda seems to have presented a difficulty ever since the time of Yāska. Sāyaṇa simply quotes Yāska, Nir. 6. 8, '*eṣā nirukte ekam api padaṁ viḥāya Yāskena vyākhyātā, tad eva likhyate. tuviḥśām bahuvikṣepaṁ mahāvikṣepaṁ te sukṛtaṁ sūmayāṁ susukhaṁ dhanuḥ sādḥayitā te bundo hiranyāṇyaḥ: ubhā te bāhū ranyau ramanīyau sāmgrāmyau va' rdupe ardana-pātinau marmany ardanavedhinau vā*.' How the form *ṛdūpé* (not, however, considered a *pragṛhya* in the pada) can qualify, as an adjective, a masculine noun *bāhū* does not appear. BR. and Grassmann take it to mean 'Biene oder ein anderes süßigkeit suchendes Thier, f.'; but even then the force of *cid* 'even'

¹ For this word, see also IF 2, 27.

is lost and we have to assume it here as equivalent to *iva*. It is probably the locative singular of *ṛdupá-*, 'in the sucking of butter,' used in a verbal sense like *avaghrāḥ* (= *avaghrāṇam* 'smelling') in *Āp. Śr.* 8. 16. 3, 12; 13. 17. 9; 15. 11. 14. The adj. *súsamskṛta-* 'well-polished' seems also to imply the rubbing of Indra's arms with ghee (or some other oily substance), which would afterwards shine and thus give out all the more the gloss due to it (*ṛdūvfdh-*). Thus we may translate: "Many-killing, well-made, well-finished is thy bow, magnificent, golden is (thy) arrow: both thy arms are fit for the fight (*rāṇya-* < *rāṇa-* 'fight'), well-polished, which, even in sucking butter, are butter-increasing."

(c) *Ārdan dhānvāni* in *RV.* 4. 17. 2, *táva tviṣó jānīman rejata dyaúr éjad bhūtmir bhiyāsā svāsya manyóḥ: ṛghāyānta subhṛāḥ párvatāsa ārdan dhānvāni sarāyanta āpaḥ*, probably means 'the dry lands became wet' (1),¹ cf. the contrast between the wet sea and the dry land in *RV.* 1. 116. 4, quoted above, and *dhānvant srótaḥ kṛṇute* ib. 1. 95. 10a or *ire 'va dhānvan ní jajāsa te viṣám* *AV.* 5. 13. 1.

(d) *Kātām ardati* in *AV.* 12. 4. 3, *kūḍāyā 'sya sám śīryante slonāyā kātām ardati: baṇḍāyā dahyante grhāḥ kāṇḍāyā dīyate svām*, definitely means 'falls into a pit'.

(e) *Ardati* in the sense of 'requesting, praying (3)' is found only in classical Sanskrit, as in *Raghuvamśa* 5. 17,.....
nirgalitāmbugarbhaṁ śaradghanam nā 'rdati cātako 'pi.

(f) In the instance quoted above it means 'thou madest (the waters) glide forward (4. i.)'.

¹ Prof. Sieg thinks that here too, as in (d), the root *ṛd-* means 'to fall', the imagery, according to him, being that the mountains dropped down stones on to the dry land and water below, and made the latter move. He, together with several other authorities, considers that the passage refers to the violent movements on the earth's surface during a volcanic eruption or earthquake. This, however, is not sufficiently clear from the context, which seems rather to indulge in a glorification of Indra by stating that fixed states of things alter when he is angry, cf. in particular v. 13. Another objection is that the construction of the verse is such as to imply that *dhānvāni* and *āpaḥ* are as much subjects to the verbs attached to them as *dyaúr*, *bhūtmir* and *párvatāsaḥ* to those attached to them.

(g) In the AV. instances quoted above it means 'send down (the cloud) (4. ii)'.

(h) *Áva manyúr ávā 'yatā 'va bāhū manoyújā : parāśara tvām tēsām parāñcam śuśmam ardayā 'dhā no rayīm ā kṛdhi*, AV. 6. 65. 1, is translated by Whitney: "Down (*áva*) be the fury, down the drawn [arrow], down the mind-yoked arms. O demolisher (*parāśara*), do thou vex (*ard*) away the vehemence (*śuśma*) of them; then get us wealth." I think *d* rather means, 'do thou make their vehemence fall far away (4. ii)'.

(i) In the defeating or killing of enemies the idea of making them fall (4. iii) is prominent.

(j) *śīrṣṇā śīrō 'psasā 'pso ardāyan ainsūn babhasti hārītebhir āsābhīh*, 6. 49. 2. Whitney has 'exciting (*ard*) head with head, breast (*āpsas*) with breast', etc. It rather means 'pressing (5) head with head', etc. *Ardati* in this sense is common in later Sanskrit.

Edantu in the verse under discussion appears to contain the root-aorist stem and to mean 'fall' (2. ii). Accordingly our verse may be translated: "O Indra, slay the male sorcerer and the female, shining forth with magic; let the root-devotees fall neckless (on the ground); may they not see the rising sun." ¹

ēru-

*udaprūto Marūtas tā iyarta vṛṣṭīr yā vīśvā nivātas pṛṇāti :
ējāti glāhā kanyē 'va tūnnāi 'ruṁ tūndānā pātye 'va jāyā.
6. 22. 3.=TS. 3. 1. 11⁸, with variants:.....Marutas.....
vṛṣṭīm yē vīśve Marūto junānti: krósāti gārdā.....pérūm
tuñjāntā.....*

V. l.: Ppp., with the majority of SPP.'s authorities and some of Wh.'s (P.M.), reads *udaplūtas*. One of Wh.'s (W.) mss., three of SPP.'s, and apparently also the commentator's text have *glāhā* for *glāhā*.—See Wh.'s notes.

¹ The meaning 'to shine forth, to become prominent', given by Grassmann as the first meaning of *śād-*, seems to suit all the Rigvedic occurrences. *Mātardevāḥ* are those who are devoted to the roots, as means of sorcery, as the *Ṛis* to the gods. It does not necessarily imply literally worshipping the roots, but simply expecting everything through their help, as others do through that of the gods. For Fuller discussion, see *s.v.* below.

Pada.....*tān*.....*yāḥ viśvāḥ*.....*pātyā iva*....

Previous Scholars: Sāyaṇa on AV: "he Marutaḥ udaprutaḥ udaksya prerakān tān meghān iyartā prerayata.....yā yadiyā yeṣān meghānām sambandhinī vṛṣṭiḥ viśvā viśvānī vṛhiyavādīnī nivataḥ nimnagāminīr nadīś ca prṇāti pūrayati:..... gahlayati kutsayati bhītim utpādayatīti gahlā stanayimurūpā mādhyamikā vāk:..... yathā tunnā dāridryādibhiḥ pīḍita kanyā mātāpitrādīn kampayati tadvat.....erum gantārān meghān prāpya tuñjānā ābhāṣamāṇā dhvanantī....patyā sahita jāyeva...."

The commentary on the TS. is essentially the same except for slight modifications required by the text. Pischel, Ved. Stud., I. 81-85, has a long discussion on this verse, and after trying to show, — *tā*=*tām*; *gārda*-synonymous with *glāha*-, both adj. meaning 'lascivious'; *pēru*-<√*pī* and *ēru*-<√*ir*, both synonymous, meaning 'penis', and *tuñjāntī* or *tūndānā*, passive— he translates: "O ihr Maruts, im Wasser schwimmend, sendet solchen Regen herab, dass er alle Thäler Anfülle. Er möge herabstürzen wie ein geiles Mädchen (sich heftig bewegt), wenn sie gebraucht wird (*tunnā*), wie eine Frau, wenn ihr von dem Manne der penis eingestossen wird." Whitney renders,— "Water-swimming are the Maruts; send ye that rain which shall fill all the hollows; the *glāhā* shall bestir itself, like a girl that is thrust, thrusting the *ēru*, like wife with husband," and remarks, "The text of this verse is hopelessly corrupt, and all attempts to make connected sense of the second half must apparently be (like that of Pischel in Ved Stud. I. 81. ff.) forced and unsuccessful". See his elaborate notes.

It seems necessary first of all to try to reconstruct the original text and to find out the value, grammatical or otherwise, of the obscure words. *Udaprūto Marutas* of TS. may be accepted, the first qualifying *nivātas* and the second being a vocative. *Tā* stands for *tāḥ*, qualifying *nivātas*, the Anunāsika standing merely to prevent a hiatus, cf. *aminantā evaiḥ* RV. 1. 79. 2, *ksā nā bhīṣṭā adriyaḥ* ib. 1. 133. 6, *striyaḥ satīś tā* (p. *tā*) *u me pūmsā āhuḥ* ib. 1. 164. 16, etc., and Wack. I. § 267. *γ*. The *b* of TS. is simply a substitution, due to reminiscence, of *b* of RV. 5. 58. 3. *Glāhā* is a simplification to a better known word of *gālhā* (see *v.l.* above), which must have come out of *gāldā*, a variant of *gārdā*, through a confusion of *d* (द) and *h* (ह) cf. *hāsyān āhāsyān* in some mss. for *dāsyān ādāsyān* AV. 6. 71. 3 (in Wh.'s collation book), *āhuta*, variant of *ād uta* AV. 19. 2. 5 (Wh.'s notes), etc. *Ēru*- in AV. must be a corruption for *pēru*, occasioned through a confusion of *e* (ए) and *p* (प), cf. *v.l.* to *Parīṣiṣṭas* of the AV., XLVIII. 116, where mss. A.E.T.V. read *pelava* for *aīlava*; Ch. 8. चंतु। पनान for चंतु। एनान

AV. 8. 8. 3, and footnote to *ālpasayu*. *Krósāti* in TS. is due to a remembrance of Nigh. 1. 11, where *galdā-* is considered a synonym of *vāc-*. *Pátyeva* is for *pátya iva* < *pátye iva*, an instance of double Sandhi, cf. *vándaneva* for *vándanaḥ iva* AV. 7. 115. 2, *kṛtyéti* for *kṛtye iti* 10. 1. 15, *vāteva* for *vātaḥ iva*, *úcchiṣaiṣām* for *úcchiṣaḥ eṣām* (as shown by meter) AV. 10. 1. 17, etc. *Jāyéva pátye* is a favourite Vedic expression, here inverted for the sake of meter, cf. *jāyéva pátye tanvām riricyām* RV. 10. 10. 7, which contains the same idea as here, and also RV. 1. 124. 7, 10. 71. 4. Or, probably *va* is to be read here instead of *iva* as in a number of instances in the RV., cf. Grassmann, Wört., s.v. *iva*. *Tuñjānā* as read by the commentator and the TS. will be found a better reading than *túndānā*.

Thus the reconstructed text would be (in pada-pāṭha):
udaprútaḥ Marutaḥ tāḥ iyarla vṛṣṭiḥ yāḥ víśvāḥ nivátaḥ
prñāti: éjāti galdā kanyā iva tunnā pérum tuñjānā pátye iva
jāyā.

We have now to find out the meanings of *galdā-* and *péru-*. Keśavasvāmin, a very careful and well-read lexicographer (see Introduction to Kalpadrukośa, GOS. XLII, vol. I, p. xxxviii f.), gives the meaning 'stream or current' to *gardā*: *gardā strī dravadhārāyām dhamanīṣu ca vāci nā*. The other two meanings, viz., 'veins' and 'speech', must have come out of a metaphorical use of the word,—'veins' and 'speech' considered as streams. This is apparently supported by the Nighaṇṭu, which, besides counting *galdā-* among the homonymous words at 4. 3, has at 1. 11: *ślokaḥ | dhārā | dhamānī | nālīḥ | galdā | sūraḥ | suparnī | bekure 'ti saptaapañcāśud vānāmāni*. Even a cursory glance at the Nighaṇṭu will suffice to show that the words given there as 'names' of a certain thing are not to be taken literally as synonyms. They are in almost every case a motley collection of synonyms as well as of words adjectively or metaphorically used in reference to the object in question. The same must be the case here, as the selected words given above will show. Nir. 1. 6. 24 has, "*galdā dhamanayo bhavanti galanam āsu dhīyate: 'ā tvā viśantv indava ā galdā dhamānīnām*" (found in M. Śr., and elsewhere with variants: see Ved. Concord.); *nānā-*

vibhakty ete bhavataḥ, āgalanā dhamanīnām ity atrā 'rthaḥ." As a matter of fact, the meaning 'stream' is what is required here, —'let the drops (of soma) enter thee, enter the streams of thy veins'. The other known occurrence of the word is in RV. 8. 1. 20=SV. I.4.1.2.5: *mā (ā, SV.)tvā sōmasya gāldayā sādā yācann ahām girā (jyā, SV.): bhūrṇīm mṛgām nā sāvaneṣu cukrudham kā īśānam nā yāciṣat.* "May I not, asking always (for something) with streams of soma, (and) with prayer, anger thee in the libations, like a (wild) beast; who would not beg of the lord?" Cf. *sōmasya dhārā* RV. 9. 80. 1, and many other instances where *dhārā* stands for the stream of soma, Grassmann, Wört., s.v. *dhārā*. The above two will, I think, explain why the Nigh. grouped *dhamānī-* and *gāldā-* among the names of speech. H. *gād* f. 'impure liquor from an indigo vat', Beng. *gād* 'foamy dirt on the surface of a liquid, such as treacles', are probably the same word as *gāldā-*, the meaning having conceivably been transferred from the foamy surface of a stream, when full.

Péru- appears to be only a bye-form of *pera-* or *pela-* 'testicles'. For alternates of *a* and *u*, see above under *ákṣu*. As a matter of fact Vj. 178, 126 has *pheluka-*, *astriyo muṣkakosāṇḍāḥ pheluko vṛṣaṇo 'ṇḍukaḥ*. Here it stands for the female generating organ; cf. *muṣká* 'testicles' used in the same sense, *amúṣyā ádhi muṣkáyoh* AV. 6. 138. 5, *arūyān asyā muṣkábhyaṁ bhāmsasó 'pa hanmasi* 8. 6. 5. Transference of meaning from 'testicles' to the 'generating organ' is also found in Hindi *ūṛ*, Beng. *ēr* 'penis' < *āṇḍa-* 'testicles'. For use of singular instead of dual, cf. *ūrum* in AV. 14. 2. 39, *ū rohó 'rum úpa dhatsva hástam*, etc. Kautsavya Nighaṇṭu, *Parisiṣṭas* of the AV., p. 315, 124, has [*paraṁgativilike* (v.l., *ṭilike*, *paraṁgativilike*, *paraṁgati°*)] *iti strīprajānanasya*, which, as it stands, does not give any sense. As this Nigh. professes to be particularly attached to the AV., we may expect to find these words in the latter. The correct reading may probably be *perv-aṅga-tauvilikā iti*, etc., of which *péru-* is found here, referring to the female organ (*strīprajānana-*), *āṅgena* in *evā te śépaḥ sáhasā 'yām arkó 'ngenā 'ṅgam sámsamakam kṛṇotu* 6. 72. 1, and *taúvilikā* in *taúviliké 've 'layā 'vā 'yām ailabá ailayīt* 6. 16. 3, whose meaning is not certain, but may possibly be the same.

Thus we may translate: "O Maruts, impel those hollows (*viz.*, rivers, lakes, etc.), over-flowing with water, all of which the rain fills up: may the current heave like a maiden, struck, (or) a wife offering (*lit.*, thrusting forth) her member for the husband."

The comparison is between the undulation of water, stirred by the wind, and the rising and falling of the breast of a girl, sobbing when she is beaten, or of a wife, due to the agitation in *coitus*. For *tunnā*, cf. *grāvnā tunnó abhiṣṭutaḥ pavitraṁ soma gacchasi* RV. 9. 67. 17, and for *tuñjānā*, cf. *āthā 'bhava syena-bhṛta prāyāmsi rayīm tūñjāno abhi vājam arṣa* RV. 9. 87. 6. For a similar idea as in d, cf. RV. 5. 61. 3, 10. 10. 8, 10. 86. 6, etc.

kākutsala-

asaú hū ihā te mānaḥ kākutsalam iva jāmāyaḥ: abhy enān bhūma ūrṇuhi. 18. 4. 66.

Previous Scholars: The commentator reads *kākutsthala-*, explaining it either as the head or the part of body just below the neck. "Dieser [N.] du hast deinem geist gelassen [kākutsalam? kutsalām es ist um eine silbe zuviel; jāmāyaḥ kann nicht richtig sein, wenn es von jāmi stammen soll. Vielleicht ist es jā-māyaḥ] als erdegebildeter den im haupte wandelnden [kākut-sala] |, bedeck ihn rings, o erde!"].—Ludwig, p. 492. "Thou yonder, ho! hither thy mind; as sisters (*jāmi*) a *kākutsala*, do thou cover him, O earth".—Whitney. "The translation implies the evidently necessary emendation to *āsau* in a; both editions give *asaú* because this is read by all mss. The comm. understands the word as vocative. . . . The Pet. Lexx. conjecture *kākutsala* to be a pet word for a little child".—*ib.*, notes.

The correct reading seems to be *kākutsthala* as read by the commentator, the *th* having been dropped by manuscript corruption. Such dropping of the last of three consonants coming together is found elsewhere, cf., for instance, *ārśá-* for *ārśyá-* at 4. 4. 5, and *krīmasvārśa* for *-rśya* at v. 5, *kṣiṅkaḥ* for *kṣvi-* in two of Wh.'s mss. at 8. 3. 7, *dhukṣa* for *-kṣva* in several mss. at 10. 9. 13d., *budhnāt* for *-dhnyāt* in three of Wh.'s at 4. 1. 5, etc. *Kakūt-*, usually 'the hump of a bull', also signifies any raised place or prominence, and in *kākutsthala-* it may stand for 'the buttocks of a woman', as it certainly does in *kakudmatī-* 'waist', *lit.*, 'having a hump'. The difference in accent is

undoubtedly due to the unintelligibility of the word. This meaning would give a point to the comparison, suggesting a complete and careful covering of the bone-relics to which they refer: ".....like women their buttocks, do thou cover him round, O earth".

kanāknaka-

yād agnau sūrye viśām pṛthivyām ōsadhīṣu yāt : kāndāviśām kanāknām niratv atīte te viśām. 10. 4. 22.

Previous Scholars: The commentary is wanting. BR. consider each of *kāndāviśā-* and *kanāknaka-* a different variety of poison. Ludwig, Henry and Whitney do not translate the two words. Bloomfield, who agrees with them in not translating, remarks at p. 603, "Kāndāviśam and kanaknakam are ἄν. λεγ.; it is not even certain that the latter refers to a particular substance: the word may be an adjective qualifying kāndāviśam. It seems to be an intensive formation from root Kan."

As suggested by Bloomfield, *kanāknaka-* appears to contain an intensive stem of root *kan* 'to be bright'. The last *-ka* is, of course, a diminutive suffix. The *a-* vowel, instead of *i*, between the two parts of the reduplicated root is as in *carācarā-*, *calācalā-*, *ghanāghanā-*, etc., while its lengthening is prevented by the following conjunct, just as in the case of the *i*-vowel, cf. Whitney, Sans. Gram. §1002. III f; Brugmann, Grund. §467. The syncope in the second part is just like that in *pānīpnat-*: *pan-*. Thus *kanāknaka-* would mean 'bright', 'glistening', while *kāndāviśā-* evidently means 'root-poison' (*kanda-* 'root', for length of the second vowel cf. *sahāsrāmagha-*, *āśvāmagha-*, etc.). I should think from the first hemistich that the former refers to the poison (of a serpent) that is in the fire or in the sun, which would, of course, be bright, while the latter to that on the earth, among the herbs.

kamāla-

yāḥ kṛṇōti mṛtāvatsām dvatokām imām strīyam : tām ōsadhē tvām nāśayā 'syāḥ kamālam aṅjivām. 8. 6. 9.

Previous Scholars: The last pada has been understood variously: '*asyāḥ kamālam garbhadvāram aṅjivam abhivṛkṣmat mākṣanopetam vā.*'—Sāyaṇa; 'und ihre scheide sei glatt,'—Ludwig, p. 524; 'l'âtre lubrique et glissant qui la convoite,'—Henry; "Whoever makes this woman having a dead child (*-vatsā*) or a miscarriage, him, O herb, do thou make disappear, lustful [accusative] for her, slippery."—Whitney.

Kamāla here appears to be the same word as *śamara*-¹ in GBr. I. 2. 18, *tasya ha snātasyā 'śvasyā 'bhyukṣitasya romaśamarebhyo* (cf. *romakūpa*-) *'ngārā āśryanta*, and I. 5. 5, *etāvanta eva puruṣasya peśaśamarāḥ*, where it evidently means 'hole', 'pit', or 'cavity'. It is apparently also identical with Gr. *καμάρη* 'vault', 'ear-hole', etc., Lat. *camero* 'bent', old Pers. *kamara* 'girdle'—Meyer, Handbuch d. Griech. Etymologie,—Goth. *himins*, old H. Germ. old Sax. *himil*, 'heaven', originally 'vault'—Boisacq, Greek Dictionary, s.v. *καμάρη*.

As words denoting 'cavity' or 'hole' such as *bhedā*- (RV.), *kuhara*-, *vivara*- (later Sans.) are often used to denote also the 'puṇḍra' or 'womb', the commentator is apparently right in his conjecture, as the context also shows. *Añji*- in *añjivām* and in VS. 23. 21, *útsakthyā āva guddām dhehi sám añjim cārayā vṛṣan : yá strīnām jīvabhójanaḥ*, seems to stand for 'the seminal fluid', not 'penis' as given in the dictionaries.

kalmali-

*śraddhā puṁścali Mitro māgadho vijñānam vāso 'har usñi-
śam rātrī kēsū hāritau pravartau kalmalīr mañih. 15.2.1(5).*

¹ Alternances of *ś* and *k*, of which the definite conditions are unknown, are found in a number of cases. Wack. I. § 201. a. gives the following instances: *rúśant*- 'bright': *ruc*- 'to light'; *śru*- 'hear': *kárṇa*- 'ear'; *śram*- 'to be tired': *klam*, *klānta*-; *lopśśá*- 'jackal': *lopāka*-; *ś*- 'to crush,' *śpñāti*, *śirṇa*-: Dhp. *kññāti*, *kīrṇa*- 'to harm,' 'to kill'. To these may be added: *krakaśa*-: *krakaca*- 'saw': *yuvśśá*-: *yuvaka*- 'young man,' and, in general, suff. *-śa* (*śśaśa*-, *babhlśśa*- etc.): suff. *-ka*: *sābala*-: *kabara*-, Māgha 5. 19, Halāyudha 4. 56, 'variegated'; *śambara*-: *kumbala*- 'a kind of deer'; *śambu*-, *śambūka* 'snail', 'rice dust': *kambu*-, *kumbūka*-, 'conch,' 'rice dust' (Vj.); element *śar*- in *śarcarī*- 'night', *śāra*-, *sū(śā?)rañga*- 'variegated', element *kar*- in *karvara*-, *karvura*-, *kalmāśa*-, 'variegated', *karvarī*- 'night', Ujjvala, Uṇādi. 2. 123, and *śir*- in *śilpā*- 'variegated', *śirīṇā*- 'night': *kīr*- in *kirmira*- 'variegated,' (all: *ś* *śrai*-, I.-E. *kerā** (Walde) 'to mix,' 'to cook'?); *śarabha*-: *karabha* 'young elephant', 'camel'; *śarkarā*-: *karkara*- 'gravel'; *śāla*-: *kāla*- 'resin,' Kālpadrukośa, 66, 415; *śrūṇa*-: *kāṇa*- 'one-eyed', ib. 51, 279; *kanthā*- 'quilt': *śnath*- 'to pierce' (?); *kārūḍatīn*- 'having broken teeth': **śarus-dat*, root *śṛ*- 'to crush' (?); *śampā*- 'lightning': *kamp*- 'to quake'?, cf. *capalā*-. As *variae lectiones*, *kokū*- for *kośū*- 'name of a river', *vikīrṇa*- for *viśīrṇa*-, BR. s.v. *śar*+*vi*, etc.

uṣāḥ puṁścalī mánthro māgadho vijñānam, etc., v. 2(14).
irā puṁścalī háso māgadho vijñānam, etc., v. 3(19). *vidyút*
puṁścalī stanayitnúr māgadho vijñānam, etc., v. 4 (25).

prá babhráve vṛṣabhāya śviticé mahó mahīm susṭutīm irayāmi :
namasyā kalmalīkinām námobhir grṇímāsi tveṣām Rudrásya
nāma. RV. 2. 33. 8.

tvām Indra śarmāriṇā havyām pārāvatebhyaḥ : viprāya
stuvaté vasuvānim Duraśravasé vaha. AV. 20. 135. 11. (*śarmā*
riṇaḥ, RV., GB., ĀŚ., ŚŚ., AB., KS., of which only ŚŚ. has
 the whole verse, others only the first pāda.—Ved. Concord.).

Previous Scholars : Sāyaṇa on RV. : ‘*jvalato nāmadheyam etat* (Naigh.
 1. 17) : *jvalantam : kalayaty apa gamayati malam iti kalmalīkam tejah :*
tadvantam.’ Grassmann, ‘etwa bunter, funkelnder Glanz.’ Whitney,—
 “...faith is the harlot, Mitra the *māgadha* (bard ?), discernment the
 garment, day the turban, night the hair, yellow the two *pravartās*, *kalmali*
 the jewel (*maṇi*)”, etc.

In form *śarmāri-* in AV. 20. 135. 11 appears to be identical
 with *kalmalī-*, see discussion under *kamāla-*. Now, *śarmāri-* is
 used as an instrument of Indra and *kalmalī-* in the RV. verse
 as something possessed by Rudra. Both these gods have the
 weapon *vāja* ‘thunderbolt’ in common. The first group of
 verses from the AV. relate to the paraphernalia of Vṛātya as
 those of a king. As all the rest of these refer figuratively
 either to abstract qualities or to natural objects or phenomena,
harītau and *kalmalī-* should be expected to do so too. *Harī-*
f.du. in RV. 3. 44. 3, *dyām Índro háridhāyasam prthivīm hāri-*
varpasam : ádhārayad harītor bhūri bhójanam yáyor antár hāris
cārat, probably refers to the two worlds (so also Grassmann).
 The same may be the case here, as *pravartāu* (found also in
 Āp. Śr. 19. 23. 11, 13. 24. 2) means ‘ear-rings’ (Sāyaṇa on
 TS. 2. 3. 11⁴, quoting Āp. Śr.). ‘Thunderbolt’ for *kalmalī-*
 (or *śarmāri-*) would suit here as in the other two passages and
 Whitney’s translation may be modified, “.....the two worlds
 the ear-rings, the thunderbolt the jewel.” AV. 20. 135. 11,
 with the obviously required emendation of *vaha* to *-has* and
Duraśravasé to *Dūra-*, may be translated: “Thou, O Indra,
 with the thunderbolt, broughtest from the Pārāvatas the
 desired (*havyā-*) acquisition of wealth for the wise, singing,
Dūraśravas.”

Kalmali- is probably connected with the group of words containing the element, *śar-*, *śir-*, *kar-*, *kir-* (such as *śarvarī-*, *kalmāśa-* etc., see footnote under *kamāla-*), all meaning 'variegated' and its original meaning might well have been 'many-coloured', 'shining' (cf. the epithets, *darśatā-*, *dyumānt-*, *subhṛā-*, *hāri-*, *hārīta-*, *hiranyāya-*, of *vāja*, Grassmann, s.v. *vāja*).

kumba- — *kurīra-* — *opasā-*

tvām vīrūdhātīm śrēṣṭhatamā 'bhiśrutā 'sy oṣadhe: imām me adyā pūruṣaṁ klībām opasīnam kṛdhi. 6. 138. 1. *klībām kṛdhy opasīnam ātho kurīriṇaṁ kṛdhi: āthā 'syē 'ndro grīvabhyām ubhē bhinattv āṇḍyaū.* v.2. *klība klībām tvā 'karam vādhre vādhrīm tvā 'karam ārasā 'rasām tvā 'karam: kurīram asya śīrṣaṇi kumbaṁ cā 'dhinīdadhmāsi.* v.3.

stōmā āsan pratidhūyaḥ kurīram chānda opasāḥ: Sūryāyā Aśvinā varā 'gnīr āsīt purogavāḥ. 14. 1. 8. = RV. 10. 85. 8.

Sinivālī sukapardā sukurīrā svāupaśā. TS. 4. 1. 5³. = VS. 11. 56.

Kumba- and *kurīra-* are also found in ĀP. Śr. 10. 9. 5, 6, 7 (and in the corresponding sūtras in Baudh. Śr. 6.1: 6. 4, 5; 15. 15; 25. 4): *atha patnīsīrasi kumbakurīram adhyūhate. kṛṣṇaṁ jīvornānām iti Vājasaneyakam. jālaṁ kumbakurīram ity ācakṣate.* *Kumba-* alone is found also in ĀP. Śr. 1. 21. 3, *udīcī-nakumbāṁ śamyām*, where it has a development of the original meaning. *Kurīra-* is found also at AV. 5. 31. 2, *yām te cakrūḥ kṛkavākāv ajē vā yām kurīriṇi: āvyām te kṛtyām yām cakrūḥ pūnaḥ prāti harāmi tām*, where it has a different but not wholly unconnected meaning. *Opasā-* is found also in AV. 9. 3. 8, discussed under *ākṣu:* and in RV. 1. 173. 6, *prā yād itthā mahinā nṛbhyo āsty āram rōdasī kaksyē nā 'smāi: sām vivya 'ndro vrjūnaṁ nā bhūmā bhārti svadhāvā opasām iva dyām;* ib. 8. 14. 5, *yajñā 'ndram avardhayad yād bhūmim vy āvartayat: cakrāṇā opasām divi;* ib. 9. 71. 1, *ā dākṣiṇā syjyate śuṣṇy āsadam vēti druho rakṣāsaḥ pāti jāgṛviḥ: hārīr opasām kṛṇute nābhas pāya upastīre camvōr brāhma nirṇīje;* Tāṇḍ. Br. 4. 1. 1, *gāvo vā etat satram āsata tāsām daśasu māssu sṛṅgaṇy ajāyanta tā avadann arāsmo 'ttisthāmo 'pasā no 'jñate 'ti tā vdatisthata,* and 13. 4. 3, *dvyopasāḥ samstutā bhavanti tasmād dvycopasāḥ*

paśavaḥ; and in *gō-opaśā-*, epithet of *āstrā-*, RV. 6. 53. 9 and *hṛdayaupāśā-* VS. 25. 8, in all of which it has a slight modification of the original meaning.

Previous Scholars: Sāyaṇa on AV: '*upaśete asmin puruṣa iti opaśaḥ strīṃyāñjanam*', 6. 138. 1; '*kurīrāḥ keśāḥ*', v.2; '*kurīraṃ keśajālanam kumbam tadābharaṇam ca strīnam asādhāraṇam*', v.3. In explaining the passages in RV. he seeks the help of etymology and arrives at a different meaning of *opaśā-* in each case, thus: *śṅgam* or *lokadvayam* 1. 173. 6; *upetya śayānam* or *viryavišeṣaḥ* 8. 14. 5; *sarvasya dhārakam* 9. 71. 1; *upaśerat ity opaśāḥ, gāva opaśā yasyās tādyāḥ, ata eva paśu-sādhanaḥ*, 6. 53. 9; and goes farther at 10. 85. 8, by stating that there is a metre called *kurīra-*, '*sūryāyā rathasya stomās trivṛṇḍādayaḥ pratidhaya āsan: pratidhaya iti pratidhaya īsātiryagāyatakāṣṭhādayaḥ: tathā kurīraṃ chandaḥ kurīra-nāmakaṃ chando 'nasa opaśo 'bhavat: yeno 'paśerate sa opaśaḥ*'. BR: *kumba* = 'eine Art weiblicher Kopfputz', *kurīra* = 'eine Art Kopfschmuck der weiber', *opaśā* = 'ein Kopfputz—: Büschel, Locke, cirrus, oder viell. Zoff' and 'Flechte' at AV. 9. 3. 8. Geldner, Ved. Stud. I, 130—137. basing his arguments on AV. 5. 31. 2, Tāṇḍ. Br. 4. 1. 1, 13. 4. 3, and Āp. Śr. 1. 21. 3 (where he wrongly interprets *kumba-* as the 'pointed end'), concludes that all the three words mean in the first place 'horn' and then a 'horn-shaped head-ornament' or 'diadem'. Caland alone, having had access to Baudh. Śr. and the commentaries, has given the right interpretation to *kumba-* and *kurīra-* in his translation of Āp. Śr. 10. 9. 5.

Baudh. Śr. 25. 4 (p. 232, l.1.) has, *vidalam u ha kumbam bhavati jālam u kurīram*, and thereupon the commentator adds *vamsavidalam jālasya nemibhūtam as kumba-*. The commentator to Āp. Śr. 10. 9. 7 also has, *jālam ānāyaḥ, tac ca vaidale valaye syūtam*, and quotes Baudh. for his support. Thus *kumba-* is a circular rim made of sliced bamboo and *kurīra-*, a net of sheep's wool (Āp. Śr. 10. 9. 6, above), of which the *kumba-* formed the edge. The two together formed a dome-shaped female head-dress (that is, when put on) and are often referred to as one, cf. *kumbakurīram* Āp. Śr. 10. 9. 5, 7 above and Baudh. Śr. 6. 5, 15. 15.

Kumbā- 'sacrificial enclosure' must be the same word as *kumba-* with an extended meaning. It seems to contain a root *kum-* 'to bend', probably to be traced in *komyā-* RV. 1. 171. 3, *stutāso no Marūto mṛṣayantū 'tā stutō maghāvā śāmbhaviṣṭhaḥ: ūrdhvā naḥ santu komyā vānāny āhāni viśvā Maruto jigīṣā*, which Sāyaṇa explains as *kamanīyāni* 'pretty' and others have hesitatingly followed without being able to find a satisfac-

tory derivation. If, however, *komyā-* contains this root, it would mean 'bending', 'pliant', which as applied to trees, desired to be saved from the wrath of the storm-gods, would be most appropriate (the third pāda giving the sense, 'let our pliant trees remain erect'). The root is probably also to be seen in *kumbha-* 'pitcher', Gr. κύβη, κύβος (for formation cf. *kamba-*, *kambha-*: *kam-*, Pāṇ. 5. 2. 138); in *kumāra-*, 'the bending, crawling, baby', in *komala-* 'bending' > 'yielding' > 'soft', etc.; and in the root *kuñc-* 'to bend', which may be an enlargement of *kum-*. In view of Lith. *kuñpti* 'to bend oneself', *kuñpas* 'bent', Lett. *kūmpt* 'to be bent', old Pruss. *etkūmps* adv. 'round about' (Walde, s.v. *qam-*, *qamp-* 'to bend'), Gr. κύβος 'pitcher', κύβαχος 'upper part of a helmet' and of Gr. καμπω 'to bend', Sans. *kaṃāla-*, and its correspondences in the other languages given under it, there seems to have been a duplicate root **kam* or **kum-* in the original language, which gave rise to the various enlargements and derivatives.

From looking upon *kumba-kurīra-* as one thing *kūmba-*, and probably also *kurīra-*, came to denote the whole thing, which as we have already remarked looked like a dome or vault when put on. Thence came the use of *kūmba-* as the 'knob' of a stick or peg of a yoke in Āp. Śr. 1. 21. 3, *udīcīnakumbām śamyām*, the commentator explaining *kumba-* here as the thick end of a *śamyā-*. As already in the time of Baudhāyana and Āpastamba the use of this form of female head-dress had become obsolete (judging from their manner of describing it, of course,) it may well have been Indo-European and Gr. κύβαχος 'the upper part of a helmet' may have the same source.

Kurīra-, which as we have seen was made of sheep's wool, meant also 'blanket', cf. *kurīras tu pumān mālāviṣeṣe kambale* 'pi ca: klābam tu maithune padme jāle ca munibhāṣitam, Keśavasvāmin's Nānārthārṇavasamkṣepa, Triv. Sans. Ser. It might well have originally meant 'wool' and in AV. 5. 31. 2, quoted above, *kurīrīn-* wedged, as it is, in between *ajé* 'goat' (loc.) and *avyām* 'ewe' (loc.), may possibly stand for 'sheep'. As a matter of fact we find *kurārī-* (for *kurīrī*?) and *jālakinī-* (lit., 'furnished with a net') as names of an ewe, see Vaijayantī 70, 129. But the case is doubtful, and *kurīrīni* may be an

adjective to *ajé*, *kuríra*- referring to its horns as 'head-ornaments'. This last remark applies with greater force and more certainty to *opasá*- in Tāṇḍ. Br. 4. 1. 1 and 13. 4. 3, quoted above.

A comparison of AV. 6. 138. 1, 2, 3, RV. 10. 85. 8 = AV. 14. 1. 8, and TS. 4. 1. 5³ = VS. 11. 56 will show that either *kuríra*- and *kúmba*- or *kuríra*- and *opasá*- are found together, but nowhere *kúmba*- and *opasá*-. This, as referring to a particular female head-dress, is sufficient to give us *kúmba* = *opasá*-, 'the circular sliced-bamboo rim'. This, as we have seen under *áksu*-, is its meaning also at AV. 9. 3. 8. In AV. 14. 1. 8 = RV. 10. 85. 8, *pratidhi*- probably means 'ornament' as 'something put on' (compare also Wh.'s remark under AV. 14. 1. 8) cf. *práti yád asya vájraṁ bāhvór dhúh* RV. 2. 20. 8c, and the verse may be rendered, "The ornaments were the laudations, the net and the rim, the metre", etc. *Opasá*- in RV. 1. 173. 6, 8. 14. 5 and 9. 71. 1 refers to the whole head-dress, and with this modification the translations of Geldner in Ved. Stud., I.131f., may be accepted. *Gó-opasā*- probably means 'with the knob made of cow's bone (or covered with cow's hide)' and *hṛdayaupasā*- 'that which covers the heart'.

kurūtīnī-

ayān pánthāh kṛtyéti tvā nayāmo 'bhipráhitām práti tvā prá hinmah; tēnā 'bhī yāhi bhañjaty ānasvatī 'va vāhīnī viśvárūpā kurūtīnī. 10. 1. 15.

Previous Scholars: The commentary is wanting. BR. think that it is probably = *kiriṭīnī*-. Ludwig: ".....auf diesem wege geh brechend los zum angriff, wie ein vollständig heer mit wagen und mit rossen [?]." Bloomfield: "..... go this way like a crushing army, with heavy carts, thou that art multiform, and crowned with a crest (?)," and at p. 604, "Kurūtīnī translated by 'crowned with a crest' is in truth a *ḍṇ*. *ley*. of unknown value.Hemaṇḍandra also reports a word *kurūṭin* 'horse', and Ludwig apparently, on this basis, translates 'mit rossen'". Henry: "par ce chemin marche en te le frayant, comme montée sur un chariot, montée sur un char, revêtue de toutes les formes, coiffée d'une mitre", and in the commentary, "*vāhīnī* synonyme de *ānasvatī*, et, quant à *kurūtīnī*, cf. l'usuel *kiriṭin* et l'épithète *tirīṭinas* AV. VIII. 6. 7." Whitney: ".....breaking, like a draft-cow with a cart, all-formed, wearing a wreath (? *kurūtīn*)".

Kurūṭa- in *kurūṭīnī* seems to be identical with later Sanskrit *kurula-* or *-rala*¹ 'curls on the forehead (*bhramarāla-ka-*)', found also in Prāk. (for correspondence of Sans. $\ddot{t} > \ddot{d} > l$ in middle Indian see references under *arāṭaktī-*). *Kurūṭīnī* would thus mean 'having curls on the forehead', and this would fit in with *kṛtyū-* 'witchcraft', which has been described several times in the same hymn as a woman² with head, ears, nose, etc., cf. v. 1, *yām kalpāyanti vahataū vadhūm iva viśvārūpām hāstakṛtām cikitsāvaḥ: sā 'rād etv āpa nudāma enām; v. 2, śiṣṇavātī nasvātī kaṇṇīnī kṛtyākṛtā sambhṛtā viśvārūpā*, etc.

For *kurūṭin-* 'horse' in Böhlingk's edition of Hemacandra's *Śeṣanāmamālā*, v. 176, the Bhavanagar edition of *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* gives *kuṭara-*. If the former reading is correct, it may signify a 'horse with a tuft on the forehead.'

Pādas c and d, which have been diversely translated, seem to compare the retreat of *kṛtyū-* to that of an invading army (cf. *bhagna-*, 'vanquished': *bhañjati*). *Anasvati*, 'furnished with chariots', epithet of *vāhīnī* 'army', is probably due to a reminiscence of *vahataū vadhūm iva* in v. 1.

khadūra-

khadūre 'dhicaṅkramām khārvikām kharavāśīnīm: yā udārā antārhitā gandharvāpsarāsaś ca yé: sarpā itaraṅjanā rākṣāṁsi. 11. 9 (11). 16.

Previous Scholars: Sāyaṇa: '*dūrabhūtaṁ khaṁ khadūram ākāśe dūrādese.*' Ludwig. p. 531: "die über den *khadūra* [das schwert] taumelt die verstümmelte, bei verstümmelten [auf dem schlachtfeld] wonet", etc. Henry: "Celle qui monte sur le brancard mortuaire", etc., and in the commentary, "Il semble que *khadūra* doive necessairement s'interpreter par le posterieur *khadū*." Bloomfield, who renders with 'mist', remarks at p. 636, 'Our rendering of *khadūre* reflects simply our own and Sāyana's perplexity.'

Khadūra- appears to be identical with later Sanskrit *khalūra-* in *khalūrikā-* 'place of exercise for soldiers'. This meaning suits the context here: the whole hymn has reference to battle, soldiers, and weapons, and a spectre haunting the

¹ The long *ū* in *kurūṭīnī* may be due to the exigencies of metre.

² Cf. *Kurūṭālikulāvalikhyamānabhrūlatāntahḍdayaṅgamān*, epithet of a *priyatamājana*,—Somadeva's *Yasastilaka* I, 526, 2.

place of exercise may be expected to be mentioned amidst a host of other different kinds of spectres. *D* is regularly represented by *ḍ* in RV., and for *ḍ* > *ḍ* (1), in Pāli and Prāk., see references given under *arātākṣ*.

khṛgala-

piśāṅge sūtre khṛgalaṁ tād ā badhnanti vedhāsah : śravasyūṁ śūsmaṁ kābavāṁ vādhrīm kṛṇvantu vandhūrah. 3. 9. 3.

nāvē 'va naḥ pārayataṁ yugé 'va nābhye 'va na upadhīva pradhīva : śvāne 'va no dṛiṣanyā tanūnām khṛgale'va visrāsah pātam asmān. RV. 2. 39. 4.

Previous Scholars: Sāyaṇa on both the passages explains *khṛgala-* as 'armour'. BR., 'viell. Stab, Krücke'. Bloomfield, 'talisman', but agrees with BR. in the meaning 'crutches' for RV. Whitney does not translate the word.

Kauśika, 43. 1, has concerning this hymn (AV. 3. 9.), *karṣa-phasyeti piśaṅgasūtram araludaṇḍaṁ yadāyudham*, which, when compared with the verse quoted above, gives us *khṛgala* = *daṇḍa* - 'stick'. This is supported by the RV. verse quoted above, its fourth pāda meaning, 'like two sticks save us from fall'. *Khṛgalya-* in MS. 2. 7. 12 (= Āp. Śr. 16. 18. 4), *udyojanam antaryāmam iṣām khṛgalyaṁ* (Āp. *kha-* or *khaḍga-*) *śavam* (Āp. *śapham*) : *aṣṭrām tāḍam* (Āp. *-la-*) *pratīnāhā ubhe maṇḍūkyau yuje*, apparently means the same thing.

galuntāḥ

asūtikā rāmāyany āpacit prā patisyati : glaūr itāḥ prā patisyati sā galuntó naṣisyati. 6. 83. 3.

Previous Scholars: Sāyaṇa: '*glaūḥ vṛaṇajanito harṣakṣayaḥ itāḥ asmād aṅgāt prapatisyati....yadvā glaus candramāḥ....pragamayisyati....sa candramāḥ. galuntāḥ. gaṇḍamālodbhavavikāreṇa tatra tatra hastapādādisandhiṣu udbhūtan gaḍūṇ tasyati upakṣayatīti gaḍuntāḥ*', etc. Ludwig: "...fort von hier die eule [glaūḥ] fliegen, und der vogel wird verschwinden." Bloomfield, p. 17: "....the boil will fly away from here, the galunta (swelling) will perish". "Barren shall the *apacit*, daughter of the black one, fly forth; the boil (*glaū*) shall fly forth from here; it shall disappear from the neck (? *galuntās*)".—Whitney, who remarks, "the translation here given of *galuntās* is the purest conjecture, as if the word were a corruption of some form of *gala* (our W.O.D. read *galantās*), with ablative suffix *tas*".

If *galantās*, the reading of three of Whitney's mss., be correct, its relation to root *gal-* 'to ooze' would be just like that of *jīvantī-* 'living one', AV.: *jīv-* 'to live', *tarantā-* n. pr.: *tṛ-* 'to conquer', *pāntī-* 'drink': *pā-* 'to drink', *vasantī-* 'spring': *vas-* 'to be bright', *veśantī-* 'pool': *viś-* 'to enter (e.g., running water)' (?), *hemantī-* 'winter': *hīm, himā-* 'cold', 'frost', etc. Being thus presumably a substantive like the others, it would mean in this connection 'the oozing one', viz., 'the pus'. If Sāyaṇa's explanation of *aśūtikā-* as 'not giving out pus' be correct, an emendation of *sā galantās* to *sāgalantas* would give a good sense: "The barren *apacī*,¹ daughter of the black one will fly forth: the boil shall fly forth from here, (and) disappear together with the pus."

ghṛtastāvas-

yāsmiṇ devā āmrjata yāsmiṇ manusyā utā: tāsmin ghṛta-stāvo mṛṣtvā tvām Agne divam ruha. 12. 2. 17.

Previous Scholars: 'von Schmalze triefend'—BR., who take *-stāva-* to be the stem. Ludwig, p. 480: 'an dem wisch dich ab und ghṛta-triefend [?], steig empor zum himmel'. Henry: 'puisque tu dégouttes de beurre, essui-toi sur lui, | Ô Agni, et monte au ciel'. ".....on that having wiped off the drops of ghee (?), O Agni do thou mount the sky"—Whitney, who remarks, "Our mss. seem to read *-stī-* very plainly [and SPP. reports no variant], but need not prevent our understanding instead *-snā-*, if more acceptable".

BR. assume a root *stu-* 'to drop', 'to come together' in order to explain *stuta-* (v.l., *sruta*) in Hemacandra, *-stāva-*, *stūkā-* 'tuft or knot of hair', and *stokā-* 'drops'. Of these, *stuta-* is only a corruption of *sruta-* and *stokā-* has been explained by Wackernagel, I. 239. c., as a methathesis of **skota-*: *scut-*

¹ *Apacī-* is rightly identified by Bloomfield, p. 504, with *apacī-* of the medical works. The latter seems to be a Prakritisation of the former. The commentators of Kauś. and AV. also identify it with *ganḍamālā*. BR. give 'scrofulous swelling of the glands of the neck' for *ganḍamālā*, which is misleading, as the following extract from Vāgbhata (Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya, Uttara. 29, 18) will show: *medaḥsthāḥ kaṇṭhamanyūkṣakakṣāvām-keṣāṇajā malāḥ: savarnān kaṭhinān snigdhān vārtākāmalakākṛtīn: avagā-ḍhān bahūn ganḍamāś cirapākāmś ca kurvate: pacyante 'iparujas tvanye sravanty anye 'tikandurāḥ: nāsyanty anye bhavanty anye dūrghakālānu-bandhināḥ: ganḍamālā 'pacī seyam dūrveva keayavṛddhībhāk.*

'to drip'. The remaining *stūkā-* or *stū-*, as well as *stūpa-* 'tuft or knot of hair', *stavaka-* 'bunch', Beng. *thokā* 'bunch', contains an element *stu-* which gives the idea of a 'bunch' or 'bundle'. This, however, would not apply to *ghṛta*.

On the other hand, if, following Whitney's recommendation, we read *-snāvas*¹, we find *-snāvas-* *snu-* 'to drip' as *vāsas-* 'covering': *vas-* 'to clothe', *-vācas-* in *suṽācas-* etc.: *vac-* 'to speak', *vāhas-* 'offering': *vah-* 'to carry', *pājas-* 'brilliance': *pajrā-*, etc., Ved. Gr. § 126. Then *ghṛtasnāvas-* would mean 'drippings of ghee', object of *mṛṣṭvā*, cf. *ghṛtasnū-* 'dripping with ghee'.

cīti-

devās te cītim avidan brahmāṇa utā vīrūdhaḥ : cītim te viśve devā āvidan bhūmyām ādhi. 2. 9. 4.

Previous Scholars: Sāyaṇa: '*grahavikārād rogiṇa ādānam grahādeḥ samvaranam chādanam abhitaranam vā*'. BR. and Weber: 'Sammeln.' Ludwig, 'pflückung'. Grill: "Den Göttern und Brāhmanen ward's, wie man dich Holz zusammenlegt, Die Götter all ersahn, wie man zur Erde dich zusammenlegt". Bloomfield, p. 292: "The word *kitim* is found only here and is very problematic. . . . we are connecting the word with *kinoti* in the sense of 'arrange', 'build up', having in mind the peculiar amulet or remedy *dasavriksha* 'consisting of ten woods', in st. 7." Whitney, who renders, 'gathering (?)', remarks, "If it comes from *cī*, there is hardly any other example".

Cīti- appears to be connected with *cāy-* 'to fear', 'to be in awe of',² thus meaning 'apprehension' and thence 'trouble' or 'disease', just like *ātanka-* which means both 'fear' and 'disease'. The hymn is about curing one of a dangerous kind of seizure of the joints, said to be caused by demons, and the meaning suits quite well: "The gods have noticed thy trouble, the priests, and the plants: all the gods on earth have noticed thy trouble". That the diseased, and not the amulet, is addressed is clear from the following verse.

¹ Mss. often confuse *st* (स्) and *sn* (स्न) and, in general, *t* and *n*, cf. *stāvā* or *stāva* in two mss. for *snāvā*, Gaastra's ed. of GBr., p. 120, n. 2.

² Cf. Wack., I. § 79. a.: "So von *cāy-*, Scheuen" AV. *cīti- cīkihi kl. ceki-yate* : v. *cāyamāna-*, *cāyya cāy-ū*, sp. weiteres, vgl. gr. *τῑ-μῑ*."

For formation, cf. *gīti*:- *gāyati*, *pīti*:- *pā*-, *pāyayti* (caus.), *sphīti*:- *sphāyate*, etc., Wack. I. §79. (a). α, β.

jabhya—*tardā*—*vāghā*—

hatām tardām samānkām ākhūm Aśvinā chintām śīro āpi prstīḥ śṛṇitam: *yāvān néd ādān āpi nahyataṁ mūkham āthā 'bha-*
yam kṛṇutam dhānyāya. 6. 50. 1.

tārda hai pātāṅga hai jābhya hā upakvasa: *brahmé 'vā*
'samsthitaṁ havir ānadanta imān yāvān āhimsanto apódita.
v. 2.

tārdāpate vāghāpate tṛṣṭajambhā ā śṛṇota me: *yā āraṇyā*
vyādvārā yé ké ca sthā vyādvārās tānt sāvān jambhayāmasi.
v. 3.

yāvātīr bhṛṅgā jatvāḥ kurūravo yāvātīr vāghā vṛkṣasarpayō
bābhūvuh: *tātas tvām asi jyāyān*, etc. 9. 2. 22.

Previous Scholars: Sāyaṇa: *tardāḥ* = *himsakāḥ* (*ākhūḥ*), *jabhya* = *upa-*
dravakāritvād asmābhir himsya, *vaghāḥ* = *avaghnanti avabādhanta iti vaghāḥ*
pātāṅgādayaḥ. Bloomfield and Whitney render *tardā*- and *jabhya*- as
'borer' and 'grinder' respectively. *Samānkām* and *upakvasa* have been
left out as doubtful by everybody. Sāyaṇa explains the former as *samānca-*
nam bilam sampravṛṣya gacchantam, adj. of *ākhūm*, and for the latter he
reads *apakvasaḥ* (= *adagdhāḥ santaḥ*).

Keśava on Kauś. 51. 22 (dealing with AV. 6. 50) has
samāptam mūsaka-śalabhapatāṅga-tittibha-kītaka-kītikā-hari-
na-ruru-śalyaka-gosēdhā-gokṛmyādi-svastyaayanam; similar is
Sāyaṇa's remarks in the introduction to this hymn, which is
directed against the pests to crops. In the well-known verse,
atīvṛṣṭir anavṛṣṭiḥ śalabhā mūṣikāḥśukāḥ; *pratyaśannās ca rājānaḥ*
ṣaḍ ete śtayaḥ smṛtāḥ, the most harmful to crops, among animals,
are 'locusts', 'rats', and 'parrots'. These three must be in-
tended in vs. 2 and 3 by the words, *tārda*: *tārdā-pate*, 'borer'
= 'rat', *pātāṅga*: *vāghāpate* = 'locust', cf. Beng. (dial. of Mān-
bhūm) *bāghḍulu* 'a kind of moth', Sindhi *bagh(g)āi* 'a kind of fly
that sticks to dogs and horses', and *jābhya*: *tṛṣṭajambhāḥ*,
'grinder' or 'having sharp grinders' = 'parrot', which cuts any-
thing by grinding with its beak.

The remaining animals in Sāyaṇa's and Keśava's enumera-
tions are included in the words *āraṇyā vyādvārāḥ* and *yé ké ca*
sthā vyādvārāḥ in v. 3.

The construction suggests that *samañkām* in v. 1 is probably a verb, second, du., imp., like *hatām*, *chintām* and *śṇātām*. A loss (by ms. corruption) of *t*, the third member of the conjunct (see under *kákutsala-*) is probably to be seen after *-ñk-*, *samañkām* thus standing for *samañktām*. Now, *sám-añj-* has a meaning 'to consume', 'to devour' (BR., RV. 10. 45. 4; 52. 3; 87. 16) which would quite suit the context.

Úpakvasa, taken by others as a substantive of doubtful significance, also appears to be a verb, probably a corruption for *-krasa* (for a reverse process in the confusion of *v* and *r*, see *uttaradraú*). The form **kras-* not known to be found elsewhere, may be an enlargement of *kram-* 'to step' through the intermediate *krams-* which is frequently used. Compare the relations of, *tam-* 'to be exhausted', 'to perish': *tas-*, *nam-* in *evéd yūne yuvatāyo namanta yád īm usānn usatír éty áccha*, RV. 10. 30. 6: *nañs-* in *ní te nañsai pīpyāné'va yósā máryāye 'va kanyā śasvacai te*, RV. 3. 33. 10: *nas-* 'to approach with lust', *śam-* 'to kill': *śas-*, etc., and alternate presence or absence of nasal in *dans-*: *daś-* 'to bite', *dans-* 'to be worth seeing': *das-* in *dasmá-* etc., *nans-*: *naś-* 'to disappear', *bhrans-*: *bhras-* 'to fall', *srans-*: *sras-* 'to fall', etc. If that be the true reading and meaning, **úpakrasa* would mean 'step nearer' (that is, in order to listen), and would correspond even in this respect (as in the names) to *ā śṇota me* in v. 3.

tāyādarām—párasvant-

yāthā pásas tāyādarām vātena sthūlabhām kṛtām: yāvat párasvataḥ pásas távat te vardhatām pásah. 6. 72. 2. yāvad aṅginām párasvataḥ hástinām gārdabham ca yát: yāvad ásvasya vājīnas távat te vardhatām pásah. v. 3.

ayám Indra Vṛśākapiḥ párasvantām hatām vidat: asīm sūnām návam carīm ād édhasyā 'na ácitām vísvasmād Índra úttaraḥ. RV. 10. 86. 18.

Íśānāya párasvata ālabhate Mitrāya gaurān Váruṇāya máhiśān, Bṛhaspátaye gavayāś Tvāstra ústrān. VS. 24. 28.

suparnaḥ pārjanyaḥ haṁso vṛko vṛsadamśas te aindrā apām udro 'ryamno lopāśas śimho nakulo vyāghras te Mahendrūya Kāmāya paravān. KS. V, 7, 11 = TS. 5. 5. 21.

sa iha kīto vā pataṅgo vā matsyo vā śakunir vā siṃho vā varāho vā paraśvān (v. 1., -śvā) *vā sārḍūlo vā puruṣo vā 'nyo vā teṣu teṣu sthāneṣu pratyājāyate*.—Śāṅkh. Āraṇ. 3. 2.

Previous Scholars: The commentator simply calls *tāyādarā-* (which he reads *tāyodara-*) 'a kind of animal' and no one has yet any suggestion as to what it is; he has nothing to say about *pārasvant-* either. Sāyaṇa on RV. has: 'he Indra ayaṃ Vṛṣākapiḥ paravantaṃ paravam ātmano viṣaye 'vartamānaṃ hataṃ himsitaṃ vidat'. On TS. he explains it as *mahiṣa*, with which may be compared Vj. 65, 21, *gavalas ca paravānś ca mahiṣaḥ syād aranyajāḥ*. The commentary to Śāṅkh. Āraṇ. calls it 'a kind of snake'. BR. suggest that it is probably the 'wild ass'.

Tāyādarām is probably to be read *tāyād āram*, the former being the subjunctive of *tāya-*, passive stem of *tan-* 'to extend.' Cf. Whitney, Sans. Gr. § 774, "Examples of the transfer of stems from the yā- or passive class to the ya- or intransitive class were given above (761 b.); and it was also pointed out that active instead of middle endings are occasionally, even in the earlier language, assumed by forms properly passive: examples are *ā dhmāyati* and *vy āpruṣyat* (ÇB.), *Bhūyati* (Māi. U.)." Or, *tā*, itself, found in *atāyi* (aor.), *tāyitā* (fut.), *-tāya* (ger.), *tāyitr-* etc., may be the stem. The verse would then mean, 'so that the member may extend sufficiently, made big by the wind', etc.

From the passages from KS. and Śāṅkh. Āraṇ., quoted above, *pārasvant-* appears to be a wild animal like the jackal, the lion, the tiger, and the boar, and from AV. it is known to have a large member like the elephant, the ass, and the horse. Both these features are satisfied in its identification by Bühler, ZDMG. 48, 63, with Pāli *palasata-*, Aśoka. Delhi—Topra V. 6, Jātaka VI, p. 277, v. 1205 and *palāsāda-*, Jātaka, V, p. 406, v. 267,¹ which the commentator to Jātaka explains as *khagga* 'rhinoceros'. Bühler thinks that the intermediate steps were **parassanto*, **parasato*, and Trenckner, Pāli Miscellany, p. 58, n. 6 (cited by Hultzsch, Aśoka Inscript., p. 127, n. 8) considers *palasato* to be the original of *palāsādo*

¹ Compare with the above passages: *tathā pānūya -n- āyanti nānā-migagaṇā bahu: sihā vyagghā varāhā ca acchakokataracchayo. palāsādū* (v. 1. *palāsājā, palāsādū, pallasādā*) *ca gavayā mahiṣā rohitā ruri: eneyyā varāhā c'eva gaṇiṇo nikasūkarā*, etc.

and the latter, which literally means 'eating leaves', to be an etymologizing corruption of the former.

If this be the true meaning, the proper form is probably *pāraśvant-*, literally, 'having an axe (*paraśu-*)', the reading of Śāṅkh. Āraṇ. Compare, *khadga-*, *-ḍgin-*, *vārdhrīṇasa-*, Germ. *Nasehorn*, etc. For syncope of *u*, cf. *paraśvadha-* 'axe' (*paraśu-vadha*?), *parśvadha-* (*parśu-vadha*?) 'axe': *paraśu-*, *parśu-*, *vānanvat-*: **vanana-vat-* (Grassmann), *indhanvat-*: *indhana-* (Ved. Gr. § 234), *hiraṇmaya-*, *hiraṇin-*: *hiraṇya*, etc.

tirīṭin-

yās tvā svāpne nipādyate bhrātā bhūtvā pitē'va ca : bajās tān suhātām itāḥ klībārūpāms tirīṭinaḥ. 8. 6. 7.

Previous Scholars: Sāyaṇa: '*tirīṭinaḥ, antardhānena aṭataḥ.*' BR.: '*tirīṭa=* eine Art Kopfsputz, Turban, Diadem Aruṇadatta bei Uḡgvala, die Erklärer zu AK. (8. 6. 3, 30).' Others have followed BR.

It appears that the meaning 'head-ornament' or 'tiara' (Wh.) for *tirīṭa-* depends solely on a quotation from Aruṇadatta and statements of commentators later than him; it is not given in any of the old Kośas, nor do the modern dictionaries quote any occurrence of its actual use in literature. It might have arisen from a false reading of *kirīṭa-*, just as *bālataṇaya-*, a synonym of *khadira-*, in Amara from that of *bālapatra-* (see Kṣīrasvāmin's comment).

The PTS's Pali Dictionary gives two meanings to this word, (1) 'the tree *Symplocos racemosa*' (*lodhra*) and (2) 'a garment made of its bark.' This second meaning suits the passage in question admirably well, for, the *arāyas* ('niggards') spoken of in this hymn, although vested with spectral qualities, are conceived by the poet to have been like a sort of wild folk who clad themselves in barks, skins, and tattered clothes. There seems to be no point in describing them as wearing a head-ornament. Puggalapapaññatti, p. 51, 'so *sāṇāni pi dhāreti masānāni pi dhāreti chava-dussāni pi dhāreti paṃsukulāni pi dhāreti tirīṭāni pi dhāreti ajināni pi dhāreti*', read together with v. 11 of this hymn, *yé kukūndhāḥ kukūrabhāḥ kṣtīr dūrsāni bibhṛati; klībā iva prañṭyānto vāne yé kurvāte ghōṣaṃ tān ito nāsāyāmasi* (especially the words *chava-dussāni*, *tirīṭāni* and

ajināni in the one and *kṛtīḥ* and *dūrśāni* in the other, together with *tirīṭṭinaḥ* in v. 7), makes it abundantly clear that *tirīṭa-* has the same meaning in both.

turmiśam

citrāṇi sākām divi rocanāni sarīsrpāṇi bhūvane javāni :
turmiśam sumatīm icchāmāno dhāni gīrbhīḥ saparyāmi nākam.
19. 7. 1.

Previous Scholars: The commentator explains *turmiśam* either as *turmāyo himsākāḥ himsākāriṇaḥ tām śyati tanūkarotīti turmiśā* or as *turo himsākān miśati hinastīti turmiśā : miśa spardhāyām...mūrdhanyasya tālavopajanaś chāndasaḥ*. "Seeking favour of the twenty-eightfold (?) wondrous ones, shining in the sky together, hasting in the creation (*bhūva-na*), I worship (*sapary*) with songs the days, the firmament (*nāka*)."—Whitney, after emendation of *turmiśam* to *aṣṭvīṃśam* (or *-śā*).

Turmiśam seems to be a corruption for **turviśam* 'settlement of the stars' (cf. *tārāpatha-*, *nakṣatraloka-*, etc., for the 'sky') the first member (*tur*) being the genetive singular of *tr-* 'star' and the second *viś-* 'settlement.' For interchange of *m* and *v*, cf. *anarvānām* AV. 7. 7. 1: *anarvānām* RV.; *amāmasi-*: *amāvasi-* 'new-moon', Vj. 160, 35; *āradanta* in *āśratīnan dṛḥṭā āradanta vilīṭā* RV. 2. 24. 3 prob. = *āmradanta* (: *mṛdū-*) 'the firm became loose, the hard became soft' (for it Grassmann supposes a root *vrad-*, *vrand-* 'to become weak'); *āmataḥ*, *parāmataḥ* (mss.) for *-vataḥ*, Gaastra's GBr. p. 2, fn. 1; *vaṅgāva-gadhāḥ*, Ait. Āraṇ 2. 1. 1 prob. = *-magadhāḥ* (Keith); and Wack. I. § 177. n. For singular giving a plural sense in an *abhiṣamāsa*, cf. Ved. Gr. § 275,—“A singular case-ending (the acc. or inst.) may here indicate a plural sense; e.g., *āśvam-iṣti-* 'seeking horses', *puram-darā-* 'destroyer of forts', *śūneṣita-* 'driven by dogs' (*śūnā-*)”.

Ahāni in d is probably elliptical for *viśvā dhāni*. Thus the third and fourth pāda may be translated: "Desiring good-will of the settlement of stars, every day with songs I worship the firmament."

taimātā-

asitāsyā taimātāsyā babhrór āpodakasya ca : sātrāsāḥasyā
'hām manyór āva jyām iva dhānvano ví muñcāmi rāthā iva.
5. 13. 6.

*nīr vai kṣatrām nāyati hānti vāro 'gnīr ivā 'rabdho vi
dunoti sārvaṃ; yō brāhmaṇām mānyate ānnaṃ eva sā viśṣya
pibati taimātāsya. 5. 18. 4.*

Previous Scholars: BR. and others consider *taimātā-* to be the name of a kind of snake. Whitney translates 5. 13. 6, "Of the Timatan (?) black serpent, of the brown, and of the waterless, of the altogether powerful (?). I relax the fury, as the bow; I release as it were chariots". To this Lanman remarks: "Whitney would doubtless have revised this carefully. The divergences of the translators reflect the uncertainties of the exegesis. 'I slacken as it were the cars of the wrath of' etc.—Griffith. 'I release (thee) from the fury of' etc.—Bloomfield. 'Des Asita. . . . des Manyu Streitwagen gleichsam spanne [ich] mir ab' or 'die Streitwagen des Grimmes des Asita' etc. — Weber. For *ḍ*, 'as the string from off (*ava*) the bow'".

There seems to be a contrast in 5. 13. 6 between *taimātā-* and *āpodaka-*. The word *āpodaka-* 'out of water' means either 'not in water' as in RV. 1. 116. 3, . . . *naūbhir ātmanvātībhir antarikṣaprūdbhir āpodakābhiḥ*, or 'not containing water', 'dry', as in AV. 5. 16. 11, where it is obviously used as equivalent to *ārasā-* 'sapless'. *Taimātā-* also appears to mean 'wet', but modified into 'living in water' at 5. 13. 6 and 'liquid' (e.g., the poison of a snake) in 5. 18. 3. It is probably a derivative of *tema-* 'moisture' with suffix *-ta*, for which and for length of the vowel before the suffix, see under *arāṭakī-*; for superfluous *Vṛddhi* in the first syllable, cf. *praiñānā-* 5. 27. 3 and *sauprajāstvam* 2, 29. 3, for which other texts, including Ppp., have *prīṇ-* and *suprajās-*. The first member of *sātrāsāhasya* is obviously the same as *satrā*, which means 'together', 'altogether', 'all at once', 'always', etc., and may here mean 'everywhere'; thus the word would mean 'prevailing everywhere, i.e., both on land and water'. *Dhānvan* in *ḍ* appears to be elliptically used in both senses, 'bow' with *jyām* and 'sandy wasteland' with *rāthān*, the comparison in the latter case being with the extrication of the wheels of a chariot stuck in a sandy piece of land.

Thus we may translate 5. 13. 4: "I release (thee) from the fury of the wet black snake, the dry tawny snake, and of the all-prevailing one, like the string from the bow or chariots (from a sandy tract)."

taulā-

ājyasya parames̥hiñ jātavedas tñūvaśin: Agne taulāsya prāsāna yātudhānān vilāpaya. 1. 7. 2.

Previous Scholars: The commentator derives it from *tulā*- 'balance', here standing for the sacrificial ladle. Roth and Whitney emend it in their edition to *tailāsya* 'of sesame oil' against all authorities and Ppp., which has *tūlasya*.

Taulāsya is evidently an adjective of *ājyasya*, and is probably from *tūla*- 'a tuft of grass, etc. (here *kusa*-).' Cf. *pavitra*-, with which ghee was sprinkled. *Tūla*- is used with reference to *darbhā*- at 19. 32. 3.

duradabhnā-

vilohitō adhiṣṭhānāc chaknó vindati gópatim: tathā vaśāyāḥ sāmvidyam duradabhnā hy ūcyāse. 12. 4. 4. duradabhnāi 'nam ā saye yācitūm ca ná dītsati: nā 'smāi kāmāḥ sāmṛdhyante yām ādatvā cīkṛṣati. v. 19.

Previous Scholars: BR: 'Thore täuschend d.h. durch Schloss und Riegel nicht zu halten'. Ludwig: 'unbetrieglich' at v. 4, but leaves the word without rendering at v. 19. Henry, p. 250, sees no reason for, or suitability of, the meaning given by BR. and Ludwig; he suggests *durdaghñā*- or *dur-adaghñā*- 'killing those who do not give' as the correct reading. "Anemia (*vilohitā*) from the station of the dung visits (*vid*) the master of kine; so is the agreement of the cow; for door-damaging (?) art thou called."—Whitney (v. 4), who remarks, "Nearly everything in the second half verse is doubtful. . . . *sāmvidya* (given by four of his mss.) seems a much more probable form of stem. . . . The second person *ucyāse* is quite unexpected", and at v. 19, "That the conjectural rendering ('Door-damaging lies she on him' etc.) is extremely unsatisfactory is plain".

The correct reading is probably *durādabhnā*- 'hard to deceive (or harm)', paralleled by *ādabdhāḥ* 'unharméd' RV. 1. 173. 1 and *durādharṣā*- 'hard to be dared against' AV. 12. 5. 17, both epithets of the cow, and *nā tã naśanti ná dabhāti tāsvaro nāsām āmitrō vyathīr ā dadharṣati* AV. 4. 21. 3 (=RV. 6. 28. 3), about the cows. The suffix *-na* is also found in *mathnā*- 'shaking vehemently' RV. 1. 181. 5 (cf. also *mathnāti* and *dabhnoti*) and after roots like *bhañj*-, *bhug*-, *ruj*-, *pr*-, etc., as forming the past participle.

Sāmvidyam, as suggested by Whitney, is a better reading in

c of v. 4 and in view of the second person *ucyāse* in d, *vaśāyāḥ sāmvidyam* seems to be a corruption for *vaśe 'yāḥ sāmvidyam*, 'O cow, thou camest to recognition'. Thus we may translate the verse: "Anāmia visits the lord of kine for taking possession of the dung; thus, O cow, thou comest to recognition, for thou art called 'hard-to-deceive'".

In v. 19 *ā śi-* is used in the sense of 'to enter into' for the purpose of doing something evil as in RV. 10. 162. 1, *brāhmaṇā 'gnīḥ sāmvidāno rakṣohā bādhatām itāḥ: āmivā yās te gārbham durnāmā yōnim āśāye*, and elsewhere. Thus: "The 'hard-to-deceive' gets into him, if he does not wish to give her, when asked", etc.

dūrsā-

parāstais tvā pāry akrīṇan dūrsébhir ajīnair utā; prakrīr asi tvām oṣadhē 'bhrikhāte nā rūrupaḥ. 4. 7. 6.

yē kukundhāḥ kukūrabhāḥ kṛtūr dūrsāni bībhrati; klībā iva pranṭyānto vāne yē kurvāte ghōṣaṁ tām ito nāśayamasi. 8. 6. 11.

Previous Scholars: Sāyaṇa takes *dūrsébhiḥ* as adjective of *ajīnair* (= *duṣṭa-śyāsambandhibhiḥ*) at 4. 7. 6 and reads *kṛtyair dūsyāni* for *kṛtūr dūrsāni* at 8. 6. 11. 'Eine Art Gewebe oder Gewand', —BR. Weber on 4. 7. 6, Ind. Stud. 18. 29, follows BR. and remarks, "zu dūrṣa, Pet. W., ist ausser dūrṣya, dūrshya vielleicht auch tūrsha zu vergleichen", but renders it with 'Häute' at 8. 6. 11. (*ib.*, 5, 255). Ludwig leaves the word untranslated. Grill (4. 7. 6): 'Für Decken tauschten sie dich ein, Gewebe, Felle gab man her', etc. Henry (8. 6. 11): 'Les kukundhas, les kukūrabhas qui portent des peaux en guise de vêtements', etc. Bloomfield (4. 7. 6): 'with broomstraw (?), garments' etc. Whitney renders the first *dūrsā-* with 'garments' and the second with 'pelts', each followed by a query-mark.

Dūrsā- is found at least three times in the Kauśika Sūtra: (i) *jihvāyā utsādyam aksyoh paristarānam aśṭhaṇam hṛdayam dūrsā upanahya tisro rātrīḥ palpūlane vāsayati* 11, 16, where the tongue and several other parts of a cow are prescribed to be tied up in a *dūrsā*- and soaked in cowdung for three nights; (ii) *kṛmukaśakalam samkṣudya dūrsajaradajināvakarajvālena*, 28, 2, where it is prescribed as an easily inflammable light fuel along with worn-out goatskin and broomstraws; and (iii) *vilumpantām agham iti pari caīlam* (v.1., *śelam, śilam*, of which the latter

seems to be the correct reading) *dūrsam vilumpati* 85, 22, where it is to be spread around (Keś.) a piece of stone (*pariṣīlam*). In all these instances Dārila and Keśava¹ render it with *jīrṇavas-tra*- 'old or tattered cloth'. It will be seen that this meaning suits also the two occurrences in the AV. In the first passage it is used together with hemp-textures (see *pavāsia*-) and goat-skins, both of which are inexpensive, as a means of exchange for a herb. (It may not be out of place to mention here that in India even to-day old clothes are very often exchanged for herbs from the forest-folk.) In the second a set of wild people (or spectres conceived as such, see *tirīṣm*-) are said to clothe themselves in skin and *dūrsā*-.

Prāk. *dūsa*- has two meanings 'cloth' and 'tent', in the first of which it must be the same as Sans. *dūrsā*- and in the second as Sans. *dūśya*- 'a tent'. Pāli *dussa*- is also to be similarly assigned. It would appear that in these two languages *dūrsā*- has developed a wider meaning, from 'old cloth' to 'cloth in general'. In Pāli *chavadussa*- 'a miserable garment' it seems to have retained its original meaning.

Beng. *dhūs*, Nep. *dhusā*, Punj. *dhussā*, and corresponding words in other modern Indian vernaculars, all meaning 'a kind of woollen covering', may be connected with it, but the aspiration is unexplained.

nyā- — *ānya*-

dyṛdhō dyṛmhasthirō nyō brāhma viśvasṛjo dāsa : nābhīm iva sarvātāś cakrām ūcchiṣṭe devātāḥ śritāḥ. 11. 7 (9). 4.

¹ It may be mentioned here that Keśava appears to have flourished in the time of King Bhoja of Malwa (c. 1018-1060 A.C.), when the Muhammadans were terrorising the country. Speaking about the importance of *abhicāra* at the end of Kāṇḍika 49, he remarks, *prthiviyām duṣṭa utpannaḥ sarvadā ca vināśayet : adharmasambhavo duṣṭo prajāhimsanataparāḥ : Turuṣkā nāmnā pāpiṣṭhā devabrāhmaṇa-himsakāḥ : prthiviyām Sṛī-Bhojadeva dharmasamrakṣaṇāya ca : deṣe tu Mālavake utpannaḥ śrīrājagṛheṣu ca ;* again under 47, 22, *idam ahaṁ Mahmadasya Turuṣkasya Mātikarnaputrasya prṇāpānāv apayacchāmi*. He was thus a contemporary of Uvaṭa, commentator of the VS., and preceded Śaṅkara by nearly three centuries. Dārila, whose work forms the basis of Keśava's Paddhati, must have flourished much earlier.

*ā tv ādyā sabardūghām huve gāyatrāvepasam : Indraṁ dhenūm
sudūghām ānyām īsam urūdharām aramkṣtam.* RV. 8. 1. 10.

*idā hi va ūpastutim idā vāmāsya bhaktāye : ūpa vo viścave-
daso namasyūr ā āsrkṣy ānyām iva.* RV. 8. 27. 11.

*yó asyā viśvājanmana īse viśvasya cēṣtataḥ : ānyēṣu kṣiprā-
dhanvane tāsmai prāṇa nāmo'stu te.* AV. 11. 4 (6). 23.

*yāsyāś cātasrah pradīśah prthivyā yāsyām ānnaṁ kṣīṣyāḥ
sambabhūvūḥ : yā bibharti bahudhā prānād ējat sā no bhūmīr gōṣv
āpy ānye dadhātu.* 12. 1. 4.

*ānyebhyas tvā pūruṣebhyo góbhyo āśvebhyas tvā : nīḥ kravyā-
dām nudāmasi yó agnīr jīvitayópanaḥ.* 12. 2. 16.

*pūruṣa evēdām sārvaṁ yád bhūtām yác ca bhāvyaṁ : utā
'mr̥tatvāsye 'śvaró yád ānyenā 'bhavat sahā.* 19. 6. 4.

Previous Scholars: (1) *nyā*.—Sāyaṇa: '*dṛmha-sthīrah dṛmhanena
sivirīkṣto lokah, nyāh netāras tatratyāḥ prānīnah*'. BR., 'wohl adj. von
unbekannter Bed.' Grassmann: '*niedersinkend* (?) [von nī, enthalten in
ānīa.] Henry: 'Affermi et solide toi-même, affirmis', etc. He thinks
(p. 158) that *nyā* may be an artificial formation from *anyā*—as *sura*—from
asura—, thus meaning 'no other', 'himself'. Bloomfield, who would read
dṛdhadr̥mhá(h) and consider *nyāḥ* 'leader' (sing.): *nī*—'to lead': 'He who
fastens what is firm, the strong, the leader,' etc. Whitney, who considers
dṛmha a verb: 'Being fixed, fix thou, being staunch, *nyā*', etc. (2) *ānya*.—
Sāyaṇa on RV. and AV. 11. 4(6). 23 sees no difference between it and
anyā—'other'. His commentary on the 12th book is wanting and at 19.
6. 4 he reads *ānnena* (SPP. reads *anyēna*, other texts *ānnena*). BR: '*ānyā*,
(3. *a*+*nyā*, zusammengezogen aus *nī-yā*, wie auch zu sprechen ist) f.
adj. nicht versiegend'. Henry gives a number of substitutes for *gōṣv āpy
ānye* such as *go-ṣīhāpātye*, **go-śvadhānye*, etc. and renders 12. 1. 4d:
'daigne cette Terre nous accorder la possession des vaches.' At 12. 2. 16
he as well as Ludwig considers *ānyebhyaḥ* as equivalent to *anyē*—and in
the dative. Whitney: 'to thee being such, O breath, having a quick bow
among the unexhausted (?*ānya*), be homage', 11. 4. 23c,d; 'let that
earth (*bhūmī*) set us among kine, also in inexhaustibleness (?*ānya*), 12. 1.
4d; 'Thee from inexhaustible (?*ānya*) men, kine, horses' etc. 12. 2. 16.

The correct reading in 11. 7. 4a appears to be *dṛdhó*
'*dṛmhas sthīró nyāḥ*, the loss of a sibilant before a sibilant
followed by an explosive (as between -*dṛmhas sthīró*) being pre-
scribed by the Prātiśākhya and Kātyāyana (Wack. I. § 287. b)
and widely followed in the Vedic texts. This gives us a pair of
contrasted words, *dṛdhāḥ* 'firm': *ādṛmhaḥ* 'not-firm' (cf. *bhūmi-
dṛmhá*—5. 28. 14, 19. 33. 2), *sthīrāḥ* 'stable': *nyāḥ*, which

should therefore mean 'unstable', 'movable', 'perishable', or the like. *Nyá-* (to be read *niá*) may easily have this meaning, if its relation to root *nī-* in the sense, 'to take away', 'to remove', is considered to be the same as that of *priyá-* 'dear' to the root *pri-* 'to please'.

Anyā- would thus mean 'immoveable', 'imperishable', and thus be an exact equivalent of *amṛta-*, which is sometimes an adjective, meaning 'imperishable', and sometimes a noun, meaning 'nectar', often applied to sacrificial butter or the soma-drink (see Grassmann, *s.v.*). At 12. 1. 4 and 12. 2. 16 *anya-* is probably used in the sense of sacrificial butter; at RV. 8. 1. 10 and 8. 27. 11 it qualifies *iṣam* 'libation', understood in the second passage; and at AV. 19. 6. 4 it means 'nectar', thus giving a much better sense than the other texts which read *annena*. *Anyeṣu* at AV. 11. 4. 23 is probably a vocative of *anyeṣū*: 'O one of inexhaustible arrows, to thee of quick bow, O Prāṇa, be homage.'

paṭū(ṭau)rā-

pratighnānāḥ sām dhāvanti 'raḥ paṭūrāv āghnānāḥ : aghāri-nīr vikeśyō rudatyāḥ pūruṣe hatē raditē Arvude tāva. 11. 9 (11). 14.

Previous Scholars: Sāyaṇa: '*urāḥ vaksasṭhalaṃ paṭūrau tatpradeśau ca*'. Böhtlingk: 'ein bestimmter Körperteil'. Bloomfield who renders with 'thigh', remarks [Reprint of A.J.P. XI. 3 (pp. 319-356), p. 22]: "Our translation of the obscure word is based upon Kauç. 84, 10, *triḥ prasavyaṃ prakīrṇakeçyaḥ pariyanti dakṣiṇam ūrum āghnānāḥ*. The word seems to contain *ūru* with some modifying adjective, perhaps *pṛthu* in a Prākṛtic form." Henry suggests emendation to **paṭair avaghñānāḥ* and renders: 'Qu'elles accourent, celles qui se meurtrissent de coups, | arrachant les voiles qui couvrent leurs seins,' etc. Whitney notes: "I follow both translators in rendering *paṭaurā* by 'thigh', although it is not too acceptable, considering the familiarity of *ūru* as name for 'thigh'".

Paṭūrā- or *-ṭaurā-* is evidently identical with *pāṭora-* in KS. V. 13, 11-12, *Agneḥ pakṣatiḥ Sarasvatyā nipakṣatiḥ Somasya tṛtīyā.....devānām dvādaśī dyāvāpṛthivyoḥ pārśvaṃ Yamasya pāṭorāḥ*, and *pāṭūra-* in a corresponding passage in TS. 5. 7. 21-22. This is about the ribs of a horse. VS. 25, 4-5 and MS. 3. 15. 21-22 in the corresponding passages count thirteen ribs and leave out *pāṭūra-*. Caraka, Śārira. 7, 5, counts only twelve ribs on

each side, while GBr. I. 5. 3, thirteen. It thus appears that there have been two views about the exact number of ribs, and in any case *pātūra-* seems to be outside, but just following, them on each side. It is most probably the bone, on each side, just about the thigh-joint and below the waist. Vaijayantī, p. 22, gives *pātūra-* as a name for the fourteenth lunar night. . . . *pratipat tv ekapakṣatīḥ : pakṣatīḥ cā 'tha pātūro bhūteṣṭā ca caturdaśī : nipakṣatīr dvitīyā syāt*. This also supports the above contention, the two fortnights in a month being considered its two sides (*pakṣa*).

In the above passage *paṭūraś* evidently stands not actually for these bones, but for the two sides of the belly just near them, referring to the common phenomenon of the striking of the breast and the belly by women in grief.

paruṣā-

darbhāḥ śocīs tarūṇakam āśvasya vāraḥ paruṣāsya vāraḥ : rāthasya bāndhuram. 10. 4. 2.

Previous Scholars : Ludwig : "das junge darbhagras ist flamme [der schlange], der pferdes scheif, des paruṣa schweif [ist flamme für die schlange], [ebenso] des wagens sitz." Henry : "Ardeur brûlante [contre le venin] est le brin de darbha, ainsi que le jeune brin [d'orge ?], le crin de cheval, le poil d'homme||.....le caisson du char....." Bloomfield renders *paruṣā-* with 'the shaggy one', but remarks (p. 607), "For the unintelligible *parushāsya* we are tempted to substitute *arushāsya* relying upon the oft-emphasised whiteness (*svetā*) of Pedu's horse". Whitney : "Darbha-grass, brightness, young shoot (? *tarūṇaka*); horse's tail-tuft, rough one's tail-tuft; chariot's seat (? *bāndhura*)."

Paruṣā- here probably refers to the bull. It is used as an epithet of *ukṣān-* 'bull' in RV. 5. 27. 5, *yāsya mā paruṣāḥ śatām uddharsāyanty ukṣānaḥ*, and of *gau-* 'bull' or 'cow' in RV. 6. 27. 5, *utādaḥ paruṣe gāvi sūraś cakrām hiraṇyāyam : ny airayad rathītamaḥ*, and 8. 93. 13, *tvām etād adhārayaḥ kṛṣṇāsu rōhinīsu ca : páruṣnīsu rúsat páyaḥ*. This epithet is due probably to its shagginess (of the tail ? Cf. *puruvāra-* 'having an ample tail-tuft', another epithet, RV. 1. 139. 10), as it is applied elsewhere also to *ūrṇā-* 'wool' (RV. 4. 22. 2, see Grassmann, s.v. *paruṣā-*).

Paruṣa- seems to be the correct reading for *puruṣa-* (note that two of Wh.'s and one of SPP.'s mss. read *puruṣa-* for

parusa- in the above passage) in AV. 6. 38. 4, *rājanyē dundubhāo āyatāyām āsvasya vāje pūruṣasya māyau: Indraṁ yā devī subhāgā jajāna sū na aitu vārcasā samvidānā*, and 19. 49. 4, *simhāsya rātry uṣati pīṁśāsya vyāghrāsya dvīpīno vārca ādade: āsvasya vradhnām pūruṣasya māyūm purā rūpāṇi lṇṇuse vibhāṣi*, as *māyū-* 'bellowing', 'lowing', etc., is usually applied to an animal such as the cow or the sheep, cf. Whitney's remark at 6. 38. 4, "*Māyū* is not properly used of *pūruṣa* 'man', and the expression is obscure and doubtful".

pārsāna-

Indrā-Somā vartāyatam divās pāry agnitāptebhīr yuvām āsmahanmabhiḥ: tāpurvadhebhīr ajārebhīr atrīṇo nī pārsāne vidhyatam yantu nisvarām. 8. 4. 5=RV. 7. 104. 5.

girāyaś cin nī jihate pārsānāso mānyamānāḥ: pārvatās cin nī yemire. RV. 8. 7. 34.

yād viṭāv Indra yāt sthiré yāt pārsāne pārābhṛtam: vāsu spārhmām tād ā bhara. RV. 8. 45. 41.

Previous Scholars: Sāyana: *pārsāvasthipradeśe*, AV. = *pārsāvasthāne* at RV. 7. 104. 5, *piḍyamānāḥ* or *spṛśyamānāḥ* at RV. 8. 7. 34; and *vimarśana-kṣame* at 8. 45. 41. BR.: 'm. Einsenkung, Abgrund, Kluft..... Nach Naigh. 1. 10. Wolke, wohl derselben ursprungs wie *parśu*.'

In RV. 8. 45. 41 *pārsāna-* is contrasted with *viḍū-* 'strong' and *sthirā-* 'firm', while AV. 8. 4. 5, when compared with 8. 4. 17d, *tām pratyāñcam arcīṣā vidhya mārmani*, and 8. 6. 24d, *hṛdayé'dhi nī vidhyatam*, would point to some 'tender' part of the body as its meaning. The meaning 'soft', 'tender', not only suits these two passages but also the third.

The original meaning seems to have been what Sāyana gives at RV. 8. 75. 41, viz., *vimarśanaksama-* 'worthy of being touched or felt': *sparsa-* 'touch' with suffix *-āna*. This suffix *-āna*, used to form adjectives, is found in several words: *āpnāv-āna-*: **apnu(?)*, *ūrdhvas-āna-*: *ūrdhvā(s)-*, *jrayas-āna-*: *jráyas-*, *dhiyas-āna-*: **dhiyas-*, *pṛthav-āna-*: *pṛthu-* (see under *suśīma-*), *mandas-āna-*: **mandas-*, *rabhas-āna-*: *rābhas-*, *vasāv-āna-*: *vāsu-*, *vṛdhas-āna-*: *vṛdhās-*, *śavas-āna-*: *śāvas-*, *sahas-āna-*: *sahās-*, etc. Grassmann and Macdonell (in Vedic Grammar) consider it identical with the participial suffix, but added to

a double stem of the root, in the case of *jrayasānā-*, *dhiyasānā-*, *mandasānā-*, *rabhasānā-* etc. It seems however more likely to be a secondary suffix in view of the above examples, placed side by side with the corresponding nouns.

pavāsta-

pavāstais tvā páry akrīnan dūrsébhir ajínair utá : prakrīr asi tvám oṣadhē 'bhrīkhāte ná rūrupaḥ. 4. 7. 6.

ābhūr v akūṣīr vyū āyur ānaḍ dārṣan ná pūrvo áparo ná darṣat : dvē pavāste pári tám ná bhūto yó asyá pāre rájaso vivēṣa. RV. 10. 27. 7.

Previous Scholars: Sāyaṇa: '*pavastaiḥ pavanāya astaiḥ sammārjanī-
tṛṇaiḥ*,' on AV. and '*pavaste pavatir gatikarmā.....mahatvena sarva-
syābhibhavanāya gacchantyau (dyāvāpṛthivyaū)*,' on RV. BR.: '*Zeltdecke
oder dergl. AV. 4. 7. 6. du. bildlich von Himmel und Erde RV. 10. 27. 7.*'
Oldenberg, RV. II. p. 227, remarks: "*Pavāsta dunkel. Ungewissheit der
auf kombination von AV. IV. 7. 6. und Kauś. 28. 2. beruhenden Gleich-
setzung mit avakara hat schon Bloomfield S. B. E. 42. 377f. hervorgehoben;
ebenso die Schwierigkeit, auf diesem Wege Verständniss unseres st.
zu fördern. Unzutreffend Weber, Ind. Stud. 18. 29.*"

Pāli *pothhaka-* ('a cloth made of makaci fibre', PTS's P.D.) is the regular representative of Sans. *pavasta(ka)* and, as we shall presently see, its meaning suits both the occurrences of the latter. In Jātaka IV, p. 251, *pothhakam* is explained by *ghana-* or *saṇa-sāṭakam*. From the descriptions of *pothhaka-* given in Ānguttaranikāya p. 246 and Puggalapaññatti p. 33, *saṇasūṭaka-*, 'a texture made of hemp', appears to be the true reading. It is described there as having an indifferent colour (*dubbanṇo*), rough (*dukkhasamphasso*), and cheap (*appaggho*)¹ which are exactly the characteristics of a hemp-texture. It would appear that a rough texture of this kind was used as a wrapper just like a blanket, cf. Kauś. 57. 13, *sarveṣāṃ kṣaumaśāṇakambalavastram*, and Puggalapaññatti p. 51, *so sānāni pi dhāreti masānani pi dhāreti*, etc.

¹ *tayo pothhakā:—navo pi pothhako dubbanṇo c'eva hoti dukkha-
samphasso ca appaggho ca, majjhimo pi pothhako dubbanṇo c'eva hoti
dukkhasamphasso ca appaggho ca, jinṇo pi pothhako dubbanṇo c'eva hoti
dukkhasamphasso ca appaggho ca: jinṇaṃ pi pothhakam ukkhaliparimaj-
janaṃ vā karenti saṅkarakūṭe vā naṃ chaḍḍenti.—Pug. 33.*

Accordingly, the RV. verse may be translated: "Thou becamest, thou grewest up, thou didst attain age; now the first one, now the other one has pierced. Two hemp-wrappers (i.e., the heaven and the earth) wrap, as it were, him who has spread beyond this region." And the AV. one, "They bought thee for hemp-wrappers, for tattered cloth and for goat-skin", etc.

Av. *pāstī-* 'skin of a man', Pers. *post* 'skin', later Sans. *pustaka-* and Pāli *poṭṭhaka-* 'a book', form quite a different group of words.

Bloomfield's (SBE. 42, 377 b.) and apparently Sāyaṇa's (AV. 4. 7. 6) identifications of *pavāsta-* with *avakara-*, on the ground that the latter word is found with *dūrśa-* and *jarad-ajina-* in Kauś. 28. 2, is without any force, since the words are used in different contexts. *Pavāsta-*, *dūrśa-*, and *ajina-* in AV. are referred to as inexpensive means of exchange, while *dūrśa-*, *jarad-ajina-*, and *avakara-* in Kauś. are prescribed as easily lighted fuels.

prṣṭī-

Previous Scholars: Sāyaṇa: *=parśu-* RV. 10. 87. 10, AV. 2. 7. 5, 4. 3. 5, *=pārśvāvayava-* AV. 2. 32. 2, *=prṣṭhavamśasya abhito vartamānāḥ pārśvāḥ* 11. 10. 14. BR.: 'rippe (*=parśu*)'. Grill, Henry, Whitney, and other scholars generally follow BR., except when *prṣṭī-* and *pārśu-* come together in the same sentence and where they try to differentiate with 'side' ('flanks', Henry) and 'rib' ('côte', Henry) respectively. Uhlenbeck, Etym. Wört., has: "pṛ ṣ ṭ ī s f. rippe, vgl. afgh. *puštai* rippe and *parçus* rippe, sichel. AV. *parṣtis* np. *pušt* rücken gehören nicht hierher, sondern zu *prṣṭham*. "*Prṣṭī* denotes not 'rib', which is *parśu*, but a transverse process of a vertebra, and so the vertebra itself", —Ved. Ind., s.v. Śarīra. This last one will appear to be the right meaning.

It would appear from the above that scholars are often doubtful as to the precise meaning of *prṣṭī-*, especially when they have to distinguish between it and *pārśu-*. *Prṣṭī-* is distinguished from *pārśu-* in AV. 9. 7. 6, *devānām pātṇāḥ prṣṭāya upasādāḥ pārśavaḥ*, and 10. 9. 20, *yāḥ prṣṭīr yāśca pārśavaḥ*; and from *pārśvā-* in 9. 1. 34, *yāḥ pārśvā uparṣānty anunikṣanti prṣṭīḥ*. In 12. 1. 34, *uttānās tvā pratiçīm yāt prṣṭībhir adhi śemahe* (addressed to the earth), men are said to lie on the earth, facing upwards, with their *prṣṭīs*. Whitney and Griffith here give a derivative meaning 'stretched out' to *uttānā-*,

apparently in order to be consistent with the meaning 'rib'. But *uttānā-* usually means, not only in classical but also in Vedic Sanskrit, 'lying on one's back', 'facing upwards', cf. RV. 10.142.5, *bāhū yād Agne anumārmṛjāno nyānān uttānām anvēṣi bhūmim*, and 10. 27. 13, etc., where *uttānā-* is contrasted with *nyān* 'facing downwards'. In 18. 4. 10 horses are called *prṣṭivāhaḥ*, which Whitney renders 'back-carrying (?)'. These instances show that *prṣṭi-* is not the same as *pārśu-*, but is either the back itself or some part of the body at the back. GBr. I. 5. 3, just after counting the *pārśus*, analyses the spine (*anūka-*) thus: *anūkaṁ trayastrīṁśo, dvātrīṁśatir hy evai 'tasya prṣṭikunḍālāni bhavanty, anūkaṁ trayastrīṁśam, tasmād anūkaṁ trayastrīṁśaḥ*, where it (*viz.*, the spine) is said to have thirty-two rings (?) of *prṣṭi-* [cf. Suśruta, Śārirā. ch. 5., *prṣṭhe trīṁśat (asthīni)*]. The number and the description agree with those of the transverse processes of the vertebra.

From this the meaning was easily widened to indicate the spine or the back itself, as is seen in the case of *prṣṭivāhaḥ*. Hastyāyurveda of Pālakāpya, which seems to be a fairly ancient work, uses at 3. 9. 55 *prṣṭau* for *prṣṭhe*. A similar use is also found in Kalyāṇamandirastotra, Ind. Stud. 14, 386, and Simhāsanadvātrīṁśika and Pañcadandachatraprabandha, *ib.*, 15, 378.

In the light of the above Pāli *piṭṭhi* and *piṭṭhī* (f.), Prāk. *paṭṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, and *puṭṭhi* (f.), Guj. *puṭh* (f.), Sindhi *puṭhi*, *puṭhī*, Mār. *puṭh*, and H. *pīṭh* (f.), all meaning 'back', are to be traced back to *prṣṭi-*. Cf. Turner, Dictionary of Nepali, s.v. *piṭh* and Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. V. p. 124, s.v. *puṣṭai*. It is also clear now that Av. *parštiš* and nP. *puṣṭ* do really belong to *prṣṭi-*, not to *prṣṭha-* as Uhlenbeck thought.

pēstra-

yāt te riṣṭām yāt te dyuttām āsti pēstrān ta ātmāni : dhātā tād bhadráyā pūnah sām dadhat páruṣā páruḥ. 4. 12. 2.

yó naḥ śápād āsapataḥ śápato yás ca naḥ śápāt : śúne pēstram ivā 'vaksāmanān tām prāty asyāmi mṛtyāve. 6. 37. 3.

Previous Scholars : Sāyaṇa reads *preṣṭham* (= *priyatamam*) at 4. 12. 2 and *peṣṭam* (= *piṣṭam*) at 6. 37. 3. 'Knochen. . . . vielleicht von l. *piś*'.—BR., followed by Ludwig, Grill, and Griffith. Weber, Ind. Stud. 18, 47,

renders with 'Quetschung', and Hillebrandt, Ved. Chrest., vocabulary, remarks: "Ich stelle das Wort zum Wurzel *piṣ*, zermalnen, und vermuthet: losgeschlagenes Stück Fleisch, Fleischfetzen". Bloomfield also renders with 'bone', although not satisfied. Whitney renders the two passages respectively: "What of thee is torn (*riṣ*), what of thee is inflamed (*dyut*), is crushed (*pēṣtra*) in thyself—may Dhātār excellently put that together again, joint with joint", and, "Whoever shall curse us not cursing and whoever shall curse us cursing, him, withered (?), I cast forth for death, as a bone (??) for a dog".

Bloomfield, SBE. 42, 385, has already suggested a connection of *pēṣtra*- with *piṣitā*- and *peṣi*-, and that, like the other two, it may also mean 'flesh'. In fact all these three words contain the same root *piṣ*- 'to prepare, make ready (especially meat, by cutting it up and carving it)', followed by different suffixes, *-tra* (Ved. Gr. § 152), *-ta* (ib. § 145), and *-i* (ib. § 131) respectively; cf. *janīḥ* and *ā-jānīḥ*, *jātām*, *janītram* RV. 7. 34. 2, 56. 2 (Sāy.), 'birth': *jan*- 'to be born', *ṛtīḥ*, *ṛtītām* 'dance': *ṛti*- 'to dance', *vasitam*, *vastram* 'cloth': *vas*- 'to clothe', etc. For root *piṣ*- in this sense, cf. AV. 12. 5. 36, *Śarvāḥ kruddāḥ piṣyāmānā śmīdā piṣitā (brahmagavī)*. The word *piṣitā*- itself occurs twice in the AV., at 5. 19. 5, *krūrām asyā āśāsanam tṛṣṭām piṣitām aśyate*, and at 6. 127. 1, *vidradhāsya balāsasya lōhitasya vanaspate: visūlpakasyau 'śadhe mō'chīṣaḥ piṣitām canā*, where it seems to have a figurative meaning.

This meaning not only suits both the contexts but seems to be required by them. AV. 4. 12., where the first passage occurs, is all about the healing of fractured bones, torn and damaged flesh, etc., cf. v. 3, *sām te māmsāsya viśrastām sām āsthy āpi rohatu*, and v. 4, *āṣṛk te āsthi rohatu māmsām māmsēna rohatu*. In the second passage, a piece of meat offered to a dog would make a better simile than a bone for a man offered to death, for in the former case there is also the suggestion of being completely devoured.

prārtha-

anyakṣetre nā ramase vaśī sām mṛḍayāsi naḥ: ābhūd u prārthas takmā sā gamisyati bālḥikān. 5. 22. 9.

Previous Scholars: "Lies *prā-arthas*, nach PW.: »Ausrüstung zur Reise«; vielleicht aber praedic. zu *takmā*=fortstrebend (vgl. *arthay + pra*), Ludwig: »begierig nach der Ferne« Hillebrandt: »Bereitwillig«.—

Grill. "The pada-reading in *c* is *pra-ārthaḥ*; *prā-ar-* would better suit the meaning given 'ready to set out', lit. 'having an object in front'".—Whitney.

Prārtha- seems to be a corruption for *prārthya-*, 'amenable to supplication', cf. RV. 1. 82. 1c,d, *yadā naḥ sunṣtāvataḥ kára ūd arthāyāsa id yójā nv Indra te hārī*, and Grassmann, s.v. *arthay-*, meaning (2). This (*prārthia-*) is required also by the metre and would save us an awkward resolution and a forced meaning. The loss of *y* is only another instance of the tendency of the AV. mss. to drop the last of a conjunct of three, see instances under *kákutsala-*, to which may be added *akṣ(y)aṇi* 4. 3. 3 (majority of Wh.'s mss.), *tálp(y)āni* 14. 2. 41d, *mekṣ(y)-āmi* 7. 102. 1, *rákṣ(y)amāṇaḥ* 18. 4. 70, etc.

bhṛmalá-

gūṣ te sarpo vṛścikas tṛṣṭādāmśmā hemantājabdho bhṛmaló gūhā śáye: kṣmir jinvat pṛthivi yád yad éjati prāvṛṣi tán naḥ sárpan mo'pasṛpad yác chivám téna no mṛḍa. 12. 1. 46.

Previous Scholars: The commentary is wanting on this káṇḍa. BR: 'adj. beláubt, torpidus'. Wackernagel, I. § 63.γ: 'v.: *bhṛmá-* „Verirrung“ *bhṛmí-*, *bhṛmī-*, AV. *bhṛmalá*: v. *bhramá-* „Lohe“ sp. *bhramati* „schweifen“. Ludwig, p. 548: "der sarpa, der stechende, mit hartem zahn, der dir von winter erfroren, der sich hin und her schlagelnde im verborgen ligt". Bloomfield: 'The serpent, the scorpion with thirsty fangs, that hibernating torpidly lies upon thee' etc. Henry: 'Ton serpent, ton scorpion à l'âpre morsure, | qui englouti par l'hiver git assoupi dans sa cachette' etc. Whitney: "What stinging (*vṛścika*) harshbiting serpent of thine lies in secret, winterharmed, torpid (*bhṛmalá*); whatever worm, O earth, becoming lively stirs in the early rainy season—let that crawling not crawl upon us; be thou gracious to us with that which is propitious".

The Ppp. reading *bhramalo* suggests that our *bhṛmalá-* may be identical with *bhramara-* 'a humble bee'. Confusion of *ra* and *r* in mss. is very common; cf. for instance, *prṣṭi-* or *prṣṭhi-* in some mss. for *praṣṭi-* AV. 10. 8. 8, 13. 1. 21, recorded by Whitney in his translation; *kramuka-*, v. l. for *kṛmuka-* Kauś. 28. 2; *praśnyam* for *prśnyam* in Dārila's comm. to Kauś. 11. 16; *drati-* for *dṛti-* Kauś. 38. 12; ms. Ech *hṛdam*, PBh *hṛdayam* for *hradam* ib. 52. 5, etc. Keśava commenting on *yuktayor mā no devā yas te sarpa* (the present verse) *iti śayanaśālorvarāḥ parilikhati*, Kauś. 51. 17, remarks, *atha sarpādisvastyaayanam ucyate: sarpa-*

vr̥ścika-dvidam̐śamaśaka-bhramara-bhūmikiṭa-kṛmayah; *eteṣāṃ bhayam na bhavati*, and again under the following sūtra, *ahibhaye vr̥ścikabhaye maśakabhaye bhramarasam̐ghe kṛmibhaye* etc. His enumerations, especially the second one, when equated in order of presentation with our verse, show that according to him *tr̥ṣṭādām̐śmā* = *dvidam̐śa-maśaka-* or *maśaka-* and *bhṛmalā-* = *bhramara-*. For *tr̥ṣṭādām̐śmā* cf. also AV. 7. 56. 3, *arbhāsya tr̥ṣṭadām̐śno maśakasyā* 'rasām viśām, and Sans. *dam̐śa-*, Beng. etc. *ḍās* 'a gnat'. This makes it clear that in Keśava's time (c. 11th century) either the reading itself was *bhramarā-* or *bhramalā-* instead of *bhṛmalā-*, or the latter was understood to be identical with the former. The above verse may accordingly be translated: "The serpent, the scorpion, the harsh-biting (mosquito), the bee of thee, that, pressed (lit., 'ground': *jabh-* 'to grind') by winter lie in concealment; whatever worm, being lively, O earth, stirs up in the early rainy season, let that crawling not crawl on to us, favour us with that which is propitious".

man(n)au

devā imāṃ mādhunā sāmyutam yavam̐ Sārasvatyām dāhi manāv acarkṣuh: *Indra āsīt śrapatiḥ satākratuḥ kināśā āsan Maruṭaḥ sudānavaḥ*. 6. 30. 1¹.—V.1., *manāv-*.

nī tigmadā abhy āmśum̐ sīdat dhótā manāv dāhi: *juṣāṇo asya sakhyām*. RV. 8. 72. 2.

āyukta sūra ētaṣaṃ pāvamāno manāv dāhi: *antārikṣeṇa yātave*. ib. 9. 63. 8.

rājā medhābhīr̥ iṇyate pāvamāno manāv dāhi: *antārikṣeṇa yātave*. ib. 9. 65. 16.

Previous Scholars: All have taken *manāv* (or *-ṇau*) as if identical with *mānav* 'man' or 'Manu' (loc.), although some, like Whitney, are not quite satisfied.

The accent indicates that *man(n)au* may be altogether different from *mānu-*; and *man(n)āv dāhi* with verbs like *acarkṣuh* 'ploughed', *sīdat* 'sat', *pāvamānaḥ* 'being purified', suggests

¹ "It occurs also in TB. (ii. 4. 87; exactly repeated in ĀP. ̐S. VI. 30. 20; PGS. iii. 6. 1.), MB. (ii. 1. 16), and K. (xiii. 15). The TB. version begins with *etām u tyām mādā-* (so MB. also), and it gives in b *sārasvatyās* and *manāv*".—Whitney.

that it may refer to some place or plot of land on which these actions could be performed. Now, Beng. has a word *mānū* (< **manyā*?) which means 'a fertile piece of land on either side of a river' (so near that it is often flooded when the river is full). Cf. also *maṇi-rūḍhaka*-, synonym of *śimbidhānya*- (poddled grain, such as pulses) Kalpadrukōṣa p. 142, 89, *śimbidhānyam jalaklinnam sāṅkuraṁ maṇirūḍhakam*. The application of such a meaning to the first verse, where the river Sarasvatī (cf. TB. reading -*svatyās*) is mentioned, is clear, while the other three verses relate to Soma, who is frequently connected with the river or river-bank; cf. in the same hymns, *duhānti saptai 'kām ūpa dvā pāṇca sṛjataḥ : tīrthē sindhor dāhi svarē*, 8. 72. 7; *tām im mṛjanty āyāvo hāriṁ nadīṣu vājīnam : indum Īndrāya matsarām*, 9. 63. 17; *yā āṛjīkēṣu kṛtvasu yē mādhye pastyānām : yē vā jāneṣu pañcāsu (sómāsaḥ sunvirē)*, 9. 65. 23; also 9. 76. 1, 8. 96. 14, 15, etc.¹

madhyamaśīr

yāsyā 'ñjana prasārpaśy āṅgam āṅgam páruṣparuh : táto yákṣmam ví bādhasa ugró madhyamaśīr iva. 4. 9. 4 = RV. 10. 97. 12, VS. 12. 86 with v.1., *yāsyau 'śadhīḥ prasārpatha* in a, and *bādhadhva* in c.

Previous Scholars: Sāyana: '*madhyame antarikṣasthāne śete samcara-tīti madhyamaśīḥ vāyuh*', or, '*arir mītram arer mītram itī nītiśāstrokti-rājamāṇḍalamadhyavarīḥ rājā*' (AV.), and, '*madhyamasthāne vartamāno rājā*' (RV.). BR.: '*etwa intercessor*'. Grassmann: '*wol; der in der Mitte sich lagernde als Bezeichnung etwa des Heer-führers*'. Whitney: '*Madhyamaṣī is of obscure meaning; 'arbiter', as conjectured by BR. seems very implausible [BR. express their conjectural meaning by the Latin word intercessor; by which, I suspect, they intend, not 'mediator', but rather 'adversary' or 'preventor' of the disease, which would be plausible enough]; more probably 'midmost man', like madhyameśthā or chief (see under iii. 8. 2.), and madhyamaṣī used especially of the leader about whom his men encamp, for his greater safety, in the night*'.

In the simile in the second half we have on one side, 'thou drivest away disease'—a subject, an object, and a verb—, while on the other side apparently only the subject (*madhyamaśīr*) and the verb (the same *vi-bādh*). This suggests

¹ Cf. Punj. *maṇḍ* 'low moist ground on the bank of a river or stream', which cannot in the ordinary way come from the same source as Beng. *mānū*, and Telugu *manu* 'earth, soil'.

that we have probably to split up *madhyamaśir* into two words, *mādhyam*, acc. sing. of *mādhya-* 'the central part', and *śir*, nom. sing. of **śir* (for accent and gender cf. *vandhūr-*), probably 'a boring instrument' or 'awl' as will appear from the following correspondences. Walde, Idg. Wört., s.v. *ak* (z. T. auch *ak-*) „scharf, spitz, kantig; Stein“, gives a detailed account of words formed with this element, of which those formed with *-l* (p. 29) seem to be identical (at least some of them) with our **śir*-. “arm. *aseṭn* „Nadel“, aksl. *Os(b)la*, „Wetzstein“, ags. *egle* pl. „Ährenspitzen, Grannen“, engl. *ails* „Grannen“, ahd. *ahil* m. „Ähren-spitze, Granne“, nhd. (dial.) *agel*, *ägel* „festuca“ und *Achel*; acymr. *ocolin* „cos“, neymr. *agalen*, und (*h*)*ogalen*, nbret. *higolen* „Wetzstein“; lat. *aculeus* „Stachel“; anord. *soð-áll* „Fleischgabel“; cymr. *ebill* „Bohrer“ corn. *epill hoern* „clavus“, mbret. *ebil* „Pflock, Stiff, Nagel“.

Assuming this modification of the text and meaning of **śir*-, Whitney's translation may be modified: “Of whomsoever, O ointment, thou creepest over limb after limb, joint after joint, from thence thou drivest away the *yákṣma* ‘as a sharp boring instrument the middle portion (of anything, by cutting a hole)’”.

mūra- — *mūradeva-*

1. *mūra-*

yā śaśāpa śāpanena yā 'ghān mūram ādadhé: yā rāsasya hāraṇāya jātām ārebhé tokām attu sá. 1. 28. 3 = 4. 17. 3.

Mūra- has been rightly identified with *mūla-* 'root', but the import of *c* seems to have been misunderstood. Thus the commentator takes *mūram* as adj. of *aghām*, meaning either *ādibhūtam* or *mūrchākaram*, and reads *ādade* (= *parijagrāha*, *kṛtavatī* 'tyarthaḥ) for *ā dadhé*; Grill, '...hat gift'ge Wurzel angewandt'; Whitney, '...that hath taken malignity as her root (? *mūra*).’ As, however, *ā dhā-* usually means 'to lay', 'to deposit', 'to bury or impregnate', cf. RV. 9. 19. 5, *kuvid vṛṣanyāntibhyah punānó gárham ādádhat*, and roots are mentioned as having been used for sorcery, cf. *mūlakṣt-* in *yāh kṛtyākṣn mūlakṣd yātudhāno 4. 28. 6*, and *mūlin-* in *kṛtyākṣtam*

valagīnam mūlinam śapatheyam 5. 18. 12, the rendering should rather be, 'that hath buried the wretched root'. Cf. 5. 18. 8, *yām te kṛtyām kṛpe* 'vadadhūh śmaśāné vā nicakhnūh, or 10. 1. 18, *yām te barhīsi yām śmaśāné kṣetre kṛtyām valagām vā nicakhnūh*.

2. *mūradeva-*

āyodamīstro arcīṣā yātudhānān ūpa spr̥ṣa jātavedaḥ sāmīd-dhaḥ : ā jihvāyā mūradevān rabhasva kravyādo vṛṣtvā 'pi dhatsvā 'śan. 8. 3. 2=RV. 10. 87. 2.

pārā śṛṇīhi tāpasā yātudhānān pārā 'gne rākṣo hārasā śṛṇīhi : pārā 'reiṣā mūradevān chṛṇīhi pārā 'sutṛpo abhi śósucā-naḥ. 8. 3. 13 (=10. 5. 49)=RV. 10. 87. 14.

Índra jahí pūmāmsam yātudhānam utá strīyam māyáyā śāśadānām : vígrīvāso mūradevā ṛdantu mū té dṛṣant sūryam uccārantam. 8. 4. 24=RV. 8. 104. 24.

Previous Scholars: Sāyaṇa: =*māraṇakriḍā rākṣasāḥ* (8. 104. 24), *mūḍhadevān māravayāpārān* (10. 8. 2), *māravayāpārān* (ib. v. 24) on RV., and, *mūlena auṣadhena dīvyanti*, or *mūḍhāḥ santo dīvyanti te* (8. 3. 2), *māraṇena karmaṇā dīvyantīti* (v. 13), *māraṇakriḍā mūlena viṣauṣadhyā dīvyantīti vā* (8. 4. 24) on AV. BR: '=*mūladeva Kāç*, zu P. 8, 2, 18, Vārtt. 2, Bez. *gewisser Unholde*.' Grassmann: 'Bezeichnung dämonischer Wesen oder ihrer Verehrer.' Whitney: 'false worshippers.' Henry renders with 'demons' or 'impies', but remarks in his commentary to 8. 3. 2 that it is probably a possessive compound with *mūra-* 'root', and not *mūrá-* 'foolish', as the accent on the first member shows.

As Henry has already pointed out, the accentuation shows that the first member in *mūradeva-* is *mūra-* 'root', thus the word meaning, 'having the roots as one's god'. In view of the importance of the use of roots in sorcery, as seen under *mūra-*, this implies simply that the sorcerers were so called because they were devoted to and expected everything from the roots just as much as the Ṛṣis did with regard to the gods. That roots were actually worshipped as fetish and their worshippers were later confused with demons, as Henry would suggest, does not seem to be a necessary implication.

vṛā-

Venás tát paśyat paramām gūhā yád yātra vísvam bhāvaty ékarūpam : idám pṛṣnir aduhaj jāyamānāḥ svarvīdo abhyānūṣata vṛāḥ. 2. 1. 1.

sānn ūchisṭe āsamś co 'bhaū mṛtyūr vājah prajāpatiḥ : lokyā ūcchiṣṭa ūyatiā vrās ca drās cā 'pi śrīr māyi. 11. 7 (9). 3.

śāmbhīd dha dyātīm śā dharūṇam pruṣṭyād ṛbhūr vājāya drāviṇam nāro gōḥ : ānu svajām mahiśās cakṣata vrām mēnām āsvosya pāri mātāram gōḥ. RV. 1. 121. 2.

svāsā svāstre jyāyasyai yōnim āraig āpaity asyāḥ praticāks-yēv : vyucchānti rāsmibhiḥ sūryasyā 'ñjy ankte samanagā iva vrāḥ. Ib. 1. 124. 8.

pūrvaṁ ānu prāyatim ādāde vas trīn yuktā aṣṭāv aridhāyaso gūḥ : subāndhavo yē viśyā iva vrā ānasvantāḥ śrāva aiśanta pajrāḥ. Ib. 1. 126. 5.

tē manvata prathamām nāma dhenós trīḥ sapta mātūḥ paramāni vindan : tāj jānatīr abhyānūṣata vrā āvirbhavad aruṇīr yaśāsā gōḥ. Ib. 4. 1. 16.

gōbhīr yād īm anyē asmān mṛgām nā vrā mṛgāyante : abhī-sāranti dhenūbhiḥ. Ib. 8. 2. 6.

samudrād ūrmīm ūd iyarti Venó nabhojūḥ pṛsthām haryatā-sya darśi : ṛtāsya śānāv ādhi viṣṭāpi bhrāt samānām yōnim abhyānūṣata vrāḥ. Ib. 10. 123. 2

Previous Scholars: Sāyana on RV. gives various meanings to this word: 'night' or 'dawn' (1. 121. 2), samyagananahetava āpaḥ, samanāḥ, tā gaccanti samanagā vidyutāḥ, vrā vrātūḥ, vidyutsamghā iva (1. 124. 8), vriyanta iti vrāḥ vrātāḥ takāralopas chāndasaḥ (1. 126. 5), vrā ity uśaso nāma (4. 1. 16), and vrā varitaro jālādibhir upāyair nirundhānā vyādḥāḥ (8. 2. 6). On AV. 2. 2. 1 he has vrāḥ = either āvṛtāmānāḥ prajāḥ, or, vriyamānāḥ...apāḥ, and on 11. 7 (9). 3, vraḥ vārako varuṇaḥ draḥ drāvakaḥ amṛtamayaḥ somaḥ. Geldner, Trans. of RV. p. 149. n., summarises the opinions of leading modern scholars and gives his own opinion: "vrā nach Roth: Haufe, Schar, nach Fischel: Weib, nach Bergaigne (40. h. 14) femelle en rut oder femme amoureuse. Dies wohl richtig. vrā ist das Lockweibchen. In 8. 2. 6. bezeichnet es die weiblichen Locktiere, mit denen Jäger das Wild einfangen wie die Sänger den Indra. 1. 124. 8 sind die Frauen gemeint, die auf die Hochzeit gehen um Männer einzufangen (vgl. AV. 6. 60); 1. 126. 5 mit dem Beiwort viśyāḥ die Hetären (δηόσαι παιδοσαι); 4. 1. 16; 10. 123. 2; AV. 2. 1. 1. die Lockstimmen der Sänger, wobei das Bild der nach dem Stier brüllenden Kühe festgehalten wird. 1. 121. 2. ist das den Büffel lockende Weibchen, das Indra als der Büffel für sich selbst erzeugt hatte, gemeint, also eine māyā". Whitney renders with 'troops', although he refers to Fischel's interpretation.

Fischel's view (and evidently also that of Bergaigne and Geldner) that vrā- means 'a woman', Ved. Stud., II. 131 and 313-322, rests on the following: (1) corresponding to samanagā

iva vrāḥ RV. 1. 124. 8. there are RV. 4. 58. 8, 6. 75. 4, 7. 2. 5, 10. 86. 10, 10. 168. 2, etc., where women are said to go to a *sámana*, which is shown to have been a kind of festive gathering; (2) in RV. 1. 121. 2, like *ménām ásvasya* and *mātáram góḥ*, *vrā-* should also refer to a female animal, namely, that of the *mahiṣāḥ*; (3) in RV. 8. 2. 6 there may be a reference to capturing elephants with the help of a she-elephant, *vrāḥ* standing for *vrābhīḥ* (he refers to Bergaigne, *Mélanges Renier* p. 88ff.); (4) in 1. 126. 5 *viśyāḥ* 'belonging to the people (*viś-*)' qualifying *vrāḥ* may make it equivalent in sense to *veśyā-* 'courtesan'; and (5) in the phrase *abhy ānūṣata vrāḥ* the word may stand for the 'prayers', which are often compared to women.

Against this may be considered the following: (1) corresponding to *samanagā iva vrāḥ* RV. 1. 12. 48 and *viśyā iva vrāḥ* ib. 1. 126. 5, we have *samanagā asucaj jātāvedāḥ* ib. 7. 9. 4 (cf. Pischel, *loc. cit.*, p. 315) and *viśa ā kṣeti viśyó viśam* ib. 10. 91. 2, the only other recorded instances of *samanagā-* and *viśyā-*, both referring to 'fire'; (2) the meaning of *vená-*, with which *vrāḥ* appears in AV. 2. 1. 1 and RV. 10. 123. 1 is uncertain; sometimes the word appears as an epithet (= *medhāvin-* 'wise' Naigh. 3. 15., 'eager', 'loving', BR.), at others as a particular deity. In the latter case it is particularly associated with the sun, cf. RV. 1. 83. 3, *tātaḥ sūryo vratapā vená ūjani*, ib. 10. 123. and particularly v. 1, *ayám Venás codayat pṣṇigarbhā jyótir-jarāyū rājaso vimāne: imám apām saṅgamé sūryasya śíśum ná viprā matibhī rihanti*, and AV. 2. 1. 1 and 4. 1. 1 which seem clearly to refer to the rising of sun and the consequent unravelling of the universe, erstwhile immersed in darkness. Apparently on these rest the statements of Nir. 1. 7., ŚBr. 7. 4. 1. 14, etc., that it means the 'sun'. The root *ven-* 'to long for' seems identical with Av. *vaen-* 'to see' and in the latter sense *vená-* may certainly refer to the sun as the 'observer'; (3) *abhy ānūṣata* may as well be the 3rd aor. plur. of *uṣ-* 'to burn' (cf. *ús-*, *uśás-* 'dawn' which would be intended by *vrāḥ* in this case) with *abhī* and *ānu*; and (4) *mṛgám ná vrā mṛgáyante* in RV. 8. 2. 6 may refer to the chasing of wild beasts with 'firebrands' in hunting, reading *vrā* (inst. sing.) instead of *vrāḥ* or understanding it with Pischel as elliptical for *vrābhīḥ*.

The above suggests that 'glow' either of fire or of dawn, is perhaps the true meaning of *vrā-* and this is also supported by the I.-E. element **ur-* (or **ul-*) 'to burn', found here as well as in the following: *ulkā-* 'firebrand' or 'meteor', *ulkuṣi-* (*-mant-*) and *ulmuka-* 'firebrand', *ulbaṇa-* 'hot' Vj. 196, 17, *vārcas-* 'splendour'; old HG. *walm* 'warm', old Bulg. *varb* 'glow-heat', *variti* 'to cook', Lith. *isz-vora* 'soft boiled vegetable food', Lett. *wārs* 'soup', *wārīt* 'to cook'—Leskien, Alt. Bulg. Element. p. 13—old Slav. *varŭ* 'heat' *vrēti* 'to cook, to be hot', *vrutŭ* 'hot', Lith. *virti* 'to cook'—Kluge. Etym. Wb. d. deutsch. Sprache, s.v. *warm*—etc. Cf. also Walde, s.v. 3. *uer-*, p. 269.¹

samuṣpalā-

saṁvānanī samuṣpalā bābhru kalyāṇi sām nuda: āmūn ca mām ca sām nuda samāndām hṛdayam kṛdhi. 6. 139. 3.

Previous Scholars: Sāyana hazards a conjecture, *samuṣpalā samyak uṭṭaphalā satī*. Whitney: "A conciliator, a love-awakener (?), do thou, O brown, beauteous one, push together; push together both yon woman and me; make [our] heart the same". He remarks, "The mss. hardly distinguish *sy* and *sp*, but ours, in general, seem as distinctly as the case admits, to read *samuṣyalā* in a; yet SPP. has *-uṣpa-* (noting one ms. as reading *-uṣya-*), and, as he has living scholars among his authorities, the probability is that he is right. Save here and at XIV. 1. 60. (*ūṣyalāni* or *ūṣpa-*), the word appears to be unknown".

Samuṣpalā- is probably identical with **samut-sparā-* 'conquering' (: *spr-* 'to conquer'), entailing a loss of final unexploded *t* before *s* as in *ut-sthā-*: **usthā-*: Vern. *uṭh-*. See Turner, Bulletin of the School of Oriental studies, V, p. 130f. Compare *jāyantī* and *spāraṇī* in 5. 5. 3, *vrkṣām vrkṣam ā rohasi vṛṣaṇyātī* 'va kanyālā: jāyantī pratyātiṣṭhantī spāraṇī nāma vā asi, with *saṁvānanī* 'winning over' and *samuṣpalā* in the above verse.

Ūspala- 'framepieces of a bedstead' in 14. 1. 60, *Bhāgas tatakṣa catūraḥ pādān Bhāgas tatakṣa catvāry ūspalāni: Trvāṣṭā*

¹ Walde, loc. cit., tries to show that the meaning, in the Baltic and Slavonic languages, 'to be hot' etc. came from 'to cook' < 'to stir' < 'to mix water' < *uer-* 'to make wet', and suggests that Arm. *varem* 'I light', *var* 'burn' and Germ. *warm* are to be separated from them. He does not take into account the Sans. examples amongst them.

pipeśa madhyatō 'nu vārdhrān sã no astu sumāṅgalī, seems to be altogether a different word from the above. It can, however, hardly be different from *utpala-* in Kauś. 35. 26, *dīrghotpale 'vagrīhya samviśati* and 36. 7, *śayanapādam utpale ca*, the former of which the commentators explain, *maṁcakeśe* (??) [prob. *keśe*, the (side-)poles of the bedstead] *adhaḥ kṛtā* (? *-tvā*) *tatra samviśati* (Dār.), and *khaṭvām adhomukhapatṭikām gṛhītṛvā svapīti* (Keś.). Assuming *utpala-* to be the correct form, the appearance of *uṣpala-* can be explained as coming first through a Prakritic tendency to *uppala-* and then by ms. corruption becoming *uṣpala-*. Other instances of *pp* (𑀧) appearing as *ṣp* (𑀧) are found elsewhere, cf. Whitney's remarks with regard to *pippalī-* at 6. 109. 1 and *pīppala-* at 9. 9. 20.

suśīma-

lāṅgalaṁ pavīrdvat suśīmaṁ somasātsaru: úd id vapatu gām āviṁ prasthāvad rathavāhanam pīvarim ca prapharvyam.
3. 17. 3.

Previous Scholars: Sāyaṇa: '*karṣakasya sukha-karam.*' BR. suggest emendation to *suśīmam* 'having a good furrow'. For *somasātsaru* (p. *somaśat-saru*, VS., MS., KS., and Vas. Dh. *-pīt-saru*, Ppp. *-pītsalam*), which Whitney considers impracticable, Weber conjectures a noun *uman* 'strap' and emends to *soma* (= *sa-uma*) *satsaru* 'with strap and handle'. For the rest and *variae lectiones* see elaborate discussion of the verse by Whitney, who renders: "Let the plow (*lāṅgala*), lance-pointed, well-lying, with well-smoothed handle, turn up (*ud-vap*) cow, sheep, an ongoing chariot-frame, and a plump wench".

Suśīma- in ŚBr. 6. 44. 3, where it is used to explain *suśad-*, evidently contains the root *śī-* 'to lie', see BR. It also appears in Kauś. 76. 23, *iṣe tvā sumāṅgalī prajāvati prajāvati suśīma iti prathamam*, in the following sūtra (the same expression), and in 77. 6, *saṁr̥chata svapātho 'navayantaḥ suśīmakāmāv ubhe virājāv ubhe suprajasāu*, etc. Bloomfield (suggested also by BR.) emends in all these cases to *suśīma-*, but if *suśīla-* is substituted for *suśīma-* the meaning suits all right. *Śīma-* and *śīla-* 'habit' thus appears to be parallel formations with *śī-* 'to lie', originally meaning simply 'inclination'. In the above verse *suśīma-* probably refers to the inclination of the pole to the stump of the plough.

As most of the verses of this hymn are found also in different texts (Ppp., RV., VS., MS., TA., TS., Vas. Dh.) but nowhere in the same order or all together, it is possible that this verse is culled from a different context and *soma* may well be a vocative and *sātsaru* = *sāt-tsaru* 'well-handled'. With this understanding, which does not require change of accent or any other supposition, the verse may be translated: 'Let the plough, furnished with a lance (i.e., the share), well-inclined, of a good handle, O Soma, turn up', etc.

In this connection may be considered RV. 10. 93. 14, *prá tād duḥśīme pṛthavāne vené prá rāmé vocam ásure maghāvatsu : yé yuktváya páñca satā 'smayú pathā viśrávy eṣām*, where both *duḥśīma* and *pṛthavāna* have been considered proper names. Now King Vena, who is notorious in tradition as a perpetrator of evil deeds (cf. Sörensen's Index to MBh., s.v. Vena, and W. Kirfel, Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa p. 145f., 15-17; 234f. 10-33; 251, 3-10), had a son called Pṛthu. Thus, with the above meaning of *śīma*-, *duḥśīma*-'evil-disposed' may well be his epithet, while *pṛthavāna* may mean 'having Pṛthu (as a son)'—see suffix *-āna* under *pārsāna*—and thus be another epithet.¹

¹ The above was approved by the University of London as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in July, 1930.

ERRATA.

An addition of 20 should be made to each of the figures in the references.

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III.—Were Ragamalas Painted By The Artists Of 'Kangra'?

By Dr. Hirananda Sastri, M.A., M.O.L., D.Litt.

Dr. A. Coomaraswamy in his review of Mr. N. C. Mehta's *Studies in Indian Painting* which appeared in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (Vol. 47, 1927, pp. 275-278) expresses a doubt on the identification of Plate 60 (Kṛṣṇa dancing, identified as Rāgiṇī Vasanta) and seems to believe that the "Kāṅgrā painters never painted *Rāgamālās*". He says that "only one isolated Pahārī sketch illustrating a rāgiṇī is known—apart from Jammu". A somewhat similar statement he has made in his *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, part V, p. 43. Mr. Mehta in his article entitled "Notes on Hindu Painting" which has appeared in the *Proceedings of the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference* (Vol. II, p. 1063) seems to have followed suit by saying that "in the Courts of Kangra, Garhwal, Jammu, and other hill States in the Punjab where Hindi literature and Hindu culture were patronised, Raga and Ragini pictures never appear to have been in vogue." Facts, however, would show that the case is different and that the statement of the learned connoisseur requires modification.

In the first place the nomenclature 'Kāṅgrā School' or 'Pahārī School' does not appear to be correct. For, what is 'Kāṅgrā'? It is the name of a town, and a district in the Panjāb. The term 'Kāṅgrā School', therefore, should be applied only to paintings which were made by the Kāṅgrā painters or their pupils. But it is being applied to the paintings from Garhwal also when there is no reason to suppose that the Garhwal painters followed, as a rule, the *ustāds* of Kāṅgrā. The name 'Pahārī School' is, on the very face of it, fallacious, for, 'Pahārī' means 'belonging to hills' and can therefore be applied not only to the paintings wrought by the painters of the Kāṅgrā valley but also to the work of the painters of any other hilly portion of India. The question

of nomenclature is, however, one which requires separate study and I need not take it up here.

I have got an old sketch which represents the Kānaḍā Rāga. It was purchased from a descendant of an *ustād* or master-painter of Kāṅgrā itself. That it is the work of the so-called 'Kāṅgrā School' goes without saying. For the information of scholars interested in the subject, I am reproducing it here. This will militate against Dr. Coomaraswamy's view, for it definitely shows that the Kāṅgrā painters must have painted *Rāgamālās*. It was evidently drawn by the master-painter or *ustād* for the guidance of his pupils. His instructions are clearly written on it and were meant to be followed when paintings had to be made from the sketch. Otherwise, they would not have been given at all. According to these instructions, the dress of the riding figures of the Rāga should be chintz-coloured and that of the seated figure of it, purple in colour, the faces of all being shown as white. Further, they require that the seated figure be decorated with a necklace of pearls. In the sketch, the Rāga represented, namely, 'Kānaḍā', is called the son of 'Mēgha' (*putra-Mēghēda (ā)*). Mēgha,¹ we know, is one of the six principal Rāgas of Northern India. It may be observed here that in Southern India two different Rāgas, bearing somewhat similar names, are known. One is called Kānaḍā and the other Kannaḍa, both being *Janya* or Secondary Rāgas. The former is a derivative of *Mēlakartā* Kharaharapriyā and the latter of Dhīra-Śaṅkarābharana. All the Rāgas are divided into two main classes, namely, Primary (or *janaka*) Rāgas, and Secondary (or *Janya*) Rāgas. The former are known in Southern India as *Mēlakartās* or 'Lords of Melody', and also as *Sampūrṇa* Rāgas. The Secondary or *Janya* Rāgas are derived from these *Mēlakartās*.

The title of the Rāga represented by the sketch must, however, be 'Kānaḍā'. In the words *putra-Mēghēda*, the Tāṁkri writer has omitted lengthening the vowels and put *a* instead of *ā*.

¹ Johnson's Collection, India Office, London, has a picture of this Rāga which is reproduced in *The Music of India* by H. A. Popley.



Rāgmālā Paintings.

B. O. R. S. Vol. XVII. 1.

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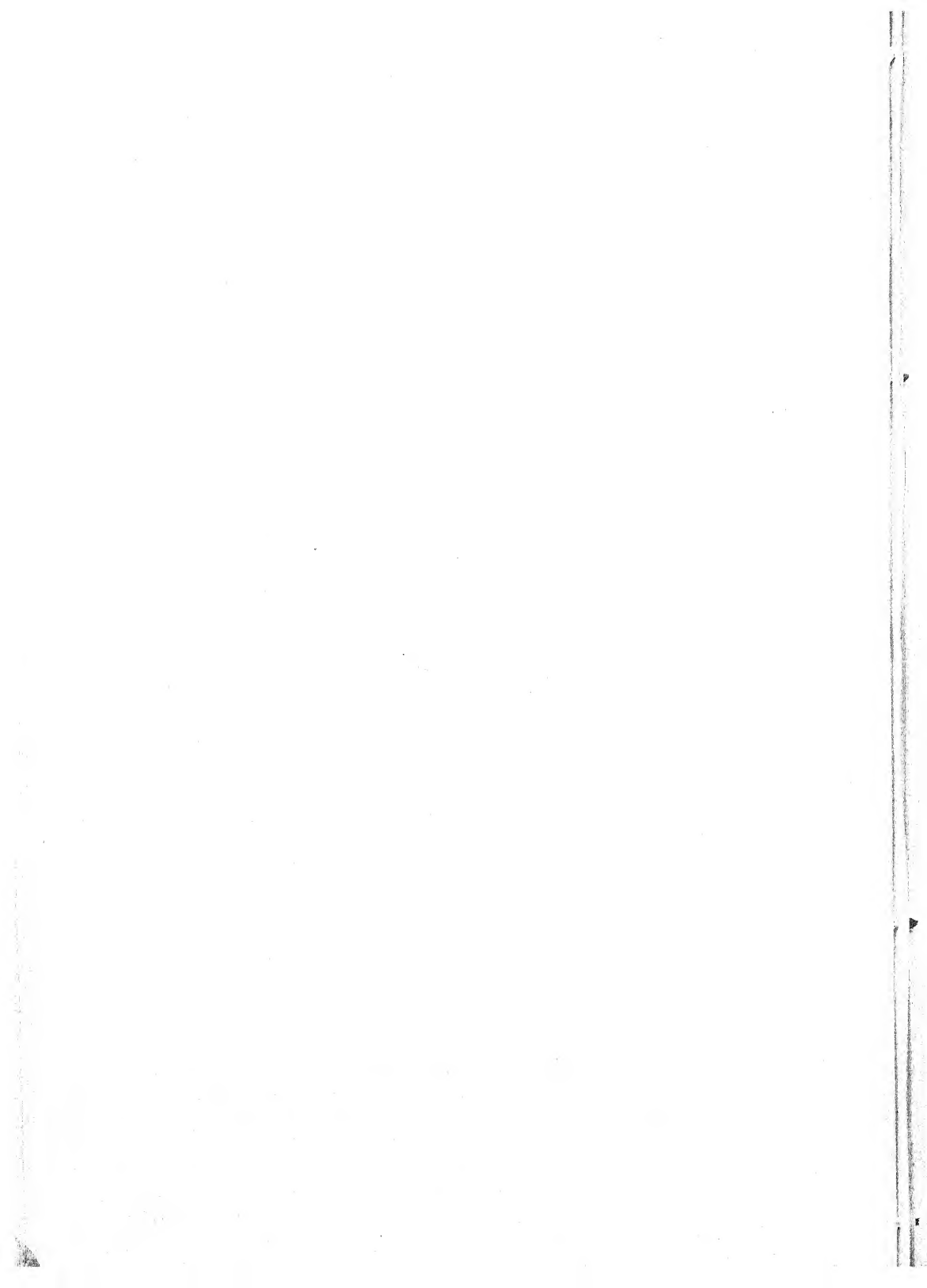
¹ Johnson's Collection, India Office, London, has a picture of this Rāga which is reproduced in *The Music of India* by H. A. Popley.



Rāgmālā Paintings.



Rāgamālā Paintings.



It does not matter much if the actual painted copies of the sketch have not yet come out. They might be found some time. In support of my view I might refer to the representation of the Mēgha Rāga which also comes from Kāṅgrā and has already been reproduced by the learned Doctor himself in his highly interesting *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Part V, Rājput Painting (plate CIII, LXXVII). Here, it will not be out of place to reproduce two of the Kāṅgrā paintings with me which appear to be connected with the *Rāgamālās*, though they bear no names. One of them, possibly, represents the Varārī Rāgīnī.¹ The position of the hands and the arms stretched overhead in an amorous mood is very similar to what we see in the figures of this Rāgīnī which have been reproduced in the aforementioned *Catalogue* (Plates XXIII and XXXI) although the lady is standing and has no maid or confidante in attendance.

¹ This picture is unfinished.

IV.—Copper Plate Grant of Neṭṭabhañja

By Pandit Binayak Misra, Calcutta University

This grant had been kept in the palace of the Ruling Chief of the Bod State since long. No report as to its discovery is available. I acknowledge my indebtedness to Pandit Tarakeshwar Ganguly of Mayurbhanj, who got it from the Chief of Bod and gave me for decipherment.

The grant consists of 5 thin plates, each measuring $5\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 3". They are strung on a ring, $1\frac{1}{4}$ " thick and $2\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter, which passes through a hole, square in size and bored at the left margin at a distance of $\frac{5}{8}$ " from the edge of each plate. Both ends of the ring are secured by a lump of copper, the top surface of which is $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. It contains, in relief, the figure of a lion in the squatting posture, with the head hung down, facing to the right. The edge of the seal has been raised into a rim in order to protect the figure from being damaged. The obverse of the first plate contains no writing.

The characters of this grant are, in form, almost similar to those of the Ganjam plate of the 7th century A.C.¹. The e-mark has been shown on the left top corner of single consonant (cf. *devaḥ* in l. 16 and *māheśvara* in l. 15). But in the case of conjunct letter, the same mark has been incised exactly on the head of the letter (cf. *khaṇḍendo* in l. 2 and *padme* in l. 4). The stroke of â-mark has not touched the base of the letter (cf. *sāndra* and *rāga* in l. 1). There is no remarkable differences between 'bha' and 'ha'. They may, therefore, be assigned to the 8th century A.C. at the latest.

The text is in the Sanskrit language. There is hardly any orthographical error. It opens with a verse, composed in the Śārdulavikrīḍita metre, praying the matted hair of Sthāṇu (Śiva) for protection. Then runs the description, in prose, of the city of new Āṅgulaka, the place of issue of the grant, which is identical with Angul of the present day.

¹ E.I. Vol. VI, pp. 143-46.

The donor was Paramamāheśvara Netṭabhaṅja, who should not be confounded with Netṭabhaṅja of the Daspalla plate¹, since the characters and the seal of the latter's grant radically differ from the present plate.

The grant records the gift of the village Sthambakāra-laṇḍaka including the boundary of Battarāghāta in Khaṇḍakṣetra of the Olāśṛṅga district. The gift was made to signify the merit of Bāsaṭādevi, the deceased queen of the donor. The donee Mādhavasvāmī belonged to Vājasaneyacharaṇa and Pārāsarasa school of the Kānva branch. The plate was written by Nanna (Lalla ?) and incised by Bāddarākanādāsa.

Netṭabhaṅja is said to be the ornament of the spotless family existing on the earth. The legend of the birth of the founder of Bhaṅja family, from the egg of a pea-hen has been omitted in this plate.

The place Battarāghāta, mentioned in this plate, is identical with Patrapada lying on the bank of an insignificant river in Angul. Khaṇḍakṣetra and Olāśṛṅga seem not to be different from Khaṇḍakṣetra and Oḍayaśṛṅga of Janamejaya's plate². I, therefore, identify Olāśṛṅga or Oḍayaśṛṅga with Oiḍa lying on the north bank of the Mahānadi in the Athmallik State.

Śatrubhaṅja, the donor of the Tasapaikera charter³, addressed the order to the officers of the both Khiṅjalis. There can be no doubt as to the extension of the kingdom of the Bhaṅja rulers, to the south of the Mahānadi. It is therefore evident that there were two Khiṅjalis—one lay to the south and the other to the north of the Mahānadi. The southern Khiṅjali may be identified with Khijaripara in Bod and the northern Khiṅjali with Hijjali in Angula. The identification of Khiṅjali with either Khimedy or Keonjhar⁴ carries no conviction into the minds of the readers.

The origin of the Bhaṅja dynasty has so far remained obscure. In the plates, later in date than the present grant,

¹ Above Vol. VI, p. 276.

² E.I. Vol. III, pp. 340-44.

³ Above Vol. II, p. 174. l. 2, Read Khiṅjalyādhipati.

⁴ E.I. Vol. XVIII, pp. 288-292.

the origin of this dynasty has been traced to the egg of a peahen and the sage Vasiṣṭha¹.

The grant of Udayavarāha², discovered in the Bonai State lying in the proximity of Mayurbhanj, discloses that the ancestor of the donor, belonging to Mayūra family, came from the Chitrakūṭa, the abode of the sage Vasiṣṭha. This grant has a peacock seal. The editor of this plate has identified this Mayūra family with the Bhañja family of Mayurbhanja, the present insignia and the Gotra-name of which are peacock and Vasiṣṭha respectively.

We get from the votive inscription³ on the image of Avalokiteśvara found at Khiching in Mayurbhanj and preserved there in the museum that the said image, belonging to Rāyabhañja, was made with the help of Dharaṇivarāha for (signifying) the glory. The peacock-designs are also abundantly found in the architectural remains at Khiching. Again the manner of the expression of Dharaṇivarāha's name, leads me to suppose that Dharaṇivarāha was not an ordinary man, but a ruler. If it be so, this Dharaṇivarāha may be connected with Udayavarāha of the Mayūra family. It, therefore, occurs to me that the Bhañja family had kinship with the Mayūra family. Again the present Kadamba family of Bonai, the origin of which has been traced in the old copper plate records to Mayūrasarmmā⁴, may be supposed to be the remnant of Mayūra family of the plate discovered in the same Bonai State. Moreover Barāhabhūm of Chutianagpur, which may be supposed to be the territory governed by the Varāhas of Mayūra family, is not far from Khiching in Mayurbhanj. It will be, therefore, not absurd to say that Bhañja family and Mayūra family both ruled the countries lying contiguously. I shall show later on that one affix added to the names of one ruling family was not probably adopted by another family of Orissa. Consequently Dharaṇivarāha could easily be connected with the Mayūra family

¹ J.A.S.B. Vol. XL, 1871, p. 166.

² Above Vol. VI, p. 243.

³ L. 1. Om rājñyaḥ śrī Rāyabhañjasya lokaśa-bhagavān = ayaṁ.

L. 2. Dharaṇivarāheṇa saha kīrtti-vinirmitaḥ.

⁴ E.I. Vol. VIII, p. 28.

of Udayavarâha. Besides, Mayûrabhañja, the name of the State, proves itself that it owes its origin to the Bhañja branch of Mayûra family. Taking all these facts into consideration, I accept the view of the learned editor of Udayavarâha's plate that Bhañja and Mayûra both were one and the same family.

The readers should bear in mind that in Orissa, different affixes, such as *râja*, *stambha*, *tuṅga*, *nanda* and *kara* were selected by different ruling families, each to be commonly added to the names of the rulers of a particular family. *Râja* was added to the names of the rulers of the Śailadbhava family¹. The names of the rulers of the Śulki family often ended with the *Stambha* suffix². The affix 'tuṅga' commonly added to the names of the rulers of a certain family, subsequently became an appellation of that family³. Such was also the case with the *nanda* affix which denoted a family⁴. The Bhauma dynasty was known as *Kara* family, because the names of the rulers of that dynasty had *Kara* suffix⁵. The readers should now take note of the fact that one affix selected by one family was not adopted by another in the same Orissa Province. It is, therefore, not difficult to find out the reason why the Mayûra family came to be known as Bhañja family.

If we omit the *Bhañja* affix from the names of the early kings of the epigraphic records of the Bhañja family, we find that Koṭṭa, Diga, Raṇa, Śilâ, Śatru and Netṛi each cannot independently denote a proper name of the person. I, therefore, assert that the *bhañja* affix was selected by one branch, and *varâha* by the other branch of the same Mayûra family to be commonly added to the names of the rulers of the respective branches, and, therefore, Bhañja became an appellation of the former branch in later times. As the present record which is the earliest of all Bhañja records so far discovered, does not mention the family, which its donor belonged to, as Bhañja, it

¹ Above Vol. XVI, pp. 176-88, Mādhavarâja, Madhyamarâja, etc.

² Above Vol. II, p. 405 Ranastambha, Kulastambha, etc.

³ Khadgatuṅga Vinitatunga, etc., Above Vol. VI, p. 238.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 241-45, Jayânanda, Parânanda, etc.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 72, Sivakara, Santikara, etc.

is probable that this family came to be known as Bhañja in later time, owing to Bhañja affix used by its early rulers.

We find the figure of a lion on the seal of the present plate. But the plate¹ of Raṇabhañja, of Mayurbhanj, contains the figure of a bull on the seal, while the present seal of the Bhañja family of Mayurbhanj contains the figure of a peacock. We learn from the Hindol plate, that the original emblem of the Bhauma dynasty was a lion². But on the seals of their plates, we notice the figures of bull and crescent instead of lion. There are abundant instances of the change of seal in the same family of the epigraphic records. The difference in seal does not therefore stand in the way of placing all the Bhañja rulers of Orissa under one family, since they have harmoniously claimed one descent since long and no inter-marriage is ever allowed between themselves.

According to the view of Mr. Belgar, the Bhañja family is an off-shoot of the glorious Maurya dynasty³. The legend of the birth of the ancestor of the historical Maurya family supports now his assertion. We find the mythological story in the Pag Sam Jon Zang, Part I, by Pal Jor of Tibbet (edited by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das, B.A., C.I.E.) that the founder of the solar dynasty, which the Maurya family emanated from, was born of an egg, which was hatched in the sun's ray. In Orissa Bhañja family is also known as the solar dynasty. Again the legend of the origin of the Bhañja family is in harmony with that of the Maurya. Besides, the word Maurya may easily be transformed to Mayūra by the phonetic rules of the Oriya language. It is therefore probable that the Bhañja family sprang from the Maurya family.

The numerical symbols have been used in writing the date of this plate. In the last line of the last plate, the symbol, preceding to the decimal figure 3 and succeeding to the word *Vadi*, must be read as 10 to make out the meaning that the deed was executed on the 13th day of the dark

¹ J.A.S.B. Vol. XL, 1871, p. 161.

² Above Vol. XVI, p. 75.

³ Report of Arch. Survey of India, Vol. XII, app. (b) pp. 110-11.

fortnight of the month of Karttika. In that case, the other symbol, succeeding to the word *samvat*, which is quite different in form from that occurring after *Vadi*, can be read with the help of Bühler's chart (table IX, Col. 24) as 90. Thus the year is 98 (90, 8).

The era has not been specified in this plate. I suggested that the unspecified era, found in the plates of Bhauma dynasty, might be taken as Harṣa era, because we learn from the "Life of Hiuen Tsang by Samuel Beal" that Śīlāditya Harṣavarddhana established his supremacy over Orissa¹. In the opinion of Dr. Keilhorn these unspecified eras of Orissa belonged to Harṣa era, because the representation of numerical figures by symbols was the specific feature of Harṣa's reign.² This assertion is also corroborated by other facts. In the Dhenkanal plate, Tribhuvanamahādevī, queen of Lalitahāra, is said to be the daughter of Śrī-Rājamalladeva³, the ornament of the southern region. We get from the Hindol plate that the same Tribhuvanamahādevī was born of a Nāga dynasty⁴. I, therefore, identify this Rājamalla with Pallavamalla of southern India, who is also known as Kshatriyamalla⁵, first because the Pallavas are supposed to have belonged to the Nāga race⁶, secondly the ancestor of Pallavamalla is said to be the son of the daughter of a serpent king⁷ and thirdly Rāja is synonym of kṣatriya. This Pallavamalla is known to have ruled in the first half of the 8th century A.C.⁸. The period of his reign was not less than 50 years⁹. I have said that the year of the Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvanamahādevī is 160 or 161 and that of the Hindol plate of her son Śubhākaradeva is 150¹⁰. My friend Mr. Paramanand Acharya has also read the numerical symbols of the year of the Dhenkanal plate

¹ Above Vol. XVI, p. 77.

² E.I. Vol. VI, p. 134. Notes 5 and 6.

³ Above Vol. II, p. 422, ls. 11-13.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 71.

⁵ South Ind. Inscription Vol. II, p. 345.

⁶ Jouveau-Dubreul, Pondicheri 1917.

⁷ S.I. Inscription Vol. II, p. 508.

⁸ E.I. Vol. V, p. 157.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Above Vol. XVI, p. 76.

as 160 and that of the Kumuranga plate of Dandimahâdevi, daughter of Tribhuvanamahâdevi, as 187¹. In case of the acceptance of Harṣa era, we should find that Śubhâkara II was reigning in 756-57 A.C., Tribhuvanamahâdevi in 766-67 A.C. and Dandimahâdevi in 793-94 A.C. I have corrected the reading of the numerical symbols of the Neulpur grant of Śubhâkara I, the grandfather of Śubhâkara II². The year 84 of this plate, corresponds to 690-91 A.C. I had also scrutinized the facsimile print of the Chaurâṣi grant³, in collaboration with Mr. P. Acharya, and found that the numerical symbol of that plate could be read as 93 (90, 3). The last line of the Chaurasi grant of Śivakaradeva should correctly be read as *virajā-vāstavya-taptakāra-Harivarddhanena likhitam=iti* instead of *chiraja vāstāvya taṣṭākāra...* In that case, we can find that the plate was heated by Harivarddhana who was a resident of Virajākṣetra, i.e., Jajpur. The aforesaid Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvanamahâdevi is said to have been incised by Harivarddhana and his son Rasabhavarddhana. I now hold that the former Harivarddhana is identical with the latter Harivarddhana. If it be so, the margin of time between these two plates cannot be more than 70 years. It is, therefore, evident that the identification of Guheśvarapātaka with Godhaneswarpatna and the chronological table of the Bhauma kings, given by me in the June issue of this Journal, both are right. Consequently I think, the readers would unhesitatingly accept the date of Chaurasi grant of Sivakaradeva, as 93. Śivakara of the Chaurâṣi grant has been identified with Kusumahâra, the elder brother of Lalitahâra alias Śântikara⁴. The Dhauli inscription of Śântikara bears also the year 93 of an unspecified era⁵. It can be held that Śivakara, son of Śubhâkara could not rule long, because of his premature death which might be gleaned from the fact that he was succeeded by his younger brother, for want of issue. However, the reign of Śivakara falls in 699-700 A.C. which synchronises with the date of the Dhauli inscription of Śântikara. The death of the former and the accession of

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 100.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 76.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 292-306.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 72-73.

⁵ E.I. Vol. XIX, pp. 263-64.

the latter to the throne, probably took place in that year. However the reign of Śāntikara synchronises with that of Pallavamalla. It is therefore probable that Harṣa era was in use in Orissa. In support of this assumption I may proceed to discuss other points.

We do not know what became of the Bhauma dynasty after 793-94 A.C. It can be gleaned from the inscriptions of Dandimahādevī that the Bhauma dynasty was no longer powerful¹. Mr. P. Acharya has drawn my attention to Tārānātha's account that several families in Orissa assumed independence and Devapāla also conquered that country². Devapāla's invasion of Orissa is recorded also in the inscriptions³. Devapāla's reign falls between 809-49 A.C.⁴.

Again Govinda III of the Rāṣtrakūta family, who ruled between 794-813 A.C.⁵ is said to have invaded Orissa⁶. It can, therefore, be gathered that in the 9th century A.C. the political condition of Orissa was in chaos. It is now probable that Śulkis, Tuṅgas, Nandas, and Bhañjas got the privilege of granting lands without referring to their over-lord, in the 9th century A.C. The Dhenkanal grant A of Raṇastambha (above Vol. II) contains the date *lva*, 3, which can be read as 203 corresponding to 809-10 A.C. Again the date of the Jayapur plate of Devānandadeva (above Vol. XV) is 193 which corresponds to 799-800 A.C.

We learn from the Ganjam plate⁷ that the Sailodbhava rulers had the right of granting lands in Koṅgada in 619-20 A.C. Again we learn that Śubhākara II⁸ and Dandimahādevī⁹ of the Bhauma dynasty, granted land in the same Koṅgada in the 8th century A.C. No grant of the Śailodbhava rulers of the 8th century A.C. has so far been discovered. The grant of Dharmarāja of the Śailodbhava family has wrongly been assigned to 694 A.C.¹⁰. It is mentioned in this plate that Madhyamarāja, the father of

¹ E.I. Vol. VI, pp. 133-42.

² Ind. Ant. Vol. IV, p. 360-66.

³ The Palas of Bengal, By R. D. Banerjee, p. 65, Verse 13.

⁴ Above Vol. XV, p. 5.

⁵ E.I. Vol. VII, App. II, p. 3.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 240.

⁷ E.I. Vol. VI, p. 143.

⁸ J.A.H.R.S. Vol. IV, p. 192.

⁹ E.I. Vol. VI, pp. 133-42.

¹⁰ Above Vol. XVI, pp. 176-188.

the donor, defeated Tivaradeva. This Tivaradeva was undoubtedly the same Tivaradeva of the Sirpur Gupta family, since the rebellious Mādhava, for whose cause Tivaradeva waged war against Madhyamarāja, is said to have taken refuge at the foot of the Vindhya. Chandragupta, the brother of Tivaradeva, was a contemporary of Govind III¹ who flourished in the beginning of the 9th century A.C. Consequently Dharmarāja cannot be assigned to a date earlier than the end of the 8th century A.C. The donor of the Puri plate is not different from that of the Kondenda grant of the Śailodbhava family. The text of the Parikud plate is also a copy of that of the Puri plate. The Buguda plate is not also much earlier than the Parikud plate. All these plates are certainly not earlier than the last decade of the 8th century A.C. It, therefore, appears that Śailodbhavas acknowledged the supremacy of the Bhauma rulers in the 8th century A.C. when the powerful ruler Pallavamalla of Southern India, gave his daughter to Śāntikara in marriage. This is why the Śailodbhava rulers of the 8th century A.C. could not make land grants. The Śailodbhava family may, therefore, be supposed to have risen again into power after the fall of Bhaumas. It is now evident that Orissa was really in a chaotic political condition in the 9th century A.C. Therefore, the invasion of Orissa by Yavanas and Raktabāhu, which caused the concealment of the image of lord Jagannātha at Sonepur, as recorded in the Madalāpāñji, may be assigned to this century. Raṭṭa (Rāṣṭrakūṭa) has probably been taken as Rakta by the compiler of the chronicle.

The era, used in Orissa, has been taken as Gaṅga era by the late Mr. R. D. Banerjee². In case of the acceptance of the Gaṅga era, the date of the Kumurāṅga plate of Dandimahadevī falls in 965 A.C., as the initial year of the Gaṅga era is 778 A.C. according to the same authority. We are, therefore, in a great difficulty to fix the dates of the rulers of the Gupta dynasty of Orissa. Therefore the era, used in Orissa, cannot be taken as other than Harsa era. Consequently the year 98 of this plate corresponds to 704-5 A.C.

¹ E.I. Vol. XVIII, p. 240.

² E.I. Vol. XIX, p. 263-64.

We learn from the Dhenkanal plate that Malladeva saved the Bhauma family from a calamity. It is, therefore, probable that NettabhaŃja attempted to usurp the suzerain power of Orissa. We find in the inscription that Pallavamalla defeated one Udaya, the King of the Śavaras, and extorted from him the banner on which the design of peacock's tail was made with glasses (of different colours)¹. I am now tempted to identify this Udaya with Udayavarāha, first because the emblem of peacock's tail on his banner was unquestionably probable, and secondly he, being a ruler of the highlands of Orissa, must have been a King of the Śavaras. In that case NettabhaŃja might be supposed to have caused disturbance by joining with Udayavarāha, since they both have been said to have belonged to one and the same dynasty. This is why NettabhaŃj availed himself of the privilege of granting lands without referring to sovereign Lord.

As the use of Harsa era in Orissa has been proved above beyond a shadow of doubt, I can now emphatically say that the year 288 of RaṇabhaŃja's plate² of MayurbhaŃj corresponds to 894-95 A.C.

I hope to be excused if I attempt to correct in conclusion a previous error which bears no link with the present topic.

I ask the readers to take *kamalākara-bhāskareṣu*, occurring in the 3rd line of the Hindol plate, published in the last June issue of this Journal, as an adjective of Lakṣmīkara. The mistake was due to a wrong notion that two kings, under the names of Kamalākara and Bhāskara, are found in the Tibetan account.

I edit the text from the original.

TEXT.

First Plate (Reverse).

L. 1. Om svasti ³netṛo=rdhvam=vṛti-sāndra-rāga-
kapila-

¹ S.I.I. Vol. II, p. 364, Ls. 51-56, pratipakṣam=Uday=ābhidhānam śavarājam bhitvā mayūra-kalāpa-virachitan=darpaṇa-dhvajam gṛhita-vān |

² J.A.S.B. XL, 1871, p. 166.

³ Sardulavikṛidida metre.

- L. 2.....prānta-prabho—dbhâsitâh | khaṇḍe = ndor = dyuti-
bhir = vviśu-
L. 3.....ddha-dhavalâh nīla-svabhādâh kvachit |
L. 4.....raktâh pannaga-bhoga- ratna-manibhiḥ padme =
L. 5.....ndra-râg = ârūpiâh || nânâ-varṇpadhare = ndrachâ =
L. 6.....pa-ruchirâh sthâṇor = jjatâh pântu vah || nânâ-râ
L. 7.....m = âbhirâmo = dyānavat ṣaṇḍa-maṇḍana-mano-
ha =

Second Plate (Obverse).

- L. 8.....ra-kusuma-stavak = âkirṇṇe | vividha-vidvad =
dvija-
L. 9.....jan = âkule | nânâ-digantar = âgata-paṇḍita = sâ =
L. 10.....rth = ârthi-sambhṛta-vividha-panyai (h) pachīya-
mā¹ =
L. 11.....na-vipaṇi-vaṇig = janapadai (h) śrīmati nav =
L. 12.....Âṅgulakapattane | pr̥thu (śa)rad = amala-nīlāvja
(?) -tanu nīsi =
L. 13.....ta-nistṛimś = âhṛti-kara- vichchhurita-bhuja-yuga-
lah |
L. 14.....kṣititala-vi (?) mala-kula-tilakah

Second Plate (Reverse).

- L. 15.....Parama-mâheśvaro mâtâ-pitr-pâd = ânudhyâ =
L. 16.....taḥ śrī-Netṭabhaṇjadevaḥ kuśali | Olâśr =
L. 17.....ṅga-viṣaye | śrī-sâmantha-mahâsâ =
L. 18.....manta-mahârâjâ-râjânaka-râjapu =
L. 19.....ttr = ântaraṅga-kumâr = âmâtya-parika-tadâ yuk-
ta =
L. 20.....kân = varttamâna-bhaviṣyad = adhikaraṇân yath =
ârham

Third Plate (Obverse).

- L. 21.....satkr̥tya samâjñâpayati viditas = bhavatu bhava =
L. 22.....tâm = etad = viṣaya- sambaddha- Khaṇḍakṣetra-
Stambakâra-lau
L. 23.....ṇḍakah prāk = parichchhinna-Battarâghâta si =

¹ Read prachīyamâna.

- L. 24. mā-sameto = smābhir = vvājasaneya-
 L. 25. charaṇāya kānva-pārāśarasa-gotrāya Mā =
 L. 26. dhavasvāmine salila-dhārā-puras = sareṇavi =
 L. 27. dhin = āchandr = ārka-kṣiti-kṣitidhara-samakālā =

Third Plate (Reverse).

- L. 28. ya svar = loka-gatāyāḥ rājñī śrī-Bāsatā-
 L. 29. devyāḥ paraloka-gamana-puṇya-sambhāramu =
 L. 30. ddiśya sukṛta-dharmma-phala-prā =
 L. 31. pti-vivṛddhaye pratipāditas = tad = eta =
 L. 32. t = tāmrapaṭṭa-darśanād = yathākālo = tpādyam
 māna =
 L. 33. sasya jātayate na saṅgraha-samrakṣaṇo = pa

Fourth Plate (Obverse).

- L. 34. bhoga = dānādi-viniyogam = upayunjanasy =
 L. 35. āsya kṣitipatir = gauravād = dharmma-gauravāch =
 cha
 L. 36. na kaiś = chid = vighātaḥ karaṇīya ity = uktañ =
 L. 37. cha dharmma-sāstre | vahubhir = vvasudhā dattā
 L. 38. rājabhiḥ Sagarādibhir = yasya yasya yadā bhū =
 L. 39. mis = tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ | mābhūd = aphala-

Fourth Plate (Reverse).

- L. 40. śaṅkā vaḥ paradatt = eti pārthivāḥ svadānāt = pha =
 L. 41. lam = ānantyaṁ paradatt = ānupālanaṁ | śaṣṭiṁ
 va =
 L. 42. rṣa-sahasreṇa svarge modati bhū =
 L. 43. midah ākṣiptā ch = ānumantā cha tanye =
 L. 44. va narake vaset || dānānām = iha
 L. 45. bhūmi-dānam = adhikam samkṣ (iptaḥ) śṛta

Fifth Plate (Obverse).

- L. 46. ya-phalaṁ | no gobhir = nnahiranyaajair = nnahi
 L. 47. dhanair = anyair = mmanohāribhiḥ || mātāṅgaiḥ śita-
 L. 48. chāru-chāmara-chalat = tuṅgais = turaṅgair = n =
 etat |
 L. 49. bhūdānād = api bhūtaye bhūvi mahach = chhrey-
 am =

- L. 50.....param pālanam | iti kamala-dal=āmbu-bindu-
lo=
L. 51.....lam śriyam=anuchintya manuṣya jīvitam=cha—

Fifth Plate (Reverse).

- L. 52.....lam=idam=udâhrtaṁ=cha budhvâ nahi puruṣaiḥ
L. 53.....para-kirttayo vilopyâḥ | svayaṁ rājñâ pradatt=
L. 54.....âjñâ | śri aṇṇena ullekhitam | utkirṇam
L. 55.....Bâddarâkanâdâsa | tâmrapaṭṭakam=iti
L. 56.....samvat 90,8 kârtti (ka) vadi 10,3

TRANSLATION.

- 1s. 1-6..Om. Be it well. Let the matted hair of Sthâṇu (Śiva)—the radiant (front) side of which shines with deep brown splendour having the choice of upward flow from the eyes (of Śiva)—which is brilliantly white with the rays of the crescent—which holds excellent blue appearance in some places—which is red with the gems having the radiance of ruby and sapphire and adorning the hood of serpent, and which is as charming as the rainbow, on account of the holding of the different colours—protect you all.
- 1s. 6-12..In the city of new Āṅgulaka—which is charming by (the presence of) numerous lovely women—which, being decorated with groups of trees, is over-spread with the bunches of nice flowers and thus looks like a garden—which is densely populated by learned Brahmins of different classes—which is crowded by the scholars, wealthy persons and supplicants, who have come from various foreign countries and which is made prosperous by the merchants' community having an enhanced sale of commodities of all descriptions.
- 1s. 12-21..Parama-mâheśvara Śri Netṭabhaṇja—whose large body resembles (in beauty) an autumnal stainless blue lily—whose couple of hands are bestrewed

with the rays of sharp swords taken by him and who is the ornament of the spotless family existing on the earth—meditating on the feet of parents, being in good health and having duly entertained the feudatories, great feudatories, lords, chiefs, princes, sons of the king (by concubine), ministers, the officers of the appointment department, and all other present and future officers of the Olâśrīga district—intimates and orders :

Ls. 21-31.. Be it known to you that the village Stambakâra—lauṇḍaka in Khaṇḍakṣetra of this district, with the fixed eastern boundary of Battarâghâṭa has been granted, according to the principle of libation of water, to Mâdhavasvâmi, belonging to Vâjasaneyacharaṇa and Pârâśarasa school of the Kanva branch, for signifying the merit of the deceased queen Bâsatâ-devî and for the increase of the rewards of good acts, to enjoy as long as the sun, moon, earth and the holder of the earth (Vâsuki) exist.

Ls. 31-34.. Having noticed this copper plate there arises no expression, suiting the moment, in the mind (of mine), who has given away this gift with the right of collection, preservation, enjoyment, and distribution.

Ls. 35-39.. Out of respect to the king and religion, this should be confiscated by nobody. It is narrated in the scriptures that the lands have been granted by many, such as the king Sagara and others, and the rewards of these grants belong to whosoever at any time possesses the earth.

Ls. 39-53.. Oh kings! Have no doubt of reward on the ground that it is another's grant. The maintenance of another's gift has a far greater reward than one's own grant. The grantor of the land enjoys happiness in the heaven for 60,000 years while the confiscator and the person, who acquiesces in

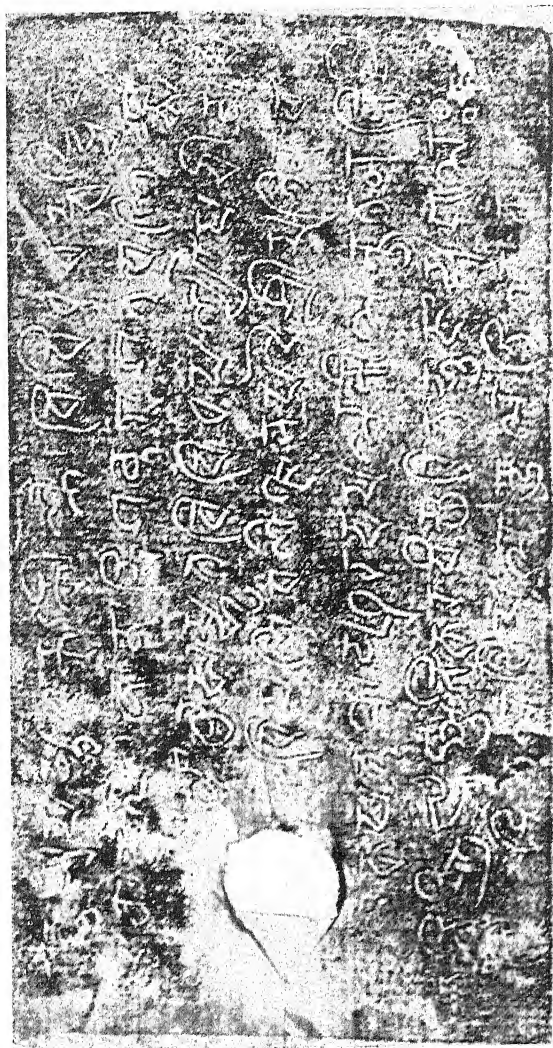
so doing, dwells in the hell. The reward of the gift of land is far greater than that described in the scriptures. Such reward should not accrue to us by the gift of cow, gold, wealth, or of other pleasant things, such as the elephants and horses moving the beautiful and white plumes (on the head). The preservation of another's gift is far better than one's own gift for prosperity. No one should confiscate the gift granted by other than self by fully understanding the above mentioned verses and remembering that the life and wealth of the man are unsteady like the drop of water on the petal of lotus.

l.s. 53-56. .The king himself issued this order. It is written by Nanna and the copper plate is incised by Bâddarâkanâdâsa. In the year 98 (90,8), on the day 13 (10,3) of the dark fortnight of the month of Kârttika.



Copper plate of Nettabhañña.

First plate (Reverse).



Copper plate of Netrabhañja.

Second plate (Obverse).

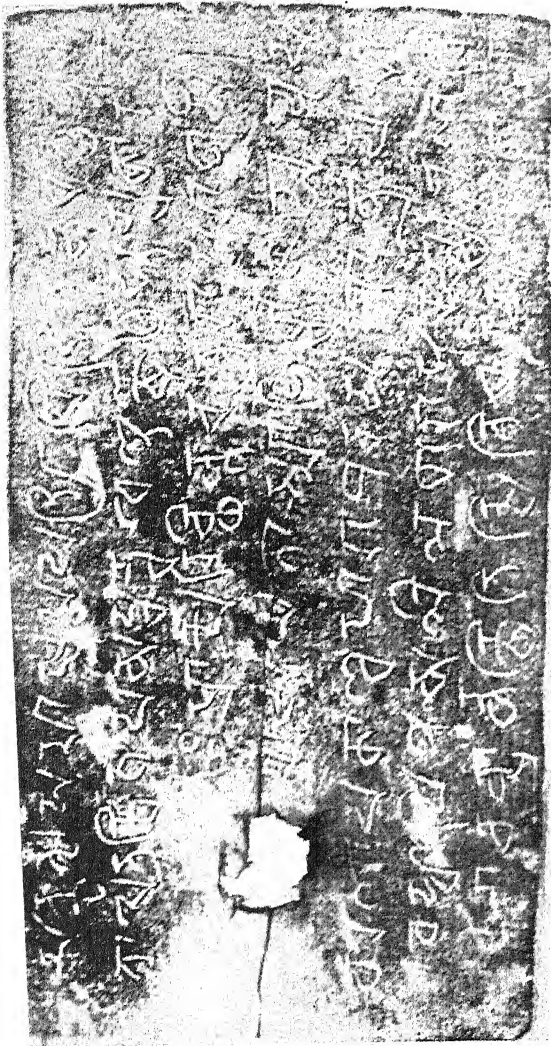
2





Copper plate of Netabbhañja.

Second plate (Reverse).

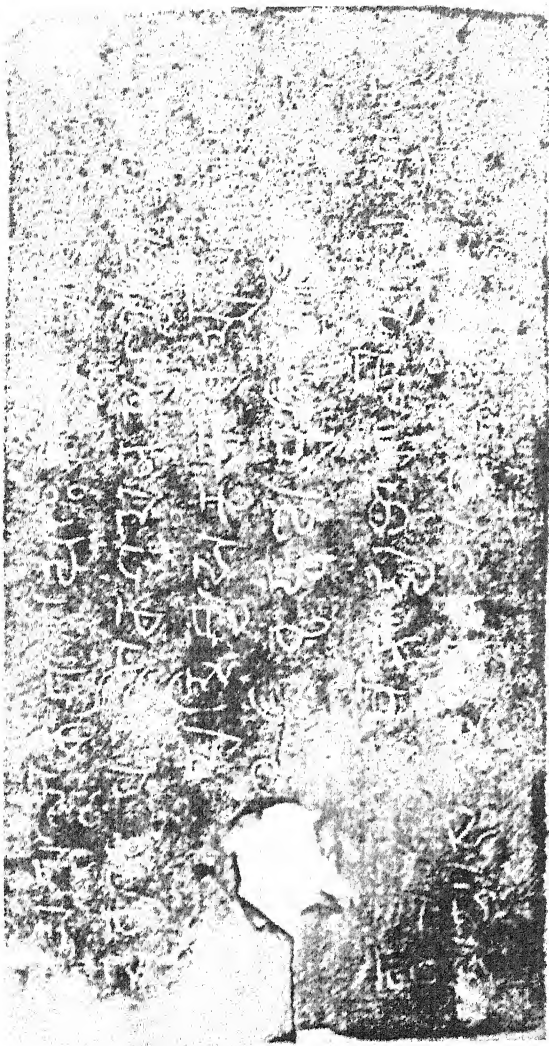


Copper plate of Netrabhāṇja.

Third plate (Obverse).

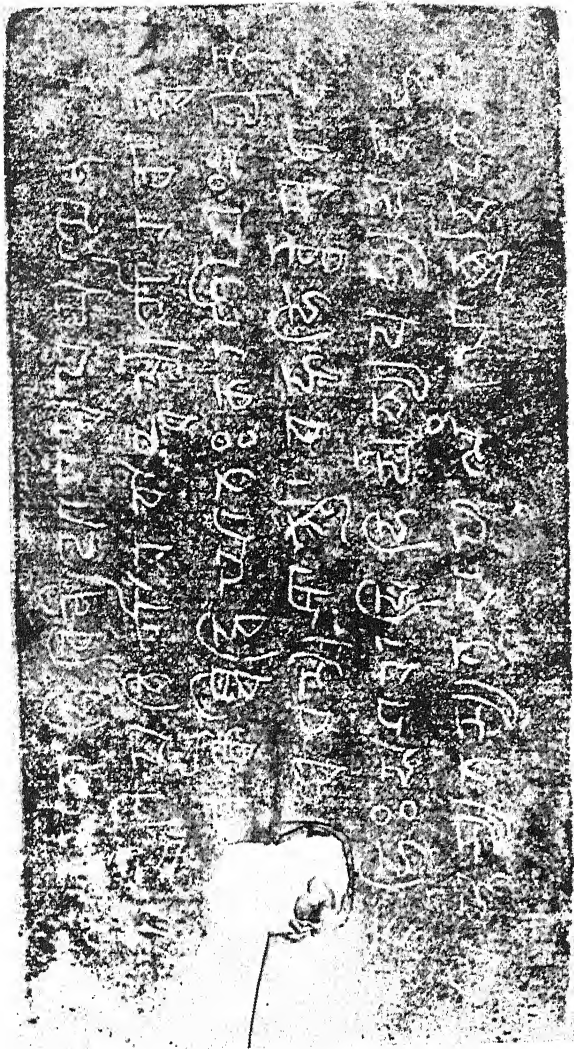
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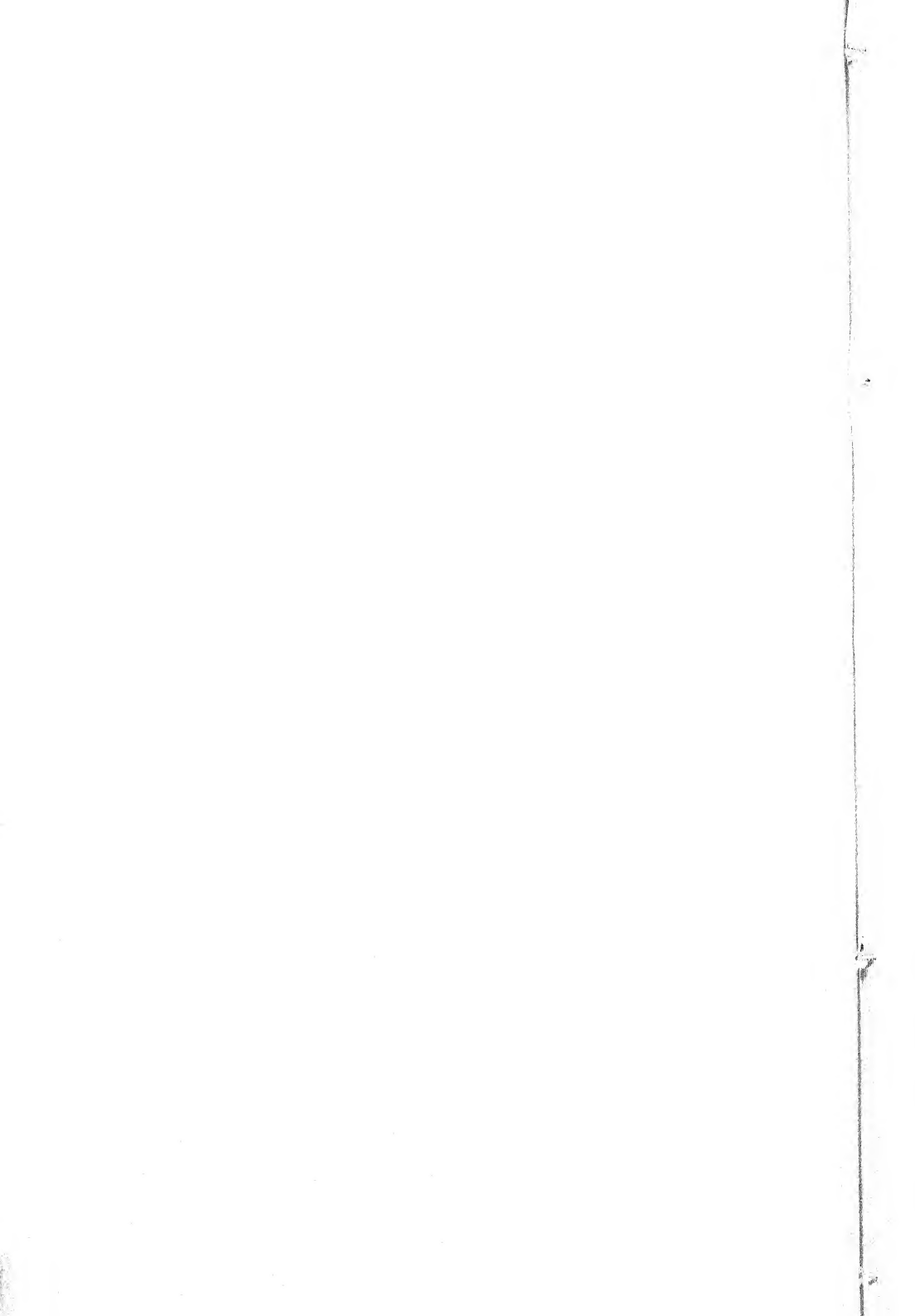
Copper plate of Nettalbhāṇja.

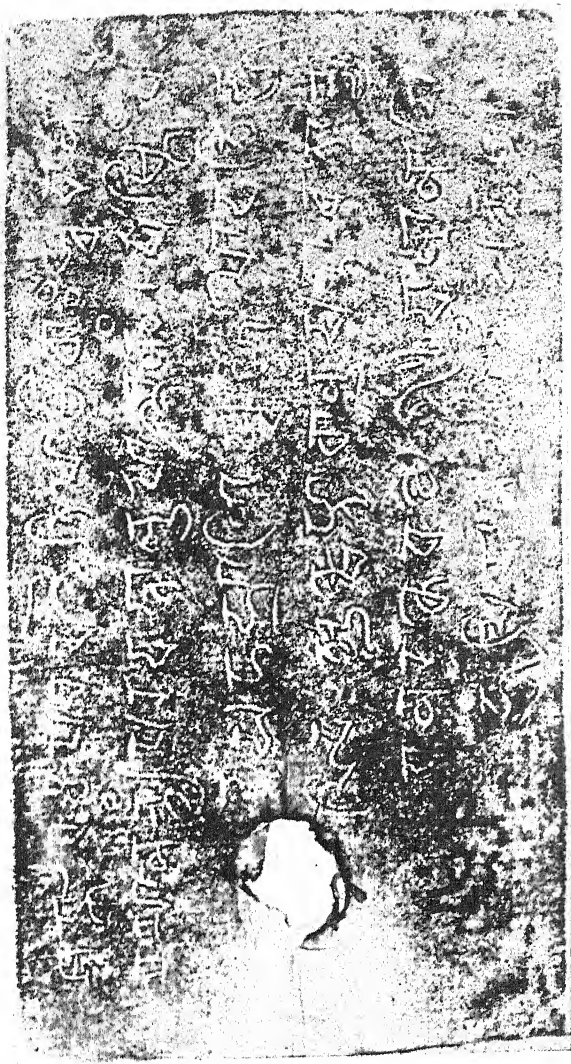
Third plate (Reverse).



Copper plate of Nettabhañja.

Fourth plate (Obverse).





Copper plate of Nettabhañña.

Fourth plate (Reverse).



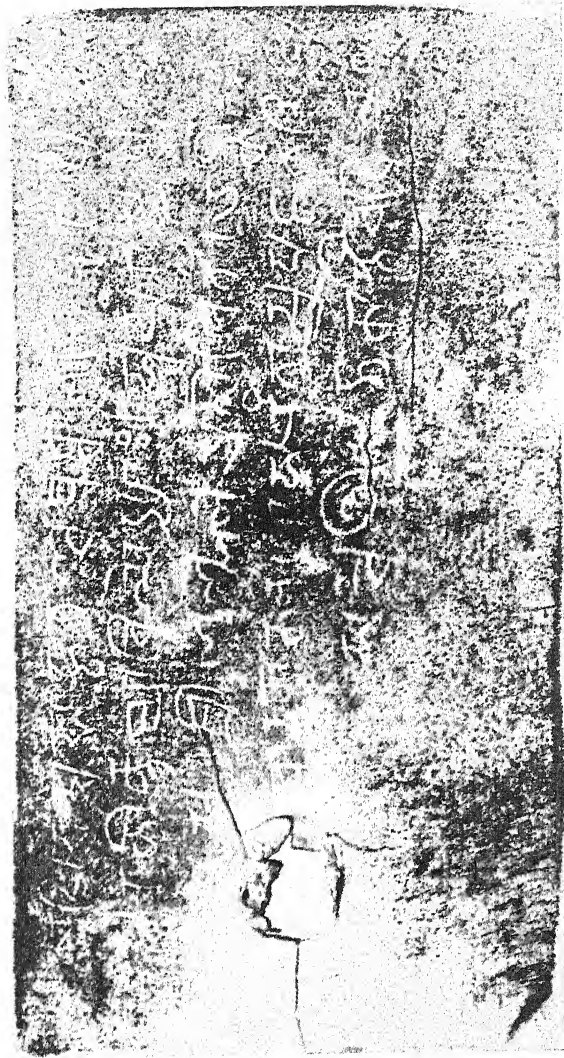
Copper plate of Nettabhanja.

Fifth plate (Obverse).

8

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Copper plate of Netrabhanja.

Fifth plate (Reverse)

9

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V.—Śobhaneśwar Inscription of Śrī Vaidyanāth.

By Sudhakar Patnaik, B.A.

About 30 miles to the south of the Cuttack town and about 20 miles or so from Puri on the Cuttack-Kakatpur Road and on the boundary of Cuttack and Puri Districts is situated the village of Niali which is now noted for extensive betel leaf cultivation. Village Niali is sandwiched between the adjacent villages of Pubakhand *alias* Purbakhand on the east and Majhikhand *alias* Madhyakhand on the west. But strange to say in spite of the existence of villages Purbakhand and Madhyakhand there is no Antyakhand or Uttarkhand or Paśchimkhand in the neighbourhood. The villages adjoining Majhikhand on the west are Nuāgan, Korkor, Khandasari, Govindpadā, Subarnpur, etc.

The four villages Pubakhand, Niali, and Majhikhand and Nuagan as already said are contiguous to each other and from the names at least it is quite clear that these villages originally formed one big village which probably went by the name of NIALI. There is a very old Brahman Sason at Niali. In village Nuagan of the present day there is an old *Math* and the important temple of Śobhaneśwar which is the subject matter of this article is also situated in the same village.

The temple is an old one. It is surrounded by a compound wall which is at its greatest about 8 or 9 ft. high. The compound is about 185 ft. by 105 ft. in dimension. At the foot of the compound wall on the west was formerly flowing the sacred river PRĀCHĪ which is now almost completely silted up. Of the temple the *Baradeula* and the *Jagamohan* now exist and in front of the latter and adjoining it there was a *maṇḍap* and adjoining it was the *Mukhasāli*. The *maṇḍap* and *Mukhasāli* had probably one roof although the plinths of the two are of different height, that of the *Mukhasāli* being about 5 ft. high and that of the *maṇḍap* less than 2 ft. Of these two structures only the plinths and the stone pillars now exist. There is no sign of there ever having been a wall around what I call the *Mukhasāli*. A part of the plinth of the *maṇḍap* on the south-

ern side has sunken down to the ground level and some of the pillars outbalanced in consequence. The *Baradeula* and the *Jagamohan* are in tolerably good condition. In the three *parswadeulas* of the temple on the south, west, and north are the images of Ganes, Kārtik, and Pārvati respectively. By observation of the structure and situation of the temples it appears the main temple with the *parswadeulas* of Ganes and Kārtik was there from before and the *Jagamohan*, *mandap*, etc., and the *parswadeula* of Pārvati were added subsequently. The *ANTARALA* between the main temple and the *Jagamohan* is found clearly to consist of two separate structures of different periods, as if two doorways have been placed side by side, no portion of the one having been dovetailed into the other which would have been the case had the entire *antarala* been one continuous structure built at one and the same time. It is for this reason that about 50 years or so back the joint cracked and water leaked into the temple and hence it has been repaired by an arch of bricks on the roof over the *antarala*. This is the only place where brick has been used. Similarly the temple of Pārvati also appears to be a subsequent addition as this temple as well as the image of Pārvati shows. Whereas the images of Ganes and Kārtik are made of ordinary sandstone and are not—more particularly the image of Ganes—so graceful, the image of Pārvati is carved of black chlorite and is of very beautiful workmanship. This latter temple is not also symmetrically situated or constructed with the *parswadeulas* of Ganes and Kārtik. Possibly it has been subsequently substituted for the originally existing one for it is not probable that there was no *parswadeula* on the north although there are two on the west and south. The people of the locality cannot say as to who built the temple. On the south of the temple are the signs of an old silted up tank which is now known as “Guā gaḍ”. Possibly reference is made to this in stanza 19 of the inscription.

The most important thing regarding this temple are however the two inscriptions in it, one small one on a small stone post over which is carved a *Śivalingam* situated within the compound below the compound wall on the south side and

the other a *prasasti* of king Vaidyanāth the builder, is inscribed on a black stone slab embedded on the eastern external wall of the Jagamohan on the south of the entrance door. The smaller inscription has by now been completely obliterated by the action of wind and weather to which it is constantly exposed. The other one which is sunken into the body of the temple is better preserved. The stone slab is fixed at a height of about 30 inches from the floor of the *mandap*. The size of the stone slab is 32" x 22" and the inscription contains 30 lines constituting 25 *slokas* in different metres as noted below :—

Śārdūlā vikrīḍita—1st, 2nd, 6th to 9th, 13th, 16th, 19th, 20th, and 22nd to 24th ;

Vasantatilakā—3rd and 11th ;

Praharṣaṇī—4th ;

Anustubh—5th ;

Rathoddhatā—10th ;

Sragdharā—12th, 17th, 18th, and 25th (last) ;

Mālinī—14th ;

Mandākrāntā—15th, and ;

Śikharinī—21st ;

The letters are $\frac{1}{2}$ " high and are quite legible.

The inscription shows that Garuda, (stanza 3 देव विरितिप्रयितो द्विजाति) a Brahman by caste of Kāśyapa gotra established a separate kingdom of his own at Kākodarapur-Bhujangam-puri of the *prasasti*—some 10 miles to the north of Niali. From Garuda was born Mādhav from him king Hāray and king Vaidyanāth of high battle fame (प्रभूतसमराकूपार खेसदुमुज : stanza 6) descended from him and thus Vaidyanāth was the great-grandson of Garuda, the founder of the line. That Brahman warriors were then found in Orissa and serving under the Gangā dynasty is also clear from the Chāteswar Temple inscription of Cuttack district.

From the *prasasti* it appears the temple was built by the great artist (सद्योपनेन कृतिना stanza 24) Sābana who too was a Brahman (द्विज सावन) and the *prasasti* was composed by one Udayana under orders of king Baidyanāth (stanza 23).

In stanza 21 mention is made of *maths* then existing at Naili. Now as already said there exists even now

a very old *math* there. For want of time I have not been able to inquire from there as to its origin or that of the Temple. Some clue may probably be obtained from there.

Date—It is a pity the inscription contains no dates and so we have to depend for it on circumstantial evidence only, both internal and external.

As already said the inscription refers to the construction of the temple (possibly the *jagamohan* and the *parśvadeula* of *Pārvatī*), *mandap* and compound wall. Thus it is most probably of the same age as those structures.

1. From the inscription it appears that King Vaidyanāth a Brahman king of Kasyapa Gotra who describes himself as BHUJANGAMAPURI BHUPA (stanza 8) had built the temple, more probably portions of it as said above.

2. In stanza 11 mention is made of NIALI SASON. Hence the inscription cannot be earlier than the establishment of Niali sason. However, unfortunately the residents of Niali cannot give any information regarding its establishment.

3. There is another inscription in the temple of *Megheswar* at *Bhubaneswar* which too was composed by one Udayana. I believe he was no other than the composer of the inscription under notice from the following facts.

The names are the same and there are many similar, nay, identical passages in the two inscriptions as noted below. For purposes of comparison I shall use the abbreviation M.P. for *Megheswar Prasasti* and S.P. for *Sobhaneswar Prasasti*. Both begin with 'नमः शिवाय' | Stanza 5 M.P.

"*Tasmāt puṇyāikarāṣe rabhabadrāhirāma nāma dhāma stū-
inā mārāmah sāmānīte raparimitayasah pūrachandrodayādriḥ.*"

Cf. sta. 17. S.P.

Sta. 11. M.P.

"*Yasyodyad bājirāji khurasikharabharakṣurnṇa bhūchakra
sarpāt—*"

Cf. sta. 7. S.P.

Sta. 18. M.P.

"*Udyaddigbijayārtha sādhanabidhau Gangānvaya kemā-
bhujām*"

Cf. sta. 9. S.P.

Sta. 19. M.P.

"*Lakṣmīdebyāḥ patirayamadho, nenachakre balidviṭ
Gopālasya priyasuhṛdayaṁ sarbakāryye, ch'e'yuto, sau*"

Cf. sta. 4. S.P.

Sta. 25. M.P.

"*Yāsāṁ netrāñchhala taralimā bisvabaśyaikamantrah
Pādanyāsastribhubanagati stambhanāṁ śmīdhatte
Nṛtyārambhe balayamanibhi nirmitā, yatnadīpā
stasmai dattāstripurabijayine tena tāstā mṛgāksyḥ*".

Cf. sta. 18. S.P.

Sta. 29. M.P.

"*Ānandaikaniketanāṁ nayanayoḥ śaśvanmanḥ kairab
Jyotsnauḥ khalu bisvakarmanipūṇa byāpāra baidagdhyā-
bhūḥ
Grīsmagrāsabhayātibhīta janatā sautiry durgālayo
Māḥ kīrttibijrmbhanasya jayinā prottambhito mandaph.*"

Cf. sta. 16. S.P.

Sta. 30. M.P.

"*Apāṁśālāmālāḥ pathi pathi tadāgāḥ pratipurāṁ
Pradīpāḥ sampurnnāḥ pratisuragrām yasya bimalāḥ
Mathā bedadīnāṁ dvijapurabihārāḥ pratidiśm
Birājante satrāṇyapicha paritḥ setunibahāḥ.*"

Cf. sta. 21. S.P.

Sta. 34. M.P.

"*Yābajjotnāsudhāṁsu dharanī phanīpatī yābadambhojalak-
śmyau
Yābad Yābachch Gaṅgā himadharanīdharau yābadebārṇṇa-
bormmī
Bāgarthau yābadasmīnschiramanubasato, dvaitarupena loka
Tābat prāsādakīrttistribhubanakuhare rājatāmasya nitym.*"

Cf. sta. 24. S.P.

From the above it will appear that both these prasastis were composed by one and the same person—Udayana. Now the Megheśwar prasasti shows that that temple was built by one king *Swapneswar*, the maternal uncle of the famous *Anangabhima Deva* of Ganga dynasty, and mention is also made of *Anangabhima Deva* in that prasasti; so the Megheśwar prasasti must have been composed not before the reign of

Anangabhima Deva and by comparison of the two *prāsastis* the Sobhaneswar *prāsasti* clearly appears to be more flowing and melodious than the other and it will not be wrong to hold that it was later than the Megheswar *prāsasti* and written in an advanced age of the poet.

Now *Anangabhima Deva* is believed to have flourished in Orissa towards the last quarter of the 12th century. Hence the age of the Sobhaneswar *prāsasti* must also be the last quarter of the 12th century or the 1st quarter of the 13th century composed as it is by the author of the Megheswar *prāsasti*.

4. From paleographical evidence this appears probable.

As I took a photo of this inscription late in the evening it was not unfortunately very successful and so I could not append it to this article. However, it is clear that the letters in it particularly *ṛ* (*i*), *ṭ* (*t*), *ṇ*, *ṇḍ* (*nd*), *ṣ*, *ṣ*, *ṣ* (*kr*), etc., bear close resemblance to those letters of the Ballabhendra Charter found in Assam, of the 12th century A.D. (E. I. Vol. V, p. 182.) Hence as to the date of the *prāsasti* under notice that it belongs to the late 12th century or the early 13th century there can be little doubt.

5. In stanza 9 the epithet *गङ्गावयदेविना* has possibly some reference to this line of kings and to no outsider enemy of the famous Gangā dynasty.

However some difficulty arises as to the relation between the Ganga dynasty and these Brahman kings. About the reign of *Anangabhima Deva* who completed the construction of the Jagannath temple and the subsequent king *Narasingha Deva* who built the famous temple of Konarak, the Ganga dynasty had attained the zenith of its glory. Then how to reconcile with this the passage in the *prāsasti* under notice—'Gangānvaya dveṣinām'? It is very unlikely that there could then be a rival dynasty reigning so near Puri who could even go so far as to seduce away Udayan the poet from the court of the Ganga dynasty to theirs (for otherwise it is improbable that the same poet served in two rival camps) and if it be inferred that this (the enmity between the Ganga dynasty and this line of kings) was a mere exag-

generation of facts and that these Brahman kings were either really some petty landlords or that their kingdom Bhujangampuri was outside Orissa, even then it has to be admitted that the famous and powerful Ganga dynasty suffered a petty landlord or an outsider to erect a temple within their kingdom and to seduce away one of their officials (Udayan) and to leave a permanent mark of this and of the fact that they were rivals of the famous Ganga dynasty in the *praśasti*, seems highly improbable. No further light can now be thrown on this point as to the then political condition of Orissa without further close investigation. However this does not disprove, in the face of the paleographical evidence, that the *praśasti* belongs to the late 12th or early 13th century. At least the use of this proud epithet shows that this line of kings was ruling when the renowned Gangā dynasty of Orissa was waning in its power for otherwise it was not possible that another line of kings would flourish at Kākōdarpur—Bhujangampuri of the *praśasti*—so near Puri, Bhubaneswar and Cuttack, the capitals of Orissa.

I now give below the text of the *praśasti*.

Text of the Praśasti.

लाइन १ ॐ नमः शिवायः ॥

शम्भो^१ स्ताम्बव डम्बरोत्सव भूतः प्रेङ्गुङ्गुजामयङ्गौ
बातोत्तिष्ठत समस्तसागर पयः पुरः स पायाज्जगत् ॥
यस्मिन् व्योमतलं प्रसर्पति . पुनःकल्प्या

लाइन २ न्तकालभ्रम
त्रस्यन्नध्वरहा (?) ससंभ्रम परी^२ रंभाग्रनन्दः सुराः^३ ॥
खन्धोपेन्द्र बितर्कणा^४ दिबिबुधास्तार्क्षी रगेन्द्रादयो
यत्पुत्रत्व मवाप्य बिम्बुबनाराध्याः त्रिलोकि^५ भू

लाइन ३ तः ॥
पायास्त्रिध सुरा सुराधिपशिरो रत्न प्रभा मङ्गरो

१ शम्भु । २ परिरंभाग्र ।

३ सुरा ।

४ विकर्तनादि ।

५ त्रिलोकी भूतः ।

राजचारु सरोधि^१ कखर पदाम्भोजः स बः कश्यपः ॥ २ ॥

गोत्रे पवित्रित जगत्त्रितये वभुव

तस्यात्र देववि

लाइन ४ रिति प्रथितो द्विजातिः ।

देवदेजेन्द्र चरणाब्ज काननैक-

भङ्गः खवङ्ग तिलकः कलिकल्पदृष्टः ॥

सश्रीमान द्विजपति रच्युतः स्व मार्गा

द्रोपाल प्रियः

लाइन ५ शतचारु चातुकारः ॥

संधाता बलिरिष्ट संयमं यशोव्यो

संविधुः समजनि माधवः किलास्मात् ॥ ४ ॥

सत्कीर्त्ति कौमुदी पूर्यो तयन् जगती तलं

जातो ।

लाइन ६ स्माद्धा(?)रयः क्षीर नीरघेरिव चन्द्रमाः ॥ ५ ॥

पुण्येनाविरभुत् प्रभूत समरा कूपार खेलद्भुज

स्तम्भाडम्बर मन्दर परमितः श्रीवैद्यनाथः कृतौ ।

यत्तेजो वड्बानले

लाइन ७ न निहत प्रदेधि विराङ्गना

नेत्राम्बु प्रसाराम्बुधिर्यदधिकं दृढ स्तदत्राद्भुतः ॥ ६ ॥

व्यावृत्तगुणगावली खरखुर क्षुर्य क्षमा^२मण्डली

लौ^३ला भिन्न गजेन्द्र दन्त परिघ द्वेदाङ्कुरा

लाइन ८ न पातयन् ।

शत्रोदन्त वल्लोत्तमाङ्ग विगलत्कीलास धारोत्करैः

सिक्ता^४ बर्द्धितवान् दिगन्त विततांयः कौर्त्तिवक्त्रिमिमां ॥ ७ ॥

यत्कौर्त्तिः शरदिन्दु मण्डल मिश्रम् ।

१ सरोविक (?) ।

२ लौला ।

२ क्षमा=क्षमा शयिवी (?) ।

४ सिक्ता ।

लाइन ९ र्यासपुञ्जोच्चलाः

श्रुत्वा मय्य (?) विजासिनी जनमुखोद्गीताः त्रिलोकस्तुताः ।
हर्षार्द्ध कलौवनान्त बिगलद्वास्थाबूपूर स्फूर
त्कासारो सुतबांभुजङ्गमपुरीमुपः सपू

लाइन १० जायते ॥ ८ ॥

चेतः कान्दलौव (०) कुचाङ्कुरकलोन्मीलत्कटाक्ष च्छटा
क्षेपाक्षेप मकारि येन नगरं गङ्गावय देधिणा० .
खेलत् केशरिदोत कानन शिखि क्रूराहि दृष्यती

लाइन ११ रि

क्रौडत्केकिहतार्का कान्ति विनदहन्ति ऋवत् खल्विव (?) ॥ ९ ॥
निर्मला दिजयते प्रभास्फुरन्मित्रमण्डलमपङ्किला मच्चौ
कोपि न स्खलति मागतोः भुतं यत्कारे वितरणा

लाइन १२ म्भु वर्धति ॥ १० ॥

अस्थुत्कले निखिल निर्जर चक्र मौलि
नीलोपलालि चय चूमित पाद पद्मः ।
नेयाली प्रासनगतः स शिव स्वयम्भूः
श्रीः शोभनेश्वर-इति प्रथितः पृथिव्यां ॥ ११ ॥

लाइन १३ किं मेखः किं हिमाद्रिः किमु चरमगिरिः किन्नकौलास शैलः

किं बिन्ध्यः किं महेन्द्रः किमु निधधरः^१ (?) किं

सपूर्वाचलो वा ।

इत्थं (?) मर्षन्ति हर्षात् पथि पथिक जनाः यं सुदूरा

लाइन १४ दुदारः

प्रासादः सोयमत्र त्रिपुर विजयिनस्तस्य तेन प्रचक्रो ॥ १२ ॥

अस्मिन् पुण्यवता विनिर्मिततनौ^४ यावोत्तरैर्दानिना

विश्रान्तप्ययता^५ मच्चोन्नति भूतः केवानभूम

१ पुण्यापते ।

२ निहोत्पलालि ।

३ One letter has probably been dropped here.

४ तनू=चुद्र (?) ।

५ तापयता ? ।

लाइन १५ न्दले ।

शैलाः केवलमेवटङ्कित शिरोभागाः परंखिविताः

तेषां रोहण पर्वितो (६) धौ (त्य ?) गमनाभावात्पुन-

श्चोन्नतः^१ ॥ १३ ॥

कनककलस मौलि न्यस्त विम्बे मृगाङ्गे

स्फुरती ।

लाइन १६ ... रजनौ मध्ये कल्पय त्वेष लोकाः ।

स्फटौकघटित पात्रासक्तदूर्वा प्रवालैः

शिवमृद्धमि (?) हृदेवादातुमर्घ (०) पृच्छताः ॥ १४ ॥

स्मारं स्मारं चिर विरहितां पार्वती मङ्गदीया (?)

ब्रानारत्न स्फुरितबलयां लम्बमानालकान्तां ।

लाइन १७ ... रम्यादस्मा द्धितत तुह्यीन स्तोममौशोतु नेतुं

कैलासा त्रिं व्रजति यदि वा बारमेकं कदाचित् ॥ १५ ॥

आनंदे

लाइन १८ ... कनिकेतनं नयनयोः श्वित्ताङ्गुरोन्मौलन (०)

स्याय (?) त्वान्न सुर्धेक धाम रसना स्तोत्रैक पात्रं भुविः

शैत्यं नाम यदस्ति विश्वभुवने तन् मन्दिरं आस्यतां

पांथानांश्च

लाइन १९ मनुत्तये पूरजितः सो ग्रे करोन्मण्डपं ॥ १६ ॥

उच्चैरावाजलक्ष्मीः सुकृतविटपिनः (?) सर्गसोपानमार्गः

सेतुः संसार सिन्धो रतिविशद यशः पूरचन्द्रोदयाग्नौः ॥

लाइन २० पाषाणैश्चन्द्रकान्तोपलशकल निभैर्नौर्ममे भ्रंलिहायः

प्राकारस्तेनशम्भोः कलिकलुषमहारण्यदावानलेन ॥ १७ ॥

पौयूषंमधुराधरे नयनयोः प्रान्ते

लाइन २१ च यासां स्मरः^१

कर्म क्षम्भन मोहनादि सुदृशां वक्त्रे नितम्बादिषु

उद्यद्गुण वस्तु जातमखिलं भुष्यं यदङ्गाश्रितं
ता स्ता स्तेन विडम्बिताम्बर चरी रूपाः शिवाया

लाइन २१ पिताः ॥ १८ ॥

गाम्भीर्यादि^१ गुणा न्वीतोपि जलधिः क्षारो विहायाम्बरं
वक्रा खर्गधूनि भुजङ्ग भुवनं याता जगत्वाविनी
अप्यच्छं खलु सार्वभौम करिणो निर्यन्म दैर्मा

लाइन २२ नसं

दृष्टं तेन शिवापखात सरसः कोनाम धत्ते (अ) तुलां ॥ १९ ॥

उत्कर्ण कुल^२ कांकिला मदकलोद्गीत स्फुर तपश्चम
ता (?) नोद्गीपक भृङ्ग निखनलसदोणा क्वालोलासि

लाइन २३ तं ।

नृत्यत्कोकि विनिर्मितं पशुपतेरुद्यान मेतेनत
त्वङ्गातं वि^३धाति तस्य पूरतोभक्त्या महत्या ध्रुवं ॥ २० ॥
क्वचिद्दे^४ दीपाः क्वचिदपि तडागाः क्वचिदमा
मठाः पूजाक्वा

लाइन २४ पि क्वचिदपितथा मण्डप चयाः ।

प्रपाः क्वापि क्वापि प्रति पद मुदाराः क्षितिरूहो
विभान्तौष्माचक्र जलधि बलये यस्य परितः ॥ २१ ॥
आचारे परमेष्ठिवत् कविस

लाइन २५ मोनौतौ च प्रैवागमे

नन्दीव श्रुतिमागतो गुरु निभः सप्ताध्वरीदौक्षितः ।
साक्षाद व्याकरणे स पाणिनि मुनिन्याये (अ) क्षपादोपमः
यत्तस्म द्भुवनं कृतं सु क्षतिना

लाइन २६ विष्णोर्भवानिपतेः ॥ २२ ॥

नेत्रानन्द जल प्रणाल सरणिं कलूदीप (?) शुक्तिका
खात्यम्भो लहरौ मन (:) कुमुदिनी चैतन्य चन्द्र त्विधं ॥
मुर्द्धान्ताण्डव पण्डि तां कावि सभा कण्ठावल

१ गाम्भीर्यादि ।

२ उत्कर्णत्कलकोकिला ।

३ विदधाति letter द has been dropped. ४ क्वचिद्दे (?) ।

लाइन २८ स्विअ^१जं
 धीरेन्द्रोदयनः प्रशस्ति मतुलां तत्प्रेरितस्त्रक्रिवान् ॥ २३ ॥
 प्रज्ञासुन्दरमन्दिरं कुलगृहं नीतेः कला सम्पदा
 मेकांधाम च धर्म नर्म सदनं भुतो द्विजसावनः ।
 ते

लाइन २९ नारोप्यमयोपमेन कृतिना श्री वैद्यनाथा ज्ञया
 साङ्गोपाङ्गमनङ्ग शासन गृहं लीलाभिरुत्तमिन्तं ॥ २४ ॥
 यावच्चन्द्रे महः श्रीः^२स्मरहर शिरसि खड्गुनी यावदङ्गे
 विष्णोर्हं

लाइन ३० श्री स्व यावत्त्रिदशपतिकरेकादिनी यावदस्ति
 यावद्भोगीन्द्र पृष्ठे क्षितिखदधिजलेयावदुल्लोल लीला
 प्रासादाङ्गेलुटन्ति^३जगति विजयतां तावदेषा
 प्रशस्तिः ॥ ० ॥ * * ॥ २५ ॥

Translation.

1. I bow to Śiva. May Śiva, by the storm raised by the quick movement of whose hands while playing the Damaru during Tāndava dance, the entire water of all the ocean was disturbed and thrown off, protect the world.—The Tāndava dance by which the Earth was so violently shaken that it gave the appearance as if the whole creation was coming to an end, so that Pārvati out of respect (out of fear? ससंधमं) embraced him seeing which the gods became pleased (in hope that thereby Śiva might be pacified and might cease dancing so terribly?).

2. May Kasyap, by becoming whose sons Chandra, Upendra, Surya and other gods, Garuda, Vāsuki and others are being worshipped by the entire world and who (Kasyap) is like the halo of the jewels on the heads of the kings of the Siddhas, Suras, Asuras,—may such Kasyap protect us.

3. In his (Kasyap's) gotra sacred in the three worlds was born one Brahman by name Garuda (देव वि) who was like a

solitary black bee in the forest of lotus-like feet of gods and Brahmins, who was the glory of his family and who was (very charitable) like the kalpabruksh in the Kali yuga.

4. From him was born Mādhava who did not deviate from his own path, who was liked by his subjects, was surrounded by hundreds of courtiers and who was like the Moon in the sea of prowess.

5. Overflowing the surface of earth by the beams of pious deeds was born king Haray from him (Mādhava) like the Moon from the sea of Khira.

6. Through meritorious deeds was born from him Sri Vaidyanāth the Great whose hands which were greater than the Mandar Mountain were playing with agility in numerous seas of battle. It is strange that although ordinarily fire born from the sea dries it up the fire of power and strength of Vaidyanāth only enhanced the bulk of the sea created by the tear drops of the widows of the numerous enemies killed by him (Vaidyanāth).

7, 8, and 9. Who by the quick stroke of the hoofs of his reinless chargers—which strokes disturbed the surface of the Earth,—broke down the tusks of the elephants of the enemies and grew the creeper of prowess by the flow of blood springing forth from the cut off heads of enemies and whose good deeds, bright as the beams of the autumn moon, are respected by the three worlds, being recited by numerous singing girls and in whose capital the tear drops born out of laughter have formed into a pond and who built the capital of the enemies of the Gangā dynasty adorned by the prominent busts and quick glances of young girls and also full of playful lions, bright wild fire, cruel serpent, proud and unruly boar, dancing peacocks eclipsing the brightness of the Sun, the roaring elephant, etc.—such is the king of Bhujangampuri respected (by all).

10. People do not deviate from their path in whose hands there is rainfall of the water of kindness (of this king). It is strange this rainfall does not make the earth muddy and in spite of this rainfall the Sun (सिद्धमण्डल) sends out his rays brightly (or otherwise the friends सिद्धमण्डल—of this king live happily).

11. There is in Utkaladesa in Neyali Sason the self-existing Śiva known throughout the world by the name of Śobhaneśwar

who is like the head of all gods and whose lotus-like feet are kissed by the black bees found in blue lotuses.

12. The great temple of this Śiva the conqueror of all the three worlds is compared from a great distance by the travellers passing on the way, to the Meru Mounts, the Himalayas, the mountain where the sun sets, the Kailas, the Vindyas, the Mahendra, or the mount where the sun rises.

13. There are various high hills upon the earth which fall and rise in height but none of these mountains throughout the world can be compared with this tall temple built by this pious, charitable and world conquering king.

14. While at night the shadow of the moon is reflected in the gold *kalas* (कलश) of the temple people think as if the gods are engaged in this temple in worshipping Śiva with utensils of flint, powdered wheat, *durbā* grass, and pearls, etc.

15. Śiva constantly remembering long separated Pārvati whose wrist is decorated with various ornaments with many precious stones and whose forehead is adorned with long *Alakā*, if he goes out from this beautiful temple to Kailas mountain to adore her that is only very seldom (because this temple is so very beautiful and has charmed him so much ?).

16. For removing the exhaustion of tired pedestrians this king Vaidyanāth built in front of Śiva a mandap which is the abode of pleasure for the eyes ; the only storehouse of nectar ; the only object of praise for the tongue throughout the world and the very coolness itself existing in the world.

17. By that king who was like the wild fire unto the sins of Kali yuga was built with stone blocks like *chandrakānt* stones the very high compound wall which reached the skies in height ; was like the road to the heavens ; like a bridge for this world-sea and like the mountain for the rise of the moon of prowess.

18. By him were offered to Śiva beautiful damsels (Devadasis ?) like the fairies of heaven in whose sweet lips there was nectar ; in the ends of whose eyes was cupid ; in whose mouth and waist and other parts of the body were *stambhan*, *mohan* and other charms and whose persons were decorated with various ornaments.

19. Although the ocean has gravity and other qualities

they are marred by its being saline; the heavenly Ganges has the defect of flowing into the nether worlds; the lake of Mánasa although so famous has been polluted by the mixture in it of the *Mada* water of Sarvabhaum (the elephant of the north) and so none of them can stand comparison with the tank dug by Śiva (near the temple?).

20. This king also established out of reverence a garden for Śiva which was resounded with the sweet notes of cuckoo, the *Vina*-like note of black bee and which was also full of dancing peacocks.

21. Around this temple at places there were tanks, elsewhere *mathas*, somewhere *mandapas* and at other places houses for the supply of drinking water or rows of trees up till the horizon and the sea.

22. This king who was like Brahmā in *āchār* (discipline?), in *niti* like Śukra, in observing śaivait rites like Nandi, in erudition like Brhaspati, who had performed seven sacrifices (jajnas), who was like Panini himself in matters grammatical and like Kanāda in reasoning, built this temple of Vishnu and Śiva.

23. The *praśasti* which is like a channel for the flow of the tear drops dripping through pleasure, like the water of the star named Swati unto impure oyster (for formation of precious pearl), like the moon beam of intelligence for the development of the *kumud* buds of mind, and like a garland on the neck of wise men in an assembly of poets, was composed by Udayan the wise under his (Vaidyanath) orders.

24. This beautiful temple of Śiva the conqueror of cupid which is like the storehouse of all art and the play ground of dharma was constructed with ease by the late Savan by caste a Brahman who was a great artist like Maya of old.

25. So long as there are radiance in the moon, the heavenly Ganges on the head of Śiva, Laksmi on the lap of Viṣṇu, thunderbolt in the arms of the king of gods, the earth on the head of Vāsuki, the display of waves in the sea, may this *praśasti* decorating this temple continue to exist.

NOTES

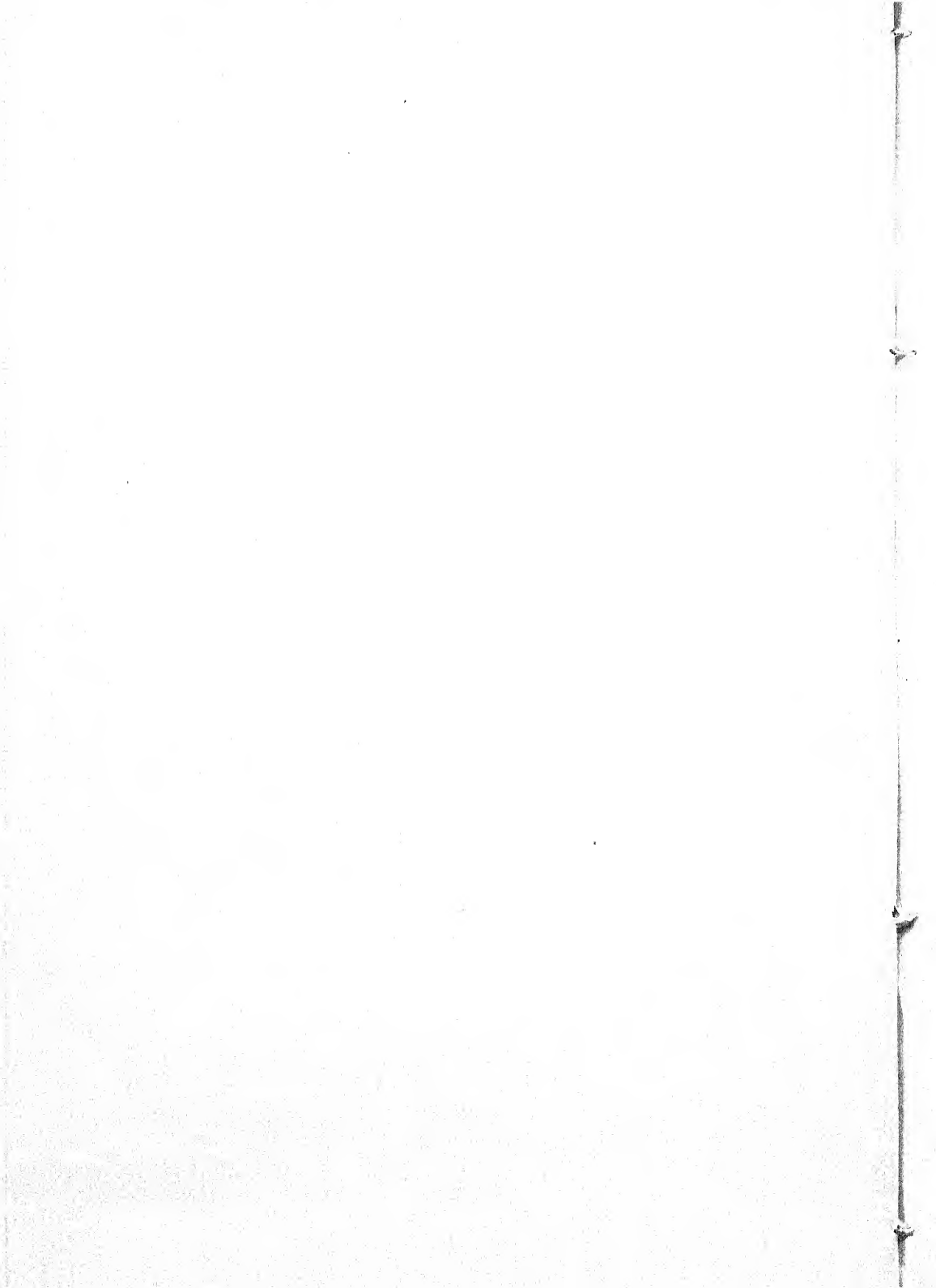
Stanza 4—King Mādhava was born of Garuda (देववि) the founder of this dynasty. Some 4 miles to the east of Niali is a village named Mādhava where there is another important temple of Mādhavānanda—a Viṣṇu temple. It is however found that the style of construction in both the temples of Śobhaneśwar and Mādhavānanda are somewhat similar, although the temple of Mādhavānanda is bigger than that of Śobhaneśwar and there are no Parswadeulas at Mādhava and new images of Nṛsiṅgh, Tribikram, and Barāha have been placed in the niches of the main temple in recent years. People cannot say if there were no Parswadevatas from before. Some say the temple of Mādhavānanda was built by Anangabhin Deva of Gangā dynasty. It might be it was really built by this king Mādhava: of course the Śobhaneśwar prasasti is silent over that. The top portion of the original main temple at Mādhava has long broken down and what we find now is a subsequent structure. Now, there is placed an iron wheel (चक्र) at the top of the main temple but originally there was a stone wheel there which has been displaced when the biman gave way and is now preserved inside the temple.

Stanza 8—BHUJANGMAPURI—I have already referred to this. There is a village named KAKODARPUR some ten miles to the north of Niali. It is probable it was here that these Brahman kings were reigning. Of course no relics are now found there in this village except a big silted up tank in the adjoining village of Jaganathpur and an old stone built temple of Dadhibaman Jiu some two or three miles to the north of Kakodarpur in village Kaunrpur where also are found some well carved images. People cannot also say who built this latter temple of Dadhibaman Jiu. This temple is now in a half dilapidated condition and the deity is now placed in the frontal mukh sali with straw thatched roof for fear of the main temple ever collapsing.

Stanza 9—गंगान्वयदेविषां. I have already made my observations on this.

Stanza 18. I think there is some reference to a system of *Devadasis*, probably then obtaining in the temple of Śobhaneś-





war although there are no Devadasis there now. However we find even now at the *math* at village Khambākul near Balikuda, some 15 miles from Niali, singing girls appointed for singing songs before the Deity on ceremonial occasions throughout the year. It might be there was formerly such a system obtaining at Niali.

Stanza 22. विष्णोर्भवानीपदे:—Although the temple of Śobhaneśwar is pre-eminently a Śiva temple there are found inside the compound a small image of Barāha and a good many small Vāsudeva images besides a large Vāsudeva image of a man's height in the Jagamohan and hence it is really a combined seat of Śiva and Viṣṇu. The praśasti also begins with नमः शिवाय and ends with two wheel marks the emblem of Viṣṇu. In stanza 22 also it is clearly noted भवनं कृतं सुकृतिना विष्णोर्भवानीपदेः. The Śiva is also worshipped here with Tulsi leaves and Vilwapatra.

Then again over the śakti there is placed a thick ring of about 9" thickness and about 1 ft. high made of a paste of *dhuna*, *til*, *chandan* and other perfumes, on the Dhanu Sankranti day every year and is retained there for a fortnight. They say this is applied as the god gets fever during that period. I cannot explain what this practice really signifies.

VI.—Sher Shah's Revenue System

By Prof. Paramatma Saran

In the whole range of Muslim rule in India Sher Shah was perhaps the most brilliant among administrative geniuses. Flashing like a meteor in the firmament of Mediaeval Indian history, for a period which was all too short, he has still left a lasting stamp of his skill on every conceivable branch of administration. That history has not yet done full justice to him is partly due to the paucity of materials for a full account of all that he achieved. It should not, however, be understood that historians have failed to notice the greatness of this man. Practically all pioneers in the study of modern Indian history have bestowed unstinted praise upon him in highly glowing terms, and at least one of them was so deeply impressed as to confess that 'It is impossible to avoid the observation, that no government—not even the British—has shown so much wisdom as this Pathan.' (Keene in "Turks in India," p. 42). This universal recognition notwithstanding, until the end of the last decade of our century, when Prof. Kalikaranjan Qanungo's monograph on Sher Shah was published, no special study of this great man was attempted by any scholar. Recently, however, some aspects of his administration have been critically studied and have occasioned sharp differences of opinion. Among these his revenue system—as highly efficient as any other department of his administration—is perhaps the most controversial of all. The present paper is an attempt to examine the different views held on this subject.

Prof. Qanungo and Mr. Moreland are the two scholars, who hold opposite views on almost all the vital points connected with Sher Shah's revenue administration, the conclusions of the former having been challenged by the latter who has made a special study of revenue systems of Moslem India.¹

¹ Vide 'Agrarian System of Moslem India,' pp. 68-78; and J.R.A.S. for 1926. 447 et seq.

The cause of these differences of opinion is that nothing like an adequate account of Sher Shah's fiscal institutions has been left by any authority. Such brief notices as are found interspersed in the narratives, being too short, lend themselves to different interpretations in the hands of subtle scholars. The main source of Sher Shah's history, from which practically all other chronicles derive, is Abbas Sarvāni's *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, of which the few extant texts differ in several places. But it is a matter for some satisfaction that in their account of the fiscal measures of Sher Shah they all agree on the whole, excepting certain ineffective points.

Before entering upon an examination of the actual problem in hand it will be well to state the main questions connected with it, *viz.*, (1) The mode of assessment, (2) The form of payment, and (3) The proportion or amount of the state share. These three questions in their several bearings should be separately studied in respect of the two periods of Sher Shah's administration, *viz.*, the period of his governorship of his father's Jagir, and second, the period of his kingship.

Now the question is what was the mode of assessment adopted by Sher Shah, or to be more correct, Farid, when he was entrusted with the administration of Sehasram and Khawaspur parganas by his father. There are three methods of assessment which have been found to obtain in India since ancient times, *viz.*, (1) Sharing, (2) compounding, and (3) measurement. In sharing the basis was the quantity of the produce reaped, *i.e.*, the gross produce, which was divided into several equal shares one of which belonged to the King. This then might be converted into cash by being sold away on the spot; but its main point is that it indicated a certain definite portion of the gross produce. (2) Compounding, in the words of Mr. Moreland, was the system under which 'a peasant compounded for his liability to the king by a fixed payment for leave to occupy a certain area and grow whatever crops he chose'.¹ (3) Measurement was based on the area sown,

¹ J.R.A.S., 1926, p. 449. Note: The Compounding system was originally very much different from this, as I shall show in the course of this paper.

a charge of a certain weight of each kind of grain, or its equivalent in cash was made on each unit of area sown, and the assessment for the year was complete when the crop areas had been measured, though in practice it was found necessary to make allowances in cases where the crop failed¹. Mr. Moreland is of opinion that the first and third of these systems, *i.e.*, sharing and measurement are Hindu systems coming down from ancient times, but the second one, *i.e.*, compounding, cannot be traced before Aurangzeb's time, 'but it may be much older'. But there is a word which occurs in a passage in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, a correct interpretation of which will prove that the system of 'compounding' also existed, at any rate, in early Musalman times. This word is *Muqtei* (مقطعی) and is regarded by Moreland as of doubtful meaning. The passage in question is as follows²:—

.....” و در زمان شیر خان و سلیم خان که هندوستان از غله بخشی و مقطعی بظبط آمد بهمین گز پیمودند“

and here is Jarret's translation of it: 'Sher Khan and Salim Khan, under whom Hindustan was released from the custom of dividing the grain and its apportionment, in measuring land used this gaz³. Thus Jarret renders Moreland's doubtful word 'Muqtei,' as 'apportionment,' *i.e.*, assignment of shares due to the parties concerned. The word مقطعی is derived from qitaā (ق-ط-ع = قطع), meaning, 'a portion' or 'to divide into portions'. Now this word exactly signifies a system of 'compounding' which should have prevailed side by side with 'sharing' before Sher Shah superseded them both with 'measurement.' We have seen Moreland's definition of the 'Compounding system' as a sort of compromise made by the peasant with the ruler to make a fixed payment (presumably cash) as consideration for being allowed to grow crops on a certain area of land. But payment in cash must have been the

¹ J.R.A.S., 1926, p. 449.

² *Ain-i-Akbari*, Persian Text, Published by the Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1893; Book I. p. 206; in the account of the *Ain-i-Gaz*.

³ Jarret's Tr. of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, II., 61.

second stage in the growth of the compounding system, and yet it should have been only permissive and not compulsory, for we find that what I call the 'first stage' of the system was prevailing till very recently in some parts of the country. This first stage was that the Patwari or the Patel used to go to the peasant at the time when his crop was ready for harvesting, and making an estimate of the expected amount of produce offered to fix the government share. In this transaction the Government entered into a sort of contract with the peasant to allow him to cultivate a certain piece of land in consideration for a certain portion of his produce. If the peasant agreed the contract was complete. If not then some other method was resorted to. This system was known as Mukāta, and was prevalent in the Kota State till the end of the first decade of this century.

So of the three systems which have simultaneously existed in many parts of the country since the Musalman times, Mukata was the name still used for what was indisputably a system of compounding. It is also evident that Makata is only a simplified colloquial form of Muqataâ (مُقَاتَا) which means, a thing given on contract, or a person entering into a contract. All these words, Muqtei, Muqtea, etc., are derived from the same root (see above p. 4) and must have been used in slightly varied forms in different parts of the country. Thus connecting up these facts we find that Muqtei was a system of compounding, in which the peasant agreed to pay a certain amount of his produce to the king. The custom of compounding by cash payment must have been of a later growth wherever the parties thought it to be more convenient. Thus the system of 'Muqtei' incidentally referred to in the Ain as having been replaced by measurement in the time of Sher Shah and Salim Shah, indicates none other than the very system of compounding which, Mr. Moreland says, was working side by side with the other two between Benares and Delhi when the British Administration began¹. On these grounds, Moreland's surmise that the word might indicate a system of 'Farming' seems to be baseless.

¹ J.R.A.S., 1926., p. 449.

As a likely support of his suggestion Mr. Moreland says that 'derivatives from the same root are applied in some cases to assignment, in others to Farming¹ but he does not give any illustrations. Nor do I find any derivative of the same root being even remotely applicable to 'Farming' or Assigning'.

I turn now to the main points of dispute, which may be stated thus: (1) Did Farid give to the peasants their choice as to the system on which the demand should be made, that is to say, as to the method of assessment, or did he give them choice only as to the mode of payment? (2) whether or not his establishing direct relations with the ryot had any significance?

Relying on the authority of Abbas Sarwani whose facts he accepts as correct, Mr. Moreland asserts that 'Farid....gave the peasants their choice as to the method of assessment'². The reading, however, in Elliot's Translation of Abbas³ is, ".....turning to the peasantry, he said:—'This day I give you your choice as to the *mode of payment*. Do whatever is most advantageous to you in every possible way'. Some of the headmen asked for written agreements for a fixed money rent⁴, others preferred payment in kind (Kismat-i-ghalla).—Accordingly he gave leases and took agreements, etc." Prof. Qanungo's manuscript has also the same wordings as Elliot's. On page 18 of his 'Sher Shah' he writes: "Next he turned to the peasants and told them to make their choice, as to whether they should *pay rent in cash or kind*. He meant to make a settlement direct with the ryot and not through the muqaddams. Abbas says (Abbas Sarwani, MS. 28), "Some of the cultivators agreed to Zarib, (*i.e.*, fixing of rent by measuring the area under cultivation; a money commutation is here meant). Others agreed to an actual division of crops. Farid took written Kabuliyaats signed by the raiyats and fixed the rate of payment

¹ The Agrarian System of Moslem India, by W. H. Moreland, pp. 73, 74.

² J.R.A.S., 1926, p. 450: also his 'Agrarian system of Moslem India', pp. 69 and 71.

³ Elliot IV. 313.

⁴ With regard to this Elliot in a foot-note on the same page notes: 'In two copies jarib, in one, *pauā-Kabuliyaat*.'

for measuring, the remuneration of the tax-gatherers and the daily allowance of the tax-gatherers."

Now the words quoted above do not leave any room for ambiguity and in the face of their preciseness, it is really incomprehensible how Mr. Moreland could discover in them an option as to the method of assessment, instead of the mode of payment. But having presumed the offer to relate to an option for the mode of assessment he is led into wrongly interpreting the answer that was given by the peasants or by the headmen on their behalf. The reason of this misinterpretation is clear: it is the use of the words *zarib* in some mss. (while in others *Patta-Qabuliat* is used), and *Qismat-i-Ghalla*, in a loose way. Elliot's rendering of these two words, as we have seen above, is absolutely clear and admits of no ambiguity. It runs thus: some asked for written agreements for 'a fixed money payment', and others preferred '*payment in kind*'. Now *zarib* of course came to bear, later in Akbar's time, the technical sense of 'measurement', or 'area', etc., but because some manuscripts have *patta-qabuliat* in place of *jarib*, it appears that either it has been wrongly inserted in some copies or more probably the words were at that time loosely used to convey the same sense. And it was only in Akbar's time, I think, that *jarib* became restricted to a strictly technical sense. Before that it was used like an ordinary word. Before I advance further reasons in support of this interpretation, I should like to point out that Prof. Qanungo has confused the interpretation of the word '*Zarib*' which occurs in his ms., but Farid's offer of an option as to the mode of payment and not that of assessment being in absolutely unmistakable words, has guided him ultimately to the right conclusion. Now my further reasons for my interpretation are: first, that the offer of Farid to the cultivators being so clear and unmistakable there could have been no sense in their reply if it had referred to something else than the question asked. Secondly, we know that when the peasant's choice was made, Farid fixed the fees for measurers or surveyers, and tax-collectors, and the latter's daily rations.¹ There is no clue in this of any other except the

¹ (Prof. Qanungo's ms., p. 28.)

system of measurement, and commissions are fixed for the different functionaries under that system. Had the other system, *viz.*, sharing also been allowed, he would surely have fixed the commission of the functionaries concerned. But here again curiously enough Mr. Moreland discovers something which does not exist in any of the original texts. He says 'in order to prevent oppression by the headmen, the fees chargeable under each system were fixed'. It is difficult to see how the words I have quoted above can be interpreted to refer to the systems of assessment. Fixing the fees for measurers and tax-gatherers is quite clear. It can never imply the two systems of assessment. Thirdly, Mr. Moreland himself admits that before Sher Shah's time two systems of assessment were working, *viz.*, 'ghalla bakshi', *i.e.*, 'sharing' and 'muktei', the meaning of which is not clear to him, but for which he gives 'farming' as a probable interpretation. Why then did Farid not offer them an option of this third system also? Nor does he give the remotest indication that he had resolved to suppress one of the two systems then prevailing. Fourthly, Mr. Moreland in the course of his arguments, further on, opines that 'Farid himself can have had no very decided opinion at the outset' and builds on this supposition conclusions which are unwarranted, *e.g.*, that during the preceding six centuries before Sher Shah 'there was, in practice, not very much to choose between sharing and measurement....'¹ For one thing, the opinion that Farid could not have had any decided opinion himself, at this time, far from supporting Mr. Moreland's theory, goes against him inasmuch as how could he, if he were ignorant of the comparative usefulness or otherwise of the two systems, drop one of them without giving it a fair trial. To draw from this the conclusion that in practice there was not very much to choose between the two systems of sharing and measurement, during the preceding six centuries, is fallacious. The system of 'measurement' which had been reintroduced by Ala-Uddin-Khilji had long been discontinued, and the raiyats of Sher Shah's time could not possibly have

¹ J.R.A.S., 1926, p. 451.

had the remotest idea of how it should work. Mr. Moreland makes Farid take up the position of asking the peasants to choose between two things, one of which they had never seen, and hence he himself stumbles into error. It is strange that he passes a judgment upon the working of a system of assessment at a period in which it was not even in existence, at least in the Jagir of Sher Shah. Fifthly, while Farid, who was admittedly possessed of a keen and powerful observation and was so well equipped by his education and training, was not yet able to make up his mind, how could he expect the peasants to know better than himself. In determining this problem a study of the psychology of Farid will be of great help. He was conscious of his superiority of intellect over all his contemporaries, much more so, over the unsophisticated peasantry, and his sole aim was the improvement of the prosperity of the peasants, and thereby that of the state. Such a person would never throw open to the option of the simple-minded ryot anything of a dubious character, such as the systems of assessment were. He would only give them an option which would afford them some facility, for instance, in the mode of payment. He knew thoroughly well the oppressions that the headmen committed upon the ryots. He therefore fixed the fees chargeable for measuring, etc., and strongly admonished them not to charge a pie more under pain of very severe punishment. All these facts go to prove that he was wide awake to the defects of the previous systems of assessment which left to the official underlings considerable loopholes to oppress the ryots. An exile at Jaunpur, he was not blind to the numerous shortcomings that filled the administration of his father. On the contrary, he had made a careful study of them as also of their causes, and must have been a painful on-looker so long as he had not the power to remedy them. This is amply borne out by the conversation he had with Hasan at the time of parting. In telling his father about the oppression of the Mukkaddams he gave clear indication of his acquaintance with the working of the existing systems of assessment and had made up his mind to put an end to them. Being thus resolved to introduce the system of measurement,

he had no need to discuss it with the peasants. He proceeded straight to the next question, *viz.*, the mode of payment, in which by giving them option he could facilitate their work. On these grounds I hold that (1) Sher Shah from the very first, even in his administration of the Jagir of his father, adopted the system of measurement in assessment of land revenue, and secondly, that he offered to the peasants option in the mode of payment and not in the method of assessment.

Our second question in this connection was whether or not the direct connection established by Farid with his ryots without the mediation of the headmen had any significance. In regard to this matter I entirely agree with Prof. Qanungo when he says: 'By this arrangement the Muqaddams were badly hit.... Their regime of tyranny came to an end. A direct connection between the ryot and Jagirdar having been established, both were freed from dependence on them.'¹ Elliot's ms., however, says that the choice was made by the headmen, and kabuliyat was taken from them. But Prof. Qanungo says², and justly, that this is opposed to the very spirit of Farid's reformation. His ms. has clearly the words: بدستخت گرفت *i.e.*, he took kabuliats signed by the ryot. That Farid evinced an intense anxiety for the security and welfare of the peasantry and in order to save them from the oppressions of the Muqaddams, asked them to come to him straight if they had any complaint to make, shows positively how deeply he realised the need of establishing direct connection with them, and that this measure was not meaningless as Mr. Moreland makes it out to be³. He gives a twofold argument in support of his view: First, that the headmen occupied a dual position. True, that the headmen had a dual position,—and this may have been the reason of an indifferent use of the words peasant and headman, being made in the mss.—but they as well as the peasants had dealings with the Jagirdar in the capacity of ryots and not as intermediaries

¹ Sher Shah by K. R. Qanungo, pp. 18-19.

² *Ibid.*, foot-note, p. 18.

³ J.R.A.S., 1926, foot-note on p. 450.

for any other party. Secondly, Mr. Moreland says that 'the peasant's choice would in any case be declared by the headmen'. This would mean that in all dealings the headman was to act as the intermediary; but we know he called all the peasants and not the headmen alone and began a direct contract with them and plainly told them to deal directly with himself.

The above discussion precludes the necessity of any further consideration of the question as to the mode of payment. Mr. Moreland, having once fallen into error is unable to find authority for the view held by Qanungo, *viz.*, 'that Farid gave option to the peasant to pay rent either in cash or kind. Nothing can be said as to the amount of Farid's demand from the peasant at this time, there being no mention of it in any authority.

Now in respect of the second period of his administration when Farid becomes Sher Shah the King of Northern India, there is no difficulty about the first two questions. With the exception of Multan he introduced the measurement system all over his kingdom. Nor is there any reason to suspect that he should have here withheld from the ryots the option as to their mode of payment¹. We find a confirmation of this view in a sentence of Abul Fazal in the *Ain*. In the 'Ain of the classification of lands', etc. (*Ain XI* of Jarret's *Tr.* Vol. II) Abul Fazal says at the end, that the revenue levied by Sher Khan found acceptance² and for the convenience of the cultivators and the soldiery, the value was taken in ready money.³ This is an account of the early measures of Akbar in

¹ There is also no mention of the fees of measurers and tax collectors, etc., at this time. Prof. Qanungo's surmise that all such items should have been included within the land revenue, seems to be quite reasonable. Similar was the case in Akbar's system, which was more or less a copy of Sher Shah.

² Jarret (II, p. 63) has wrongly translated these words (پزیرش یافت) as 'generally obtained', which should be 'found acceptance'.

³ *Ain*. N. K. Press Lucknow Text, p. 207. Here is the sentence referred to: و ربعی که شیرخان برگرفته بود امروز در همه صوبها از و کمتر : نشان ندعند پزیرش یافت و برای آسودگی سپاه و رعیت ارج بر سخته زر باز خواست نمایند .

which he had adopted the system that had been established by Sher Shah and was still working. Its last clause indicates a modification that was made in the former system, *viz.*, that the value of the revenue was restricted to cash payment only for the convenience of the people concerned, thus showing that previously payment of revenue must have been made in cash as well as kind.

The last and most complicated question, *viz.*, the king's share, requires fuller notice. Prof. Qanungo contends that Sher Shah took one-fourth of the gross produce as land revenue, in support whereof he adduces these arguments¹: (1) "The Makhzan-i-Afghana says that Sher Shah wrote to Haibat Khan to take one-fourth of the produce of the land as Govt. revenue from the people of Multan without measuring the land" (Quoted in Elliot iv. 399, foot-note 1). (2) Abul Fazal writes: "The Revenue levied by Ser Khan, which at the present day is represented in all provinces as the lowest rate of assessment". (Ain. ii. 63.)²

From the same writer we learn elsewhere that Akbar later on raised it to one-third (*ibid.*, p. 66). So it is evident that Sher Shah's demand must have been lower than that".

As regards the first argument, I agree with Mr. Moreland that Multan was the recipient of specially favourable treatment, and its case cannot be supposed to apply to the rest of the kingdom. The second argument of Qanungo also cannot hold water. He has quoted Jarret's translation of the Ain. But on referring to the text we find that it conveys a different sense from that of the translation. The passage in question has already been reproduced by me in a footnote above. Mr. Moreland gives a correct rendering of it: 'and the ray' (or a ray) which Sher Khan had fixed (and at the present day in all provinces less than that is not indicated), found acceptance....'³ Herein also I agree with Mr. Moreland that the word "that" refers to a schedule of Sher Shah's assessment rates, and hence it only means that the assessments

¹ Sher Shah, p. 373, foot-note.

² He refers to Jarret's Translation.

³ J.R.A.S., 1926, 453 and 455.

when the Ain was written were not less than Sher Shah's: 'they may therefore have been equal or greater and the passage cannot be used to prove that they were greater.' I go further and think that the text clearly says that the ray' of Sher Shah found acceptance. (پیش یافت) Hence whatever rates were prevailing at that time and were approved by the Emperor were those which had come down from Sher Shah's time. Hence Akbar's rates of this period were equal to those of Sher Shah. Prof. Qanungo's statement that Akbar raised the assessment to one-third later, is to be found neither in Jarret's translation on page 66, nor in the Text.

Again in Elliot's Abbas we find that Sher Shah "ordered his governors to measure the land every harvest, to collect the revenue according to the measurement and in proportion to the produce, giving one share to the cultivator and half a share to the Muqaddam; and fix the assessment with regard to the kind of grain".¹ This passage does not occur in Prof. Qanungo's ms., nor in those seen by Moreland. It seems, however, to give the clue to the rate of assessment. The instruction to the collectors is that they should give one share to the cultivator and half a share to the Muqaddam, presumably as government share. It cannot mean the share of the Muqaddam himself. But even if we discredit the authority of this doubtful passage, a confirmation of this view which I hold, in agreement with Mr. Moreland, is contained in the passage of the Ain quoted above. All that remains to do is to elucidate the sense and application of the word ray' (ریعی) used in this passage. It means 'cultivation', or 'the income accruing from cultivation', or the 'tax on cultivation.'² In the Ain immediately after saying that 'the ray' (ریعی) fixed by Sher Khanetc.' Abul Fazal gives several tables or schedules of the assessment rates. The headings of these schedules are, e.g., ریح پولج (i.e., Ray' of the Rabi crop

¹ Elliot IV, p. 413-14.

² Ain. Lucknow Text. 207; in the marginal note the meaning of ray, (ریعی) is given thus: *مزروعات و آنچه از زراعت حاصل شود و محصول زراعت*.

of Polaj land)¹ خریفی ریع (*i.e.*, ray' for Kharif crop)² and so on. This clearly shows that these ray's or schedules are those referred to by him and which have come down from Sher's time. The word ray' also occurs in some other places in the Ain where it bears a different meaning according to the context, *e.g.*, ریع جنس و ارج آن برگرفته و دستور قرار دادی ³ *i.e.*, 'and taking the gross produce and estimating its value, they determined the rates of collection.....'⁴

Thus this passage helps us to know that Sher Shah used to charge one-third of the produce as revenue. But there is another difficulty which arises out of this. These schedules, based as they were on the three different productivities of the land, were soon found to be unworkable for the kingdom of Akbar owing to the varying degrees of fertility of land in different provinces of the Empire. This failure to work them led to the so-called 10 year settlement of Todar Mall. Mr. Moreland suggests that the same difficulty should have arisen for Sher Shah on account of the cut and dry schedules of assessment rates. But I think these are given by Abul Fazal only as illustrations from the vestiges of a system which, while it was every year regularly adjusted to the needs of the situation by its masterly creator, should have become petrified during the chaos following his death. Mr. Moreland forgets that under Sher Shah the measurements were made every year and the revenue was assessed according to the product.

There is one more difficulty which confronts us if we presume these schedules to be Sher Shah's. Did Sher Shah also divide his land into four kinds and was Akbar's classification too a copy or a direct adoption of Sher Shah's? We have no authority to say so, but I think it is not unlikely that he did so.

¹ Lucknow Text Ain, p. 207.

² *Ibid.*, p. 208.

³ Ain, Lucknow Text, Book II, p. 2.

⁴ Jarret's Ain, II, p. 88.

VII.—Magical Beliefs and Superstitions in Buddhism

By Dr. Mathuralal Sharma, M.A., D.Litt.

The sixth century B.C. in India was a period of doubts and discussions. Bloody sacrifices and Ahimsā, grossest superstitions and subtlest philosophies, strong doubts and ardent faiths all existed side by side. Wrangling was the great vice of the age and the philosophic mind of the country was rent into thousand speculations. The early Buddhist books refer to sixty-two varieties of hypothesis which the Buddha found existing when he began to preach. They may be summed up under the modern convenient terms of animism, polytheism, pantheism, and dualism.

An atmosphere like this was the most suitable soil for magical beliefs and superstitions. We, therefore, find that all forms of magic are referred to in the early Buddhistic works¹. The practice of Magic was a regular profession of some Samana-Brahmans. They not only practised magic but taught it to others as a useful art, and charged fees for tuition. They divined success or failure in life from certain marks on the human body. Auguries were much current, and magicians were approached by the credulous masses for the interpretations of prognostics, of dreams, and of omens, good or bad. Clothes and other articles gnawed by rats served as means of predicting the future. Spells were practised for preserving the body, for determining lucky sites, for protecting fields, for luck in war, and to secure good harvests. Magical practices to cure bites of snakes, scorpions or rats, and to counteract the effect of poison, were quite current. Wounds were warded off or healed by chanting certain formulas. The magicians pretended to possess the knowledge of the language of beasts, which was probably pressed into the service of foretelling fortune. The flight of hawks and the croaking of ravens were interpreted to possess

¹ Digha and Majjhim Nikayas. J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 197.

several indications. The eclipses of the sun and the moon, their being in conjunction or in opposition, as also the conjunction of planets were believed to influence the destinies of man and produce various results in the world. Predictions like the following were very common:—

“There will be an abundant rainfall, there will be a deficient rainfall, there will be an abundant harvest, there will be famine, there will be tranquillity, there will be disturbances, the season will be sickly, the season will be healthy.”

Very popular were the spells to procure prosperity or to cause adversity to others, to remove sterility, to produce dumbness, locked-jaw, deformity, or deafness.

A form of what is now called mesmeric magic was also known. Oracular responses were obtained by the aid of a mirror or from a young girl, or from a god. The mirror is used even by the present day mesmerists and young boys and girls are hypnotised to serve as mediums.

Many a Sāman-Brahmana gained his livelihood by blessing fields, imparting virility, and causing impotency. A magician's services were requisitioned in choosing the site of a house or performing a house-warming. He gave lessons to the laity on the spells to be used when cleansing the mouth, and when bathing.

We have clear references also to beliefs in ghosts, goblins, evil spirits, and other supernatural beings meddling with man's affairs. Spells were practised to ward off their influences and schemes¹. Some of the spirits live on the earth, and some in the air. People stood in constant terror of them and appeased them by offerings².

The belief in the powers of magicians was widespread, shared even by kings and ministers. Once the following story came to the ears of Seniya Bimbisāra, king of Magadha:—

“They say that in the city of Bhaddiya, which is in our territory, there dwells a house-holder named Mendaka. And his magical power is such that if he bathes

¹ Teviggā Sutta Tr. In S.B.E., Vol. XI, pp. 196-200.

² Kulavagga. 1 and 2 Tr. by E. Fausboll in S.B.E., Vol. X.

his head, has his granary swept out, and sits outside by the door, a shower of grain will fall from the sky and fill the granary. Of his wife the magical power is such that if she sits down by a pint-pot of boiled rice and a dish of sauce and curry, she can serve a meal to the slaves and serving men; and as long as she does not get up, the food is not exhausted. Of the son the magical power is such that with only a purse of a thousand pieces of money he can pay six months' wages to the slaves and serving men; and as long as the purse is in his hand, the money is not exhausted. Of the daughter-in-law the magical power is such that if she sits down by a four bushel basket, she can give six months' rations of rice to the slaves and serving men, and as long as she does not get up, the rice is not exhausted. Of the slave the magical power is such that with one plough he can plough seven furrows at once"¹.

The story goes on to say that the King took it quite seriously and asked one of his ministers to go and find out the truth of it. The minister started and reached the magician Mendaka, who with other members of his family, gave a practical demonstration of his magical feats. The minister returned and related to the king all what he had seen.

The story, of course, cannot be a serious history, but even as a legend it reveals the popular beliefs in magic which had an access even to the royal courts.

The movement of the Buddha was an emphasis on an aspect of Hindu religion and morality. It was a revolt in the sense that all fruitless and endless discussions on God and soul were denounced as unable to help man in leading a good life. The Buddha protested equally against superstitions and metaphysics. His teaching essentially was: Do good and be good. The leader of such a movement cannot be expected to countenance the practice of any magic. This is why we find the Buddha preaching to his disciples that it was a low art to live by practising magic, or fortune-telling and teaching spells². But

¹ Mahavagga. vi. 34. 1-8. Tr. in H.O.S., Vol. 3, pp. 448-451.

² S.B.E., Vol. XI, pp. 196-200, also Kevaddha Sutta and Brahma Jala Sutta.

he is reported to believe in fairies, and miracles by highly evolved beings. Sometimes it is said, he himself caused miracles to win people to his faith.

When the chief minister of Magadha was building a fortress, the Blessed one, with his great and clear vision, surpassed that of ordinary men, saw thousands of fairies haunting the site and he predicted to Ananda as follows:—

“Among famous places of residence and haunts of busy men, this will become the chief, the city of Pāṭali-putra, a centre for the inter-change of all kinds of wares. But dangers will hang over Pāṭali-putra, that of fire, that of water, and that of dissension”¹.

The Buddha is reported to have once caused a miracle to win a Brāhmaṇa to his faith. The man came to the Blessed one and offered him some rice-milk, but the Buddha refused it saying that it was ill-gotten, whereupon the Brāhmaṇa threw the rice-milk into water. At once the rice-milk splashed, hissed and smoked in volumes, at which the Brāhmaṇa was extremely alarmed and fell at Bhagavat's feet². By the superstitious masses the Buddha was always regarded as a great magician. A super-human being, Hemavata Yakṣha, is reported to have approached the Buddha and listened to his discourse at length. At the conclusion he said:

“These ten hundred Yakṣhas, possessed of supernatural power and of fame, they all take refuge in thee, thou art our incomparable master”³.

As to how the popular beliefs creep into religion is illustrated by the fact that even in the earliest Buddhist texts the Buddha is reported to have a belief in the miracles connected with the life of an Arhata. Once he told his favourite disciple Ananda that a Sāmana, or a Brāhmaṇa of great power, who has his feelings or a god or an angel (devata) under his control could make this earth move and tremble and be shaken violent-

¹ Maha-Parinibbana-Sutta. Tr. by Rhys Davids in S.B.E., Vol. XI, page 18.

² Uruvagga. S. Tr. in S.B.E., Vol. X, page 14.

³ Uruvagga Hemavata Sutta Tr. in S.B.E., Vol. X, page 29.

ly; and that when a Bodhisatta descends into his mother's womb then is this earth made to quake, and tremble and is shaken violently¹. Similar miracles take place when the Bodhisatta quits his mother's womb or arrives at the supreme and perfect enlightenment or founds the sublime kingdom of righteousness or when he deliberately rejects the remainder of his life. We are told that whosoever places at the dāgha of a Tathagata garlands or perfumes or paint, or make salutation there, or become in its presence calm in heart, shall be profited and enjoy happiness².

The yogic practices for controlling the body before controlling the mind were the chief feature of the ascetic life in the Buddha's time. These self-torturing exercises which must have had useful and harmless beginning, were carried to exaggerated extremes and were believed to lead to marvellous results, both material and spiritual. The Buddha himself practised very austere yoga after his departure from home in quest of truth. While relating his life experiences, the Buddha said to Sāriputta :

“ To such a pitch of asceticism have I gone that naked was I flouting life's decencies, licking my hands after meals, never heeding when folk called to me to come to stop, never accepting food brought to me before my rounds or cooked expressly for me, etc. My sole diet has been herbs gathered green, or grass or cowdung. I have plucked out the hair of my head, and of my beard. On my body I have accumulated the dirt and filth of years till it dropped off of itself even as the rank growths of years fall away from the stump of a tinduka tree ”³.

The prevalent beliefs about these practices were that a person who could successfully go through such severe austerities becomes all-knowing and all-seeing and there was nothing beyond his ken or vision. Whether asleep or awake, whether

¹ Maha Parinibbana Sutta, Chap. III. 14-20. Tr. in S.B.E., Vol. XI, pp. 46-48.

² *Ibid.*, V. 26.

³ Maha Sinhanada Sutta in Dialogues of Buddha, Part I, pp. 53-54, Maha Saccaka Sutta: *Ibid.*, pp. 170-174.

walking or standing, such a person knew all that went on round him¹.

These self-tortures, as we know, did not lead the Buddha to truth. By personal experience he came to the conclusion that the middle path of avoiding both extreme self-tortures and extreme self-indulgence was the only right path. Yet curiously enough, though he disbelieved in yogic exercises, he is reported to believe in yogic powers. He only changed the cause, and retained the effect. If not he, at least his early followers who have ascribed it to him, believed that a Bodhisatta was capable of causing miracles and was in possession of supernatural powers which knew no physical impediments.

Once in course of his address to the Bikkhus is the Buddha reported to have delivered himself as follows :—

“ An almsman who calms his heart within him, cultivates ecstasies, fosters insight, and perfects himself in inward detachment, can enjoy every form of psychic power, namely, from being one he can become many, from being many he can become one. He can be visible or invisible at will, and pass through fence or hill as if through air. He can pass in and out of the solid earth as if it were water, and walk on the waters’ unbroken surface as if it were the solid earth. Like a bird he can fly in the air and can even touch and handle the moon and the sun. He can hear both heavenly and human sounds, whether far or near, etc.”².

After his death, the Buddha, as the central figure of the system, soon became invested with supernatural and legendary attributes, and his counteracting influence having disappeared, magical beliefs and practices and superstitions began to go unchallenged. Magic invaded the realm of religion and popular beliefs came to be regarded as a part of Buddhism. An evidence of the prevalence of magical rites to secure health and happiness during the period when Buddhism was the state

¹ Dialogues of Buddha. I. 92-93.

² Akankheya Sutta, Tr. by Lord Chalmers in S.B.G., Vol. V, page 24, and also by Maxmuller in S.B.E., Vol. XI, pp. 212, 215.

religion is afforded by the Rock Edict IX of Aśoka. The great king says :

“ People perform various rites in sickness, at marriages, on the birth of sons, and on journey. Lucky rites should undoubtedly be performed but a rite of this kind bears little fruit.”

Remarking on this passage Dr. Bhandarkar¹ says that this points to the continuance of the worship of Yakṣhas, Chaityas, Gāndhārvas, Nāgas and so forth about whom we read so much in the Buddhist Pali Scriptures. Besides this, I think, it also shows that the streams of Sutra magic continued flowing during the reign of Asoka, because rites performed at marriages, on the birth of sons, and on journey must have been those described in the Sūtras.

As Buddhism extended its range and influence, and enjoyed princely patronage and ease, it lost its simple morality, agnostic idealism and became more metaphysical and ritualistic. Heresies and discords, schisms and differences cropped up, out of which grew Mahayana, a speculative theistic system with a mysticism of sophistic nihilism in the background. It developed the supernatural side of Buddhism and its objective symbolism. It substituted good words for good deeds and thus appealed more powerfully to the multitude and secured ready popularity. The theistic tendencies led to the creation of metaphysical Buddhas and celestial Buddhas, and to the introduction of innumerable demons and deities, with attendant superstitions and sacerdotalism.

About 500 A.D. was imported into Buddhism the cult of Yoga, the ecstatic union of the individual with the Universal spirit. Yoga was an ancient institution in India, and though the Buddha denounced its extreme and exaggerated forms, he attached much importance to the practice of abstract meditation. After the Buddha these practices relapsed into the Brahmanical cult of Yoga, and those who mastered this system were known as the Yogāchārya Buddhists. The adoption of Yoga meant the adoption of Tantrism which, by this time, had intermingled with it.

¹ Dr. D. R. Bhandurkar—Asoka.

About the end of the sixth century A.D., Tantrism began to dominate both Buddhism and Hinduism and introduced into these systems a legion of goddesses and fiendesses of wild, terrible form and malignant nature, who, when sufficiently appeased, bestowed supernatural powers on their followers. During the three or four succeeding centuries Buddhism became still more debased and deteriorated, and its mysticism became a "silly mummery of unmeaning jargon and magic circles" dignified by the title of Mantrāyan, or the spell vehicle¹.

In the tenth century A.D. Mahāyanism developed into the Kalacakra cult, which introduced the doctrine of demoniac Buddhas and came to be known as Vajrāyana, or the 'Thunderbolt-vehicle' and its followers were called 'the Vajrearyas²'. The latter development of Vajrāyana into Nathism, Sahajiyāism, Avadhutism, Chāṇḍālism, and Domism³ are more magical than religious.

In these later phases of Buddhism, the Mahāyanism, the Yogacara, the Kalachakra or the Vajrayana, we find a complete blend of religion and magic, faith and superstition. If religion was desired to be universally popular among the masses consisting not only of the Āryans and the enslaved aborigines, but also of the foreign elements like the Śakas, Kushans, and the Hūṇas who were being assimilated in the population its original simplicity and purity had to be sacrificed. Buddhist writers consciously or unconsciously accepted the popular superstitions and magical beliefs and treated them as serious elements of the faith. In this new world of Buddhists we find everything surcharged with magic. Anything extraordinary or wonderful, or any event or action for which the masses could not account was ascribed to magic. The Buddha saw the truth and acquired such a big following because he was a magician, his disciple Maudaga-la-Mandagalayam was so successful because he also was a magician. Birds fly in the air and gods wield great powers

¹ J.A.S.B., 1891 and J.R.A.S., 1894, article by Waddell.

² Waddell, Lamaism, page 15.

³ H. P. Shastri, . . . "Introduction to Modern Buddhism," pages 6-7.

because they know magic, and it is with the help of magic that emperors rule over vast dominions¹.

During this period of ramifications, the Buddha was worshipped not so much for his agnostic idealism, or the simplicity of his teaching, or even for his touching renunciation of his high estate, of his beloved wife, and child, as for the magical powers which he was supposed to wield. What an irony of fate that the Buddha who so vehemently opposed the practice of magic was himself branded as a great magician!!

The Lord is reported to have told his disciples that by his magic power he cleared many worlds of their sins, and transported all creatures². Once, no sooner had the Lord finished his speech than the world burst open on every side, and from within the clefts arose many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Bodhisattavas with gold-coloured bodies. Each of these Bodhisattavas had a train of thousands of Bodhisattavas similar to the sands of sixty Ganges rivers. And while these Bodhisattavas who had emerged from the gaps of the earth were saluting and celebrating with various hymns, fifty intermediate kalpas in full rolled away during which the Lord Sakyamuni remained silent, and the Lord produced such an effect of magical power that the four classes fancied that it had been no more than one afternoon³.

The daughter of Sagara and the Nāga-King believed that it was due to magic power that the lord arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment⁴.

The magical powers which the Buddha wielded were believed to be the result of his transcendent knowledge, but he employed his power always for beneficial purposes⁵. Happily no witchcraft is ascribed to him even by the Tantric Buddhism.

The Bodhisattavas, the disciples of the Buddha, the preachers, and the sages all are invested with magic powers. In the ideal world of the later Buddhists, the beings can move in the firmament with their magic⁶. Ānand-Bhadra, the keeper of the

¹ Saddharm Pundarika xi. 6.

² *Ibid.*, XIV.

³ Saddharma Pundarika xiv. 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XI, page 253.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XX, page 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, VIII, page 194. S.B.E., Vol. XXI.

Buddhistic law is conceived as a great Gina endowed with magical power, whose word shall widely resound in all quarters of the world¹. The eighty thousand Bodhisattvas who once appeared before the Lord were all gifted with magical spells². A Buddhist sage, besides many other virtues, possesses also the knowledge of magic spells which he obtains in a dream³. The Sramanas were well-known for their magic arts. When King Ajātasātru put his father into prison and the latter did not die when he was expected to die, it was believed that his death was delayed by some magic arts. The warder of the jail told the king that Mahamandgalayana and Purna approached his father through the sky to preach the law to him. Ajātasātru readily believed that it must be their art of spells causing illusion and delusion that delayed the death of his wicked father for so many days⁴.

In the form of riddhi, or the acquisition of supernatural power, magic is a recognised attribute of the Arhats. Asanga, a great Buddhist scholar of the fourth century A.D., on the basis of Yoga doctrine of ecstatic union of the individual with the universal spirit, which had been introduced into Hinduism by Patanjali about 150 B.C., taught that by means of mystic formulas, dharanis and mantras, a state of mental fixity can be reached⁵. The recitation of the Dharanis and Mantras was accompanied by music and certain distortion of the fingers known as mudras which figure so prominently in the Tantric magic. Allied to Iddis is the piriti⁶ form of magic, which as practised by the Hinayanists, is a reading of certain scriptures as an exorcism against evil spirits in sickness. It addresses itself to "all spirits here assembled," and says:—

¹ Saddharma Pundarika, ix. p. 1-3.

² *Ibid.*, XII, page 258.

³ *Ibid.*, XIII, page 278.

⁴ Amitayur dhyana Sutra, part I.

⁵ Yogicarya Bhumi Sastra.

⁶ The particular suttas used for this purpose are Ratana Sutta, Khanda-Paritta, Mora Paritta, Dhagagga Paritta, and the Atanatiya Paritta, and the Anguli-mala Paritta all of which are found in the Pirakas.

"Therefore, hear me, O Ye spirits, be friendly of the race of men, for every day and night they bring you their offerings, therefore keep diligent watch over thee"¹.

The Naths, the followers of Nathism which according to MM. H. P. Shastri is an off-shoot of Vajrāyanism, are still employed in some Rajputana states as professional magicians for averting locusts, and causing rain. In the states of Kotah, Bundi and Jhalawar there is a Nath for every three or four villages, holding rent-free land as fee for his performance of magic for the public good.

The development of belief in the power of magic formulas is distinctly traceable in the texts of the later Buddhism. The Suttas or the sermons which were traditionally believed to be pronounced by the Lord were naturally regarded as sacred, and in course of time a mere unintelligent recitation of them came to be regarded as producing various good results. If one recites or even listens to the Dharma Pariyaya Sutta, for instance, he shall never have a mouth disease, his tongue is never sore, his teeth shall never fall out, never be black, yellow, unequal, his lips never become loathsome². Further, by the study of this Sutta, one can discern the gods and demons, and the daughters of demons. He can also infer whether the child that a woman bears in her womb is a boy or a girl. He can also infer if a woman is big with a dead child. He can smell treasures hidden in the ground, money, gold, and jewellery³.

If the recitation of what was supposed to be the sermon of the Lord could produce such marvellous results, was it too much to expect that the recitation of his or any other Buddhist deity's name could also bring forth desired results? The smaller Sukhāvati Vyūha lays great stress on the fact that people can be saved or can be born in the land of Bliss, if only they remember and repeat the name of Buddha Amitabha two, three, four, five, six or more nights before their death, and it distinctly denies that people are born in the Paradise of Amita-

¹ Hardy's Eastern Monachism.

² Saddharma Pundarika, XVII, page 10.

³ *Ibid.*, XVIII, pages 32, 38.

bha as a reward or necessary result of good works performed in the present life. The new religion is not that as a man soweth, so he shall reap, but that as a man prayeth, so he shall be saved. Now if such a thing as Nirvāṇa was possible through mere recitation of a name, what difficulty could there be in obtaining considerably smaller desires? Accordingly we find that if one utters the name of the Buddha all his sins are destroyed and expiated¹. We are assured that if a man given up to capital punishment recites the name of Avalokitesvara, the swords of the executioners shall snap asunder, and the teeming goblins and giants shall lose the faculty of sight in their wicked designs². Mighty spells, witchcraft herbs, ghosts, and spectres revert thither whence they come, when one thinks of Avalokitesvara³. If a man is surrounded by goblins, Nāgas, demons, ghosts, or giants, who are in the habit of taking away bodily vigour, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and they shall not be able to hurt one hair of his body⁴.

The next step must have been the recitation of dharanīs which are classified as Atmadharanī, Granthadharanī, Dharma-dharanī, and Mantradharanī⁵. Burnouf⁶ in his Introduction to Indian Buddhism distinguishes between Mantra and Dharanī, but the distinction is more technical than real, and for all practical purposes the dharanī may be taken as magic spells, which were pronounced or repeated for the obtainment of various desires.

The tendency culminates in regular spells employed against snake bites or demons and sorcerers⁷. The Buddhist preachers were in the constant apprehension of an attack by a demon, giant goblin, sorcerer, imp, or ghost, to guard against which they were recommended to employ certain talismanic words or spells. These charms were first given to men by Bodhisattava Mahāsattava Bhaiṣagyaścārya with the approval of the Lord. I reproduce below the smallest of them :—

¹ Amitayurdhyan-Sutra, page 28.

² Saddharma Pundarika, xxiv, page 407.

³ *Ibid.*, page 414.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XXIV, page 414.

⁵ Dharmasangraha in A.O. Ancient Palm Leaves Series.

⁶ Introductional Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien, page 540.

⁷ Mora Paritta.

Gvāle Mahagvāle, Ukke Mukke,
 Ade, adavati, tritye trityavati,
 Itini vitini kitini, tritye triyavati

Svāhā¹.

The spell is untranslatable and unintelligible.

The superhuman beings mentioned in the Buddhist texts are Nāgas, Goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Gamdas, Kinnaras, greatserpents, men, and beings not human. They are always mentioned together but there is no reference to their distinguishing features. We have seen that the study of particular Suttas reveals them to a man and the recitation of the name of Avalokitesvara protects a man from their attacks. A party of giantesses named Lamba, Vilamba, Kutadanti, Puṣṭadanti, etc., with their children and suits are reported to have once gone to the place where the Lord was residing and offered him the help of their spells to protect the Buddhist preachers from hostile attacks, which the Lord accepted. The following is the charm ascribed to the giantesses :—

Iti me, Iti me, Iti me, Iti me, Iti me,
 nime nime nime nime nime,
 ruhe ruhe ruhe ruhe ruhe
 stuhe stuhe stuhe stuhe stuhe

Svāhā².

¹ Saddharma Pundarika xxi, page 372.

² *Ibid.*, XXI, page 374.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Proceedings of an Ordinary Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held in the B.A. Lecture Theatre of Patna College on Saturday, the 31st January, 1931.

PRESENT.

The Hon. Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, Vice-President of the Society, presided.

Dr. Stella Kramrisch delivered an interesting lecture on "Orissa Sculpture" and illustrated her subject with excellent lantern slides.

A vote of thanks to the lecturer was moved by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

J. L. HILL,
Honorary General Secretary.

**Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the
Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in
the Society's office on February 22nd,
1931.**

PRESENT.

The Hon. Mr. Justice J. F. W. James (in the chair).

Mr. G. E. Fawcus.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Mr. J. L. Hill.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on December 7th, 1930.

2. Read and approved the Hon. Treasurer's submission of the accounts for the months December, 1930 and January, 1931.

3. Read a letter, dated December 10th, 1930, from the Vice-Chancellor, University of London, Institute of Historical Research.

Resolved: that Sir Edward Gait, Sir B. K. Mallick, and Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham be invited to represent the Society at the Anglo-American Historical Conference to be held in London in July, 1931.

4. Read the Mithila Pandit's Report, dated January 5th, about the acquisition of Manuscripts.

Resolved: that the Pandit should report, and recommend for purchase, specific MSS. of excellence.

5. Read the Oriya Pandit's application, dated December 10th, 1930.

Resolved: that since he is unable to attend at Patna, and since Government requires the cataloguing of MSS. to be completed within a year, the Society dispense with his services.

6. Resolved: that Pandit Chintamani Misra be offered the post of Oriya Pandit to the Society for the period of one year.

Resolved further: that, in accordance with Government's letter No. 804-E, dated February 18th, 1931, Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri and Dr. Hari Chand Sastri prepare a programme, to which the Oriya Pandit shall strictly adhere, so that the work may be completed within the time allotted.

7. Resolved: that the Society's lectures be advertised and persons desirous of attending be invited to apply to the Secretary.

8. Resolved: that the Secretary write to H.H. the Maharaja of Hutwa to repeat the generosity of his previous donation to the Society.

9. Read the Office Pandit's application for leave, dated February 7th, 1931.

Resolved: that he be granted two months Privilege Leave as from April 7th, 1931, and that he be allowed to prefix Good Friday and the Easter Holidays to the leave granted.

10. Resolved: that Pandit Ramkumar Chaube be elected member of the Society.

11. Considered the request of the Bombay University Library to be allowed discount on Journals ordered.

Resolved: that 10% discount be allowed to all Libraries on Journals purchased.

J. L. HILL,
Honorary General Secretary.

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the Society's office on March 15th, 1931.

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James (in the chair).
Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.
Rai Sahib M. Ghosh.
Mr. H. R. Batheja.
Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhuri.
Mr. Sham Bahadur.
Mr. D. N. Sen.
Dr. Hari Chand Sastri.
Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri.
Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy.
Mr. J. L. Hill.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on February 22nd, 1931.

2. Read and approved the Honorary Treasurer's submission of the accounts for the month of February, 1931.

3. Passed the Agenda Paper for the Annual General Meeting of the Society to be held on March 27th, 1931.

Resolved: that the following be proposed to the meeting as Office-bearers and Members of the Council for the year 1931-32.

President—His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson,
K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James,
M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Secretary—Mr. J. L. Hill, M.A. (Oxon).

Joint Secretary—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Treasurer—Mr. Sham Bahadur, Barrister-at-Law.

Librarian—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Editorial Board:—

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., PH.D., Associate Editor.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian, who are ex-officio members):—

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. G. E. Fawcett, M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. P. C. Manuk, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhuri, B.A., B.L.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., PH.D.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, M.A., D.LITT.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

Mr. H. R. Batheja, M.A.

Mr. D. N. Sen, M.A.

Mr. H. Lambert, M.A.

4. Read a letter, dated January 28th, 1931, from the Secretary XVIII International Congress of Orientalists, Leiden.

Resolved: that Professor Sten Konow and Sir Edward Gait be invited to represent the Society.

Resolved further: that in the event of Professor Konow and Sir Edward Gait proving unable to attend the Congress, Professor J. Ph. Vogel be asked formally to represent the Society.

5. Read the application of the Office Pandit for additional remuneration for having made three typed copies of the Catalogue of the Society's Library.

Resolved: that the Pandit be granted the sum of Rs. 60.

Resolved further: that the Catalogue be printed at the discretion of the Editorial Board.

6. Elected Mr. R. Ch. Panda, L.R.P., a member of the Society.

7. Read the letter, dated February 17th, 1931, of the Superintendent of Archaeology, Gwalior State.

Resolved: that the exchange of Journals with the Archaeological Department of Gwalior be permitted.

8. Read the letter, dated February 2nd, 1931, from the Rama Verma Research Institute, Trichur.

Resolved: that no exchange of publications was possible.

J. L. HILL,
Honorary General Secretary.

Annual Report of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society for 1930-31.

I. MEMBERSHIP.

The total number of ordinary members and subscribers to the Journal on the 31st December, 1929, was 177. In the course of the ensuing twelve months the Society lost three of its ordinary members by death and two by resignation, and five subscribers to the Journal, a total loss of ten. On the other hand the names of five new members and of two new subscribers to the Journal were enrolled. The total number of members and subscribers on the roll on the 31st December, 1930, was accordingly 174. Among the life-members there has been no change. The number of honorary members and life-members on the roll on the 31st December, 1930, was 13 and 15 respectively, making a grand total of 202.

II.

During the period under review Volume XVI (Parts 1, 2, 3, and 4) of the Society's Journal was published, containing 487 pages and three plates: one of the Barli (Ajmere) Stone and two others of the Hindol plate of Subhakaradeva. Part 1 of Volume XVII is in the Baptist Mission Press.

The Editorial Board is the same as that of the year 1930.

III. MEETINGS.

The last Annual General Meeting was held on the 28th March, 1930, in the Wheeler Senate House. His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson, President of the Society, presided. After the transaction of formal business the Vice-President, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, reviewed the work of the Society during the past year. The Rev. H. Heras, S.J., Director of the Historical Research Institute, Bombay, then addressed the Society. The subject of his learned address was "Ramadeva Ray II, an unknown Emperor of Vijaynagara".

An ordinary Meeting of the Society was held on the 31st January, 1931. Dr. Stella Kramrisch of the Calcutta University delivered an interesting lecture on "Orissa Sculpture" and illustrated her subject with excellent lantern slides.

Meetings of the Council, elected at the last Annual General Meeting, were held on the 6th April, 27th July, 14th September, 19th October, 7th December, 1930, 22nd February, and 15th March, 1931.

IV. LIBRARY.

During the year 210 books (298 volumes), of which 12 were Sanskrit and 4 Pali works, were added to the Library. Of the total 48 were presented while 132 were obtained by exchange and 30 by purchase. On the 31st December, 1930, the Library contained 5,110 volumes, as compared with 4,812 at the end of the previous year. Out of the Mayurbhanj donation to the Library the sum of Rs. 206-12-5 was spent on books during the year. Books worth £226-17s. have arrived from England and books worth £25-11s. are on the way.

V. SEARCH FOR MANUSCRIPTS.

The search for manuscripts proceeded steadily throughout the year under the supervision of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri. Pandit Vishnulal Sastri was employed in the Bhagalpur district and catalogued 156 manuscripts during March and April, 1930. He also brought to light some old judgments. He was employed at Headquarters from April 24th to February 14th, to help Dr. Hari Chand Sastri in writing out the Introduction to Vol. II of the Catalogue of Mithila manuscripts and to make some alterations and additions to the Jyotisha Volume of the Catalogue. The Pandit was on leave from July 28th to September 5th, 1930. The Oriya Pandit worked in the Jajpore and Baramba districts, cataloguing 426 manuscripts and discovering two copper plate grants. Only unpublished and little known manuscripts have been recorded as a rule, and of these many have not been described in other catalogues.

The services of the Oriya Pandit were available up to the 30th of September, 1930, on which date the Government Grant

of Rs. 1,020 a year for his maintenance expired. But in anticipation of a further grant he was engaged in Patna in preparing his work for the press till the 17th of November, when he went away on leave, and since he expressed his inability to join in Patna, the Council found itself forced to dispense with his services.

A new Oriya Pandit, Pandit Chintamani Misra, has been appointed in his place and joined duty in Patna on the 10th of March, 1931.

The Society still awaits benefactions on the part of some enlightened patron by whose financial aid it may undertake the publication of the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Orissa.

VI. GENERAL.

The Society lost two of its keenly interested members by death. One was the late Honorary General Secretary, Mr. E. A. Horne, I.E.S., who vacated his office in the year 1929 on his departure to Aligarh as Vice-Chancellor of the Muslim University. The other was the well-known historian, Prof. R. D. Banerjee, of the Benares Hindu University, who was on our Editorial Board for some time, but resigned owing to ill health.

The Sixth All-India Oriental Conference met with great success in December, 1930 under the auspices of the Society. His Excellency the Governor of Bihar and Orissa kindly accepted the office of Patron and contributed much towards the success of the Conference.

The following were added to our exchange list:—

“Rocznik Orientalistyczny, Polish Archives of Oriental Studies”, University of Lwów, Poland.

“India House, General Department,” Aldwych, London.

VII.

The annual statement of accounts is being presented by the Honorary Treasurer.

J. L. HILL,

18th March, 1931.

Honorary General Secretary.

Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Statement of Accounts from April, 1930 to February, 1931.

A. The actuals for 1929-30 showed a closing balance of Rs. 5,994-9-1 with the amount transferred to fixed deposit, viz., Rs. 8,600-0-0 the total balance to the credit of the Society was Rs. 14,594-9-1 at the end of 1929-30.

B. As regards the actuals up to the 28th February, 1931, the current account closing balance was Rs. 5,522-0-3. To this must be added the amount on fixed deposit, viz., Rs. 9,781-12-0 which gives a total of Rs. 15,303-12-3.

The position of the Society is, therefore, financially sound.

C. The chief sources of income are the Government grant, subscriptions, sale-proceeds of the Society's Journal and interest on fixed deposits. The subscriptions realised up to the 28th February, 1931, amounted to Rs. 1,967-11-7. Up to the 28th February, 1930, the realised amount was Rs. 2,906-13-10. The estimate for the whole financial year was Rs. 2,000.

Our realisations from the sale-proceeds of published literature amounted to Rs. 1,899-15-0 up to the end of February, 1931. For the same period last year, the amount was Rs. 749-15-0.

The interest on fixed deposits amounted to Rs. 135-11-9 up to February, 1931, which has been taken into current account.

Large balances out of budget allotments are again a feature of the year which is drawing to a close.

18th March, 1931.

S. BAHADUR,
Honorary Treasurer.

Actuals up to February 28th, 1931.

INCOME.

	Actuals.			Revised Budget.		
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Subscriptions	1,967	11	7	2,100	0	0
Sale of Journal	1,227	7	0	750	0	0
Miscellaneous (a)	5,138	0	9	....	
Postage Recovered	27	13	0	30	0	0
Sale of Catalogue of Mithila Manuscripts	22	8	0	50	0	0
Sale of Buchanan Purnea Report	650	0	0	650	0	0
Government Grant	6,623	0	0	6,623	0	0
Government Grant	1,000	0	0	1,000	0	0
<i>Opening Balance :</i>						
Hathwa Fund	3,812	5	$\frac{1}{2}$	3,812	5	$\frac{1}{2}$
Darbhanga Fund	42	15	$11\frac{1}{2}$	3,370	14	$6\frac{1}{2}$
Mayurbhanj Fund	962	13	$8\frac{1}{2}$	5,161	9	$11\frac{1}{2}$
General Balance	1,176	6	$4\frac{1}{2}$	2,364	13	3
GRAND TOTAL	22,651	1	5	25,912	10	$9\frac{1}{2}$

(a) This includes Rs. 5,135-11-9 received from Allahabad Bank
(Fixed Deposit realised with interest).

18th March, 1931.

S. BAHADUR,
Honorary Treasurer.

Actuals up to February 28th, 1931.

EXPENDITURE.

	Actuals.			Revised Budget.		
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Establishment	1,154	2	3	1,284	0	0
Mithila Pandit	989	8	8	1,353	0	0
Oriya Pandit	813	15	0	770	0	0
Telephone	260	14	0	225	0	0
Paper for Journal	288	4	6	342	3	0
Printing Charges	1,932	12	0	5,000	0	0
Postage	233	14	6	425	0	0
Stationery	87	12	6	100	0	0
Library	603	11	3	1,000	0	0
Electrical Charges	300	12	0	360	0	0
Out of Hathwa Fund	3,818	6	1	3,710	14	0
Out of Darbhanga Fund .. ..	....			1,025	0	0
Out of Mayurbhanj Fund	206	12	5	5,161	9	11½
Furniture	55	12	0	100	0	0
Miscellaneous (a)	6,382	8	0	550	0	0
<hr/>						
TOTAL	17,129	1	2	21,406	10	11½
Closing Balance (b)	5,522	0	3	4,505	15	10
<hr/>						
GRAND TOTAL	22,651	1	5	25,912	10	9½

(a) This includes Rs. 6,000 sent to fixed Deposit.

	Rs.	A.	P.
(b) Closing Balance Mayurbhanj Fund ..	3,891	13	½
Darbhanga Fund ..	65	7	11½
Hathwa Fund ..	455	8	1
General Balance ..	1,109	3	3

GRAND TOTAL ..	5,522	0	3
General Balance in Fixed Deposit ..	4,135	6	0
Current Account ..	1,109	3	2

GRAND TOTAL .. 5,244 9 2

S. BAHADUR,

18th March, 1931.

Honorary Treasurer.

Transliteration of the Devanagari Alphabet adopted in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society from 1925.

Devanāgarī.	Roman.	Devanāgarī.	Roman.
अ	a	त	t
आ	ā	थ	th
इ	i	द	d
ई	ī	ध	dh
उ	u	न	n
ऊ	ū	प	p
ऋ	ṛ or ṛi	फ	ph
ॠ	ṝ or ṝi	ब	b
ऌ	ḷ	भ	bh
ॡ	ḹ	म	m
ए	e	य	y
ऐ	ai	र	r
ओ	o	ल	l
औ	au	व	v
क	k	श	ś
ख	kh	ष	ṣ or sh
ग	g	स	s
घ	gh	ह	h
ङ	ṅ	ळ	ḷ
च	ch	˙ (Anusvāra)	m̐
छ	chh	˙ (Anunāsika)	m̐
ज	j	: (Visarga)	ḥ
झ	jh	× (Jihvāmūliya)	ḥ
ञ	ñ	) (Upadhmānīya)	h̐
ट	ṭ	₡ (Avagraha)	ˆ
ठ	ṭh	Udātta	—
ड	ḍ	Svarita	ˆ
ढ	ḍh	Anudātta	ˆ—
ण	ṇ		

JOURNAL
OF THE
BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

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JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

VOL. XVII.]

1931.

[PARTS II-III.]

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—Mandasa Plates of Anantavarmadeva, Saka 913.

By G. Ramadas, B.A., M.R.A.S.

These plates form one of the sets of copper plates lent to the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, for examination by the Raja Bahadur of Mandasa, a zamindari in the District of Ganjam. They are reviewed in the Epigraphical Report for 1917-18.¹ I edit the inscription engraved on them with the help of the excellent ink impressions supplied to me by the Epigraphical department.

The set consists of *three rectangular plates* measuring 7" by 3½". In each plate there is a hole about $\frac{5}{8}$ " in diameter, apparently intended to pass the *ring* which held the plates together. I have not seen the ring itself; but the following account of it is given in the above mentioned Epigraphical Report.² "The set is hung together on a ring which carries a fixed circular seal (1 inch in diameter) on the surface of which are cut in relief, in the place of the bull, usually appearing on the seals of the Eastern Ganga Kings, the crescent at the top; a fish in horizontal position in the middle and an elephant goad in similar position at the bottom. No legend is engraved on it."

It may be mentioned here, in this connection, that the

¹ and ² No. 12 App. A and p. 138, para 17.

crescent and the elephant goad are found along with a bull on the seals of the Nadagam plates of Vajrahasta,¹ of the copper plates of Narasimhadeva II,² and of the Chicacole plates of Maharaja Satyavarmadeva.³ The fish, carved in the place usually occupied by the bull, was probably the crest of the Kadamba dynasty, the family to which the donor belonged. But Dr. Fleet in his *Kanarese dynasties*, p. 560, mentions the lion crest of the Kadambas; yet, the seals attached to the grants of Vajrahasta III⁴ (s. 971) and of Devendravarman, son of Rajendravarman,⁵ contain the fish together with the bull. Perhaps the crest on the seal of the plates under examination intimates the union of the Kadamba family with the Ganga dynasty."

The edges of the plates are raised in rims to protect the writing from wearing out. The inner sides of the first and the third plates and both sides of the second are engraved. The size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{8}$ " and the whole inscription occupies 37 lines. The letters are all rectangular in shape and the engraver seems to have tried to reduce all curves into rectangles.

The characters present a curious mixture of Nagari (as written in the south) e.g., अ in असर, स in सर्वेश; श in शर्व, न in रमणी in l. 1. क in सकल l. 2; l. 3, etc., Grantha, e.g., त in तल्ललित l. 2 ज, न, त in जनित l. 7; etc., Telugu, e.g., ल in सकल, l. 1; न in नरा l. 3; च in l. 8 द्वा in l. 3, etc., and Oriya, e.g., प in पुरानु, स in सुख l. 1; स in सकल l. 2; प्र in l. 3, द in l. 4, त्रै in l. 3. चू in l. 5, etc. Of the 738 letters forming the charter 199 are Nagari, 59 Telugu, 101 Grantha, 157 Oriya, and the rest are similar to those that are found in the charters of the earlier Ganga Kings of Kalinga.

The addition of vowel signs to consonants is as in Oriya, e.g., सचरा (l. 4), गुरो (l. 4), निर्मापै, चूडामणि (l. 8), मैजरी (l. 8). In some cases, the long vowel sign found in the earlier Kalinga plates is found, e.g., वास (l. 3), चूडा (l. 8), पात्र (l. 20). च is Oriya all

¹ Above Vol. IV, No. 24.

² *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXV, Part I, No. 3, 1896.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, No. CLII, 1885.

⁴ *Ecp. Rep. App. A.* No. 3, 1918-19.

⁵ *Ibid.* No. 7.

through, e.g., निखिंर (l. 9), पित्रा (l. 13), चासिता (l. 17), पित्रा (l. 28). ए is Oriya in एरकल (l. 24), भाववयन् (l. 29), and न्यायन (l. 27). ण्ड is Oriya in दुर्दण्डपण्डित (l. 2), खण्ड (l. 23), सार्ताण्ड (l. 16), मण्डल (l. 18), चेण्डाल (l. 37); औ is another Oriya letter found used in the document. र् after a consonant is written as in Oriya, e.g., प्रासाद (l. 2), प्रषामो (l. 16), प्रतापा (l. 7), चक्र (l. 8), प्रभा (l. 8), ग्रामे (l. 23), ग in गंगामल (l. 14), कलिंग (l. 3), गोकर्णे (l. 5), is an Oriya letter. व stands both for *va* and *ba*, e.g., सर्ववाधा (l. 25), कदम्बा (l. 16), सन्दा (l. 17), तन्व (l. 23). In the beginning of a syllable the Oriyas use *ja* for *ya*. In this document this distinction in the use of *ya* is found, e.g., जगल (l. 6), जामाये (l. 29), जोद्धरेत (l. 34). But the same sound symbol is used for the palatal ज in जीवन, जानपद (l. 21), राजो (l. 16), राज (l. 20), जायते (l. 35) cf. रायो of the Andhra inscriptions. Similarly ल is dental in the beginning of a syllable and palatal in other places. To represent the latter sound the Nagari ल is used as in लंछन, साला (l. 2), चल (l. 11), सकल (l. 12), मण्डल (l. 12), कारमूल (l. 29), सिला (ll. 31 and 32), नल (l. 37), चण्डाल (l. 37). The Telugu ल is used to represent the dental sound, e.g., भवल (l. 1), सकलाल (l. 2), वीरतल्लालितल्ला (l. 2). But the engraver was not consistent in the use of these two sound symbols. The Telugu ल is used for the palatal sound and *vice versa*. cf. सिला (ll. 31 and 32) and सिला (l. 33). But he draws a difference between the Telugu and the Grantha न. The latter he uses when it does not coalesce with consonants, e.g., पुरानु (l. 1), कनक (l. 3), सुवननिर्मा (l. 4), खामिनः (l. 5), अनेक (l. 6), जनित (l. 7), -वनत (l. 7). In conjunction with consonants the Telugu न is used, e.g., सहेन्द्रा (l. 3), सामन्त (l. 8), -सदनन्त (l. 14), जयन्त्या (l. 15), and also before र, e.g., गोकर्न (l. 5), नराधि (l. 3), नैरुत्तां. Except in रानखी (l. 36), where the Telugu न is used for ण, in all other places the palatal sound sign is rightly used. न्त in सासन्त (l. 8); र्म in वर्म are written as in Telugu. Four sibilants are used; ष in प्रतिष्ठित (l. 4) and in विद्यायां (l. 35) is written as in Oriya. But in विशय (l. 18) the Oriya श is used for ष. In प्रवेश (l. 26), शिखर (l. 3), शब्द (l. 7), शकाब्द (l. 15), and शतक (l. 15) the correct symbol of the sound is used; but in other places श stands for स e.g., सुख (l. 1), सुधा (l. 1), सकल (l. 2), खव, etc. The Grantha श also is similarly dealt with, e.g., स in प्रासाद (l. 2), वासक (l. 3), सामन्त (l. 8), etc., and श in शशांक (l. 5), शौर्य (l. 12). The Nagari च is used for च in शर्वचं (l. 1); for श in मण्डलखर (l. 8) चौला

(ll. 31 and 32); in सौसा (l. 33), वसुन्धरा (l. 35), and सामन्त (l. 36), it stands for its natural sound. Grantha ज is used to give the pure palatal sound in जनित (l. 7), जय (l. 7), संजरीपुंजरंजन (l. 8), etc., but the letter for the *antastha ya* is used in places which have been shown already. य for ञ is used in सूत्रधार (l. 5). च is everywhere grantha and ङ and ङ are Nagari. In कुराञ्च (l. 36) the final vowel has the Oriya sound of short अ. It should be pronounced like o in no. The nasal before a consonant is changed to *anusevāra* as in Telugu, e.g., सकञ्चालंकृत (l. 2), संजरीपुंजरंजन (l. 8), कुभ (l. 10), गंग (l. 14), पंच (ll. 18 and 20). In some places the nasal is changed to correspond to the consonant following it, e.g., महेंद्र (l. 3), अन्न (l. 14), ताम्रसाधन (l. 24); both *anusevāra* and the nasal are used in *Kadammva* (l. 16).

It is believed that the copper plate grant of Narasimhadeva IV of Orissa¹ is the earliest epigraphical record that contains Oriya words. But it has been shown above that Oriya letters and modes of spelling are used in this Kalinga grant. कुराञ्च (l. 36), जादच (l. 24), पद्मारा (l. 34), भित्तु (l. 33), are Oriya words found in the grant. From the observations made above with regard to the confusion in the use of ञ, च, स, it may also be inferred that Oriya was the spoken language at the time of this charter. For, the confusion amongst these sibilants is found when the Oriyas speak. The same kind of confusion is also felt between the dental and palatal स. Distinct sound symbols for *antastha* and *mūrdhanya ya* are found used as in Oriya. It appears, therefore, that the Oriya had been in use, though not wholly in public documents, even in the early part of the 10th century, when this document was written. It must have been the home language of the people.

Similarly the scribe does not appear to be consistent in the rules of Sandhi and grammar. In चूडामणोर्भगवतः and भगवतो गोकर्णः (l. 5) he changes the *visarga* correspondingly; but in रंजन निज (ll. 8 and 9) he drops it. Such vagaries are too many to mention here. I, therefore, corrected them in the foot-notes to the text.

ANANTAVARMADEVA was the sovereign king at the time of the charter and he was identified with the ANANTA-

¹ J.A.S.B., Vol. LXIV, Part 1, No. 2.

VARMA VAJRAHASTADEVA, *Trikalingādhīpati* of the Narasi-patam,¹ the Madras Museum² and the Nadagam³ plates. The Chikkali,⁴ and the Boḍḍupāḍu⁵ plates are two other charters of the latter king recently discovered. All these five charters uniformly differ from the plates under review, not only in style but in composition of letters as well. The gotra and the genealogy of the family found in the five sets are conspicuous by omission in these Mandasa plates. Above all, the king of these five charters was a *Maharājādhīraj*, and *Trikalingādhīpati* while the king of our plates was a simple *Maharaja* and did not possess the title *Trikalingādhīpati*, which title was much coveted by the Gangas of Kalinga in the east and the Kalachuri and Chedi Kings on the west.⁶

In spite of such differences the mistaken identification was caused by the mistaken interpretation of the passage intimating the Saka year. '*Sākābdē nava-śataka sapta-rasa tama*' (l. 15) was understood to mean Saka 976 (l. 34). In the expression mentioning the Saka years, the addition of '*śataka*' to *nava* clearly denotes that 9 was in the hundreds place; but no such index is attached to *sapta*. Therefore *sapta-rasa* means 7 and 6 units, i.e., 13. So the date of the charter is Saka 913 clearly. If it had been intended to mean 76, the place value of *sapta* would have been given. If the place value of '*nava*' had not been given, the figures had to read backwards.

Then the expression giving the regnal years requires a little elucidation. In line 34, they are expressed by '*Samastha padnāra 15*'. '*Samastha*' is an Oriya word used to express the regnal years in documents;⁷ the figure 15 clearly indicates the meaning of the word '*padnāro*', which is a mis-spelling of

¹ Above Vol. XI, No. 14.

² Above Vol. IX, No. 11.

³ Above Vol. IV, No. 24.

⁴ *Bhārati*, Vol. II, No. 2, p. 138 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 5, p. 83 ff.

⁶ *Journal of Andhra Research Society, Rajamandry, Vol. I, Part I, Tri-kalinga.*

⁷ A large number of documents in Ganjam District given in *Ranga-chary's Topographical lists* give the date in *Samastha* years. The Oriya inscriptions in Mukhalingam and Simhachalam temples also give the date in *Samastha* years.

'*pandrarō*' the Oriya word for 15; the final '*ra*' is the ordinal termination. The charter was issued in '*samastha pandrāro 15*', and it is now necessary to explain this system of reckoning.

This Samastha system is similar to the Anka reckoning explained by Mr. M. Chakravarti in his article on the Eastern Ganga Kings of Orissa.¹ The chief special characteristics are given thus:—

- “(1) 1 and all figures ending in 0 and 6 (except 10) should be omitted.
- (2) The last *Anka* year of one king and the first *anka* year of the succeeding king (i.e. 2) fall in the same year.”

This system is still in vogue and in *Almanacs* and *horoscopes* the regnal year (Samastha or Anka) of the reigning prince of Puri is given along with the Kaliyuga and Śaka years.

According to this reckoning, Samastha 15 gives only 13 years of actual reign. The donor must have been crowned in Saka 901. This is 59 years prior to the Anantavarma Vajrahastadeva that was crowned in Saka 960. The king that was reigning over Kalinga 59 years prior to the donor of the Nadagam plates was Kāmārṇava IV. According to the Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarma Choda Gangadeva, Kāmārṇava IV appears to have reigned from Saka 895 to Saka 915; but according to the Nadagam plates he reigned from Saka 888 to Saka 915. In both the final year is the same. On the authority of the plates under study, the donor seems to have come to the estate in Saka 901.

Anantavarma by which the king of our plates is mentioned, is not a name but an imperial title. Copper plate grant of Narasimhadeva II,² informing about Kolahala, mentions that Kolahala became the first *Anantavarma*. “*Sa=ēvā=nantavarmā=bhavat.*” Then came *Kolahala* and he became the king. Trikingādhīpati Vajrahasta was Anantavarma; his grandson Choda Ganga was Anantavarma, Raja Raja, the father was called the Devendravarma in the copper plate No. 4 of App. A.

¹ *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXXII, Part 1, No. 2 of 1903, p. 100.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. LXV, Part 1, No. 3, 1896, l. 16.

Epigraphical Report for 1918-19. This is the only set yet discovered of this king; yet it may be assumed that an Anantavarma is succeeded by a son, Devendravarma, who is, in his turn, succeeded by an Anantavarma. Working on this discovery backwards, Gundama II was an Anantavarma and before him Vajrahastadeva IV, alias Anayāṅkabhima, was an Anantavarma and Kāmārṇava IV was an Anantavarma. 'Deva' is added to the imperial title when the name of the king is not given; but when both the title and the name are given, it is added on to the name alone, e.g., Anantavarma Vajrahastadeva, Anantavarma Choda Gangadeva. As the plates under review contain a charter issued by a vassal of the king, it is but meet that the king is mentioned by his imperial title only, and *deva* is added on to it. So we have *Anantāvarmadēva*.

The inscription gives two other titles of the king, *Paramabhātāraka* and *Paramamāhēśvara* are the two titles which are not found in the charters of the earlier Ganga kings but are found in the grants of Vajrahasta V, and Choda Ganga. Perhaps these titles were assumed when sway over a greater country had been secured. Western Chalukyan Satyāśraya assumed *Paramēśvara* as a special title after his victory over Harshavardhana of Uttarāpatha. The Kalinga kings Prithivivarmadeva,¹ Trikalīṅgādhipati Vajrahastadeva and Choda Gangadeva² are the rulers, subsequent to the king of our plates, that bore these two titles. The Vajrastadeva of the Parlakimidi plates³ was neither a *Trikalīṅgādhipati*, a *Paramēśvara* nor a *Paramabhatāraka*, yet Dr. Keilhorn identified him with the Vajrahasta of the Nadagam plates. In this connection it may be mentioned that such mistakes are unavoidable when the identification is entirely based on synchronism.

From several points of view the Parlakimidi plates appear to be older than the plates under review:—

1. The shape of the letters and the proportion of Nagari and other characters used.
2. The letters cha, dha, bha, and śa, which have been

¹ Above Vol. IV, No. 26.

² Ind. Ant. Vol. XVII, Nos. 178-180.

³ Above Vol. III, No. 31.

considered by scholars like Dr. Hultsch to test the period of an inscription¹ are older than those employed in our plates.

3. The Oriya influence, so much felt in our plates is not to be found in those of Parlakimidi, except in a few letters, e.g., *ନି* (l. 8).
4. Ugrakhedi of the Kadamba family mentioned in the Parlakimidi plates must be an ancestor of Dharmakhedi of our plates. Bhāmakhedi was the father of the donor of these Mandasa plates; Ugrakhedi must have been at least the father of this Bhamakhedi who was only a village *pālaka*. By their prowess and faithfulness to their king, they might have risen from generation to generation, from the position of a village head to that of a *Mahāmandaleśvara*.

So the Vajrahastadeva of the Parlakimidi plates may be identified with Vajrahasta III, who was about 75 years earlier than the Anantavarmadeva of the Mandasa plates under review.

The donor of the grant was Dharmkhēdi, the son of Bhamakhēdi of the *Kadamba* family. He had subdued the enemies in the west of the mountains by the five kinds of sounds (l. *pancha-mahāśabdānēka-tūryaravōtrāsītā* = *rati śatruh*) and (became) the *Mahāmandaleśvarah* and *pancha vishayā* = *dhipatih*. The province over which he ruled was called the district (*vishaya*) of *pancha-pātra*. This grant records the gift, by this Dharmakhēdi, of the village called Madhipatharakhanda in Mahendrabhoga, a part of the district, to an individual called Erukala-jādaui, the dark grandson of Dharmaka and the son of Kēsara.

The village is said to have been situated in Mahēndrabhōga. Bhoga² means wealth or property. So Mahendra-bhoga means the property or region of the (*mountain*) Mahendra i.e., the region around the Mahēndragiri. Such mountainous regions are indicated by the addition of the word 'bhoga' in some old records. Hamani-bhoga in Dhanantara³ plates and Mandā-

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 10, para 4.

² *Saddakalpādruma*.

³ Above Vol. XV, No. 14.

bhoga in the Dodra¹ inscription may be cited as examples. The region around Mahēndragiri now forms the zamindāri of Mandasa where the plates are also discovered. It is in this region that the village of Madhipatharakhandā should be sought for. Patharakhandā (84°34' E. Long. 18°54' N. Lat.) of the Indian Atlas sheet No. 108 may be identified with this old village.

Pancha-pātra-vishaya is said, in the present grant, to include the region of Mahēndra mountain; and the Parlakimidi plates say that Lanka-kona was in this vishaya. The latter may be identified with the village Lanka (84°57' E. Long. 19°4' N. Lat.) in the Jurada estate which lies to the north of the Mandasa zamindari. Considering the physical aspect of these two estates, the remaining three parts of the vishaya may be presumed to be hilly or rocky. The word 'pātra', which must have been used to denote the rocky nature of the country, is a mis-spelling of the Oriya word 'pathhara' which means 'a rock'. 'Pāncha-pathhara' in Oriya means the five rocks. The present plates also inform us that the donor had subdued the enemies in the west of the mountains *parvata-paschamata-tīrē pañcha-mahāśabdā=nēka-tūryaravōtrāsita=rāti chakrah* (ll. 16-18). So he was the lord of the hill tracts during the time of Kāmārṇava IV, as there was a *manya-sultan* (the lord of the hills) during the time of the Mahammadans and an Agent to the Governor of Madras in these days. The control of the hill tracts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam has been necessary even from the tenth century, if not earlier.

Since this *pañcha-pathhara vishaya* is found to embrace within its limits the five rocky regions now known as the estates of Mandasa and Jurada, it must have extended from the river Mahēndratanaya in the south to what is now called the Chikati zamindari in the north and from the sea in the east to the Vamsadhāra river in the west. Jayantyāpura said to have been the chief seat of the *vishayādhīpati*, must have been situated within the limits of this Vishaya. Jallantra-cottah (84°36' E. Long., 18°57' N. Lat.)² is an old place and its port Barwah is

¹ *Ep. Rep.* 1921, Part II, p. 96.

² *Indian Atlas sheet*, No. 108.

mentioned by Ptolemy as the point whence the sailors struck across the Bay of Bengal in sailing to the opposite coast.¹ Jallantra-cottah and its surroundings contain relics of antiquarian interest.² So the Jayantya-pura of old may be identified with the modern Jallantra. Subsequently I learnt that, near this Jallantra-cottah is a village by name Jayantyāpura.

The chief residence of the king was Kalinganagara which, in this charter is, written as *Kalinga-narā* = *dhivāsaka*, the headquarters of the people of Kalinga.

The royal order was attested by Rāṇaka Vētti-kurao and it was transmitted to the parties concerned by one *Sāmanta* Nala Chaṇḍāla Sanda. The word Chaṇḍāla indicates that the messenger was one of the untouchable class. Amongst the Oriya untouchables is a sect called the *Sāmuntīya*³ a corruption of which is *Sāmanta*. Sanda, Śanda, or Shanda means an emasculated attendant.⁴ In Ganjam and Vizagapatam an attendant of the untouchable class is maintained in every village and his duties are to go on errands sent by the village headmen and to watch the village at nights. He is called *bāriki* in Telugu and *dandāsi* in Oriya. From this document it appears that this system of maintaining a village watchman is not a modern institution but has been in vogue from the tenth century A.D.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1-ख[ि]ल[॥] अ[म]रपुरातुकारण⁵[ः]सर्वे⁶ सुखरमणीयात् सुधा-
यव-⁷
- 2-⁸लप्रासाद मालावीरतल्लालितल्लास्यात् दुर्दण्डपण्डितसकलालंघ-
- 3-त श्रीकलिंग न[ग]राधिवासका[न]महेन्द्राचलामलकनकशिखरप्र-

¹ *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. II.

² *Sewells' Lists of Antiquities*.

³ Ganjam District Manual, p. 169.

⁴ *Monier Williams Sanskrit Dictionary*.

⁵ Read कारिणः

⁶ Read सर्वेषाम् or सर्वदा

⁷ Read सुधाध

⁸ Read लप्रासाद

- 4- ति[ि]कृतस्य सचराचरगुरो[र]सकलभुवननिर्मायैकसूत्र-
 5- धार[स्य] प्रशांक¹चूडामये भगवतो गोकर्णस्वामिनश्च-
 6- रणकमलजु²गलप्रणामादौ³गतकलिकलंको[ऽ]ने-
 7- काह्वय⁴ संखो⁵भजनित जयप्रब्ध⁶ प्रतापावनत-
 8- समस्तसामन्तचक्रचू⁷डामण्यप्रभामो⁸जरीपुंजरंज⁹त[रे]
 9- निजनिस्त्रिंशधारोप¹⁰जनसकलकलिंगाधिराज¹¹
 10- दुर्वारवैश्वारणकुंभस्थलदलदलितमुक्तिकाप्रकरधूस-
 11- रितकुलाचलो नयावौ¹²नयदयादानदक्षौ¹³

Second Plate—First side.

- 12- श्रीर्योथार्थसत्यत्वागसकलसंपदाधारभू-
 13- तो परममाहेश्वर[ः]परमभट्टारक[रे]मातापित्रा¹⁴पादानुध्यात[ः]
 14- परमेश्वर[रे]गंगामलकुलतिलक[पू]श्रीमदनन्तवर¹⁵मदेवस्य
 15- राज्ञे प्रकाब्ध¹⁶नवप्रतक सप्तस्समत¹⁷जयन्त्यापुरेस्थि-
 16- त[ः]परममाहेश्वर[ः]कदम्बामलकुलकमलमार्ताण्ड[ः]परव¹⁸[त]प
 17- स्त्रम[त]तौर¹⁹पंचमहाप्रब्दानेक तूर्यरवोच्चासिता-
 18- र[ा]तिचक्र[ः]पंचवैसयाधिपति²⁰महामण्डल²¹स्वर रा
 19- णक श्रीभामखेडिस्य²²सुत[ः]राणकश्रीधर्मखेडि पादान् कुश
 20- लिन[ः]पंचपात्र²³वैसयप्रधानसमस्तराजपादोप-
 21- ²⁴जीविना जनपदा यथारौहतीमानयति बोधयति प्रका-
 22- पयति विदितमस्तु भवतां[ः]महेन्द्रभोग मधिप-

1 Read चूडा

2 Read युगल

3 Read द्विगत

4 Read काह्वय

5 Read संखोभ

6 Read प्रब्ध

7 Read चूडा

8 Read मञ्जरी

9 Read रञ्जितो

10 Read धारोपजनित or धारोपार्जित

11 Read राज्ञो

12 Read विनय

13 Read दाक्षिण्य

14 Read पित्र

15 Read वर्म

16 Read प्रकाब्धे

17 Read मते

18 Read पर्वत

19 Read तौर

20 Read ०विषयाधिपति

21 Read महामण्डलेश्वरो

22 Read ०खेडेस्तुतः

23 Read विषय

24 Read जीविनां जनपदान् यथारौहतीमानयति बोधयति संज्ञापयति

Second Plate—Second side.

- 23—यखखडग्राम[:]केसरस्य सुत[री] धामककस्य¹ कालिंपोज-
 24—स्य एखकलजादउ जणकस्य² मुदकपूर्वके तख्णशासन[री]
 25—कृत्य प्रदतो³ रस्माभी सर्वबाधाविवर्जित आचेटभा⁴ट अ-
 26—प्रवेस भूमिद्धिमा⁵पिधान्याए[ना]चन्द्रार्कक्षिति समका-
 27—ल पर्यन्त[र]मातापित्रा⁶शात्मना सत्वानां
 28—सोभाववएत्[।]सौमालिंगानिलिखन्ते[:—]पूर्वेण
 29—गर्त्त[:] आये[य]यां कारा⁷मुल[:] जा⁸माया खयंभु उभ-
 30—⁹इ सौलामर[।]नै¹⁰हत्यां पिंपलत्रौक्षसनिधिरूपित
 31—सौ¹¹ला[।]वाहत्यां रोपित सौला[।]वायत्यां रोपित सौ-
 32—¹²ला[।]सोन्या याव गाडासौमा[।]ईशान्ये धमो-

Third Plate.

- 33—¹³सरदेवसन्निधे गाडसौमा[।]¹⁴एतस्य भौतु[।]सामा-
 34—¹⁵स्य पद्दारा १५[॥]सदत्त परदत्तम्वा जो हरेती
 35—¹⁶वसुंधरा[।]सटिं वरौस सहस्राणि वीछायां जाय
 36—¹⁷-ते क्षमीः[॥]वेष्टि कुराअ राणखी[।]नेतमा सामन्तन-
 37—ल चेखडाल सखडोः[॥]

1 Read धामकस्य कालियापौ

2 Read जनाय उ note the difference of ज in जादउ and जनकस्य

3 Read प्रदत्तोऽस्माभिसर्वबाधाविवर्जित

4 Read भट्ट

5 Read सपि धानन्यायेन cf. E.P. Ind. Vol. XI, No. 14, ll. 55-56.

6 Read पित्रोरात्मनश्च

7 Read कारमुल

8 Read याम्यायां खयंभु उभ

9 Read य सिला मर

10 Read नैरत्यां कारमुलः पिंपलट्टसन्निधि

11 Read सिला[।]वाहणारोपित शिला

12 Read ला[।] सोम्या यां गाडसौमा[।]ईशान्ये धर्म

13 Read सरदेवसन्निधि गाडसौमा[।]

14 Read एतास्य भित्तरे here भित्तरे is Oriya.

15 Read स्य पन्द्रारी १५ ॥ सदत्तम्परदत्तम्वा यो हरेति

16 Read वसुन्धराम् ॥ सष्टिर्वर्ष सहस्राणि वि

17 Read -ते क्षमिः ॥

Abstract of Contents.

The illustrious Anantavarmadeva of the family of the Gangas who had the stains of *Kali* washed by making obeisance to the lotus feet of the Gokarna established on the golden summit of mount Mahendra; whose feet were brightened by the lustre of the crest-jewels of the circle of chieftains subdued by his valour; who was the devout worshipper of Mahesvara; who meditates on the feet of his father and mother; and who was the over-lord of the whole Kalinga; was reigning at Kalinga-nagara, where in rows of white palaces abided the valarous and the learned.

In the Saka year 913, Rāṇaka Dharmakhedi, the son of Rāṇaka Ugrakhedi, the devout worshipper of Mahēsvara, (born) in the spotless family of the Kadambas, who had terrified¹ a

¹ Pañcha-mahā-śabda is an expression generally found in Copper-plate grants. Yet it has not been satisfactorily explained. In Rāmāyana (Kumbakonam, Madhava Vilas Edition VI, 96. 35)

ततश्चासीन्महानादस्त्र्यर्षा च ततस्ततः ।

मृदङ्गैः पटङ्गैः शङ्खैः कलङ्गैः स्वहराक्षसाम् ॥

A great sound was then made by the rākhasās with the Mṛdaṅgas, patals, conches, and trumpets and also with the arrows let fly hither and thither.

It may be an accident that only five sound producing things are mentioned here. Not only five sounding instruments were taken into the battle-field but many more. In Mahābhārata we read of the warriors striking terror into their enemies' hearts by blowing on their conches. So the expression cannot be taken to mean the great sound produced by five instruments. In the Rāmāyana the sound of the flying arrows is one of the five mentioned whereas in the documents the tūṇī-rava is not included in 'pancha'. It appears that 'pañcha' in the compound has the same significance as the 'pancha' in 'pañchāśya' which means a lion. Pañchāśya=pancha (spreading) and āśya=mouth. (H. H. Wilson). In like manner Pancha-mahāśabda means pancha=spreading; mahā=great; śabda=sound, i.e., the great spreading sound. This appears to be the correct sense conveyed by the compound; for, if the war sound does not spread over the whole field how can it terrify the enemy? The right significance of the expression is 'the great war sound'. The word 'pañchaka' means a battle-field. The pañcha-mahā-śabda signifies the sound that fills the whole battle-field and makes all other sounds suppressed. The expression 'Pañcha-mahāśabda-tūṇīravotrāsita' means the great (maha) and the

host of enemies to the west of the mountains and who was the governor of the five mountainous districts (*Panchapātra Vishaya*) issues (the following order) to the chief and other servants of the king (as well as) to the freemen (*jānapadāh*) of the district.

Be it known unto you (that) for the favour of all beings towards our father, mother and ourselves, the village of Madhipatharakāṇḍa, in the region of Mahēndra, free from all obligations and taxes,¹ has been granted by us to one Eru-kalayādava, the son of Kēsāra and dark grandson of Dhāmaka, with libations of water, by means of a copper-plate charter that it might last as long as the son, the moon and the Earth last.

Then the boundaries of the village are given.

The charter is dated in the Samasta 15 (the regnal year).

Then an imprecatory verse.

The charter was attested by Vēṭṭikurao, and Samanta Nala Chaṇḍāla. Saṇḍa transmitted it (to the parties concerned).

spreading (*pañcha*) sound of the flying arrows. In latter times the vassals, according to their deserves were granted by their suzerain lords the particular drums that each should sound whenever he goes out; or at particular times in the day at his headquarters. During the Mahammadan times these were the *Dhaṅka* (a big drum) and *Now-bath* (the nine kinds of drums) and the vassals of the Nabob were allowed to use them as an honour; considered in this light the *Pañcha-maha-śabda* may mean the five kinds of war drums; these are, as seen in use now, the kettle-drum, the gong, the trumpet (*kāhali*), the horn (it is a brass tube curved like horn) and the conch. It is a great honour conferred on a vassal if he is allowed to use these five kinds whenever and wherever he goes out, either to do homage to his suzerain or into the battle-field.

¹ भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायः—No assessment is to be made on the land just like unarable land. R.A.S., July, 1926, pp. 488-9. So I translated into "free from taxes".



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Mandasa Plates of Anantavarmadeva Śaka 913.

PLATE I.

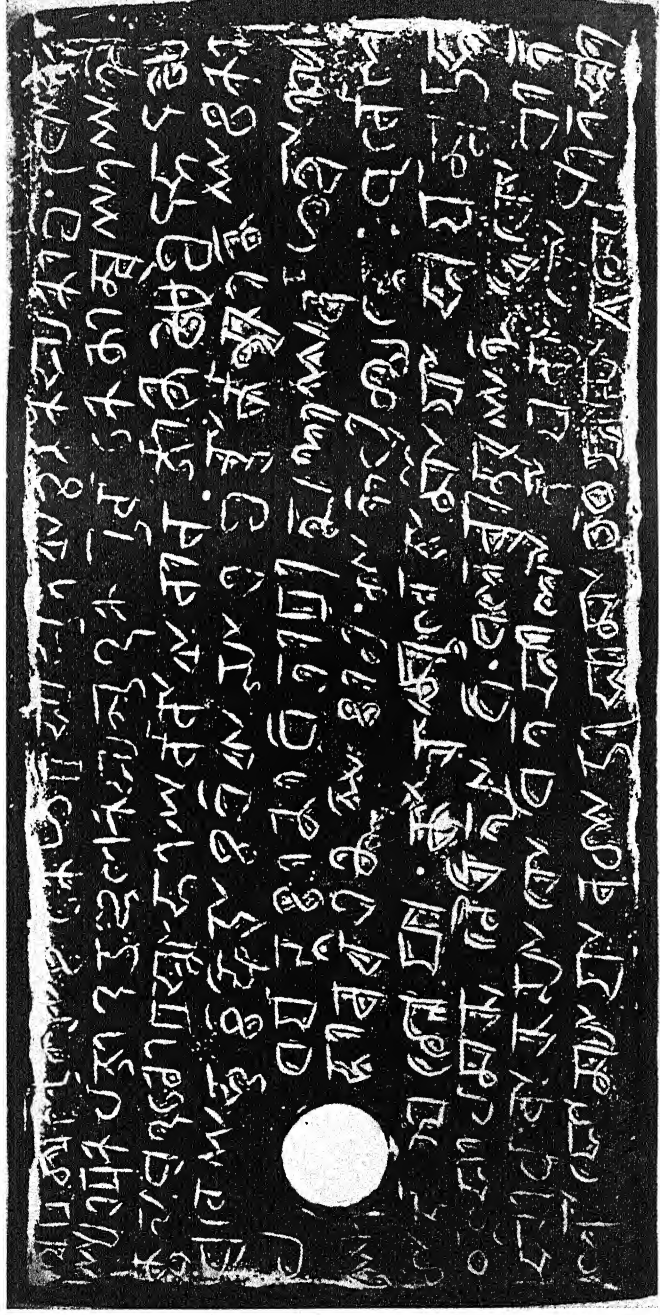
J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XVII, PARTS 2 & 3.



Mandasa Plates of Anantavarmadeva, Śaka 913.

PLATE IIa.

J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XVII, PARTS 2 & 3.



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Mandasa Plates of Anantavarmadeva, Śaka 913.

PLATE III.

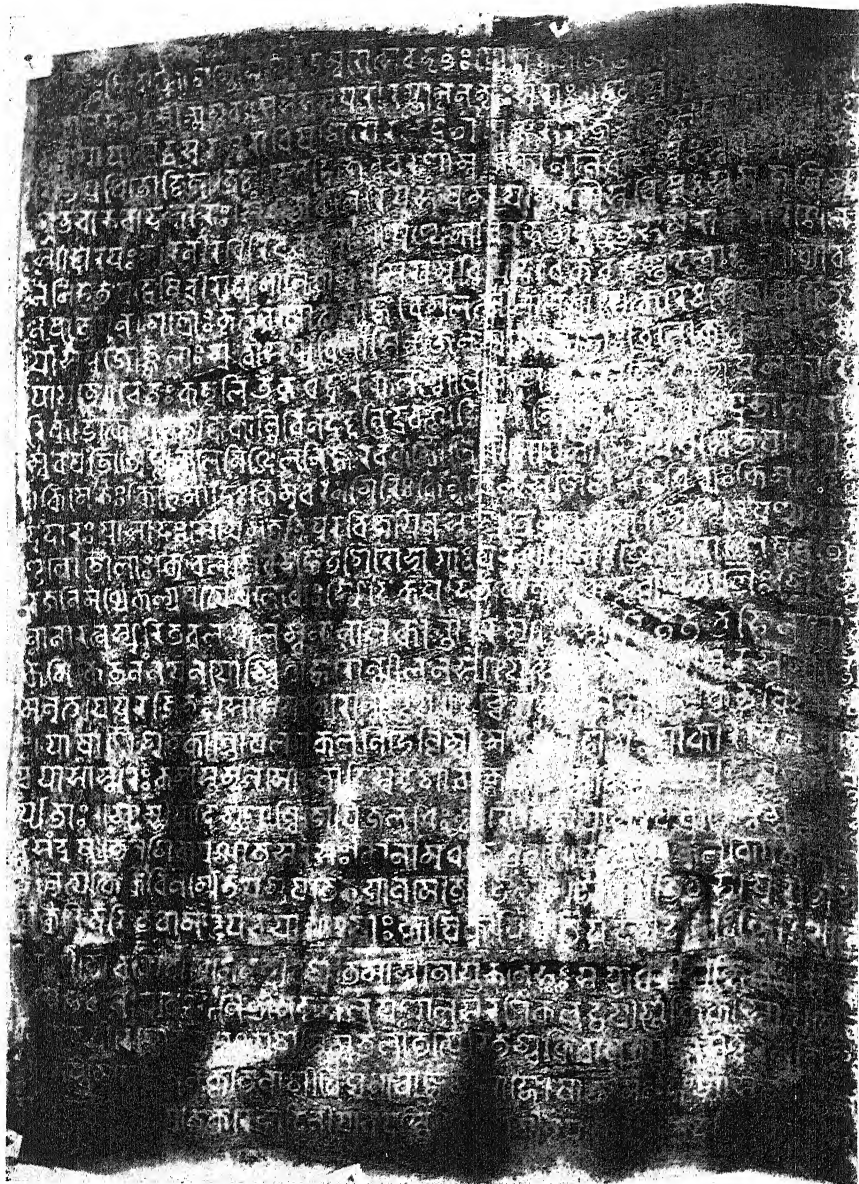
J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XVII, PARTS 2 & 3.



Mandasa Plates of Anantavarmadeva, Śaka 913.

PLATE III.

J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XVII, PARTS 2 & 3.



Sobhaneśwar Inscription of Śrī Vaidyanāth.



Śobhaneśwar Inscription of Śrī Vaidyanāth.

II.—Studies in the Folk-lore of North Bihar.

No. I.—The Indigent Brahman and the Helpful Birds

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

The items of North Bihari folk-lore, which form the subject-matter of these studies, have been collected by me from a Bihari Brahman named Bikram Pathak who lives in the village Pathaktoli near Hathwa in the Gopalganj Sub-division of the district of Saran in North Bihar. As these have not been published before, I am now publishing the same with some notes. I am giving below the first instalment of these studies which is named "*The Folk-tale of the Indigent Brahman and the Helpful Birds.*"

Once upon a time there lived a very indigent Brahman who, even by begging, could hardly earn enough wherewith to support himself and his family. So, one day, he made up his mind to go out into the wide, wide world in search of a fortune, saying that he would either succeed in achieving his object or die in the attempt.

One day he started from his home with the aforesaid object in view. It so happened that, by the side of the road by which he was going, there was a large tree at the roots of which there lived a ferocious tiger who used to kill the wayfarers who travelled by that way and, after feeding upon their flesh, used to take their valuable belongings and hide the same underneath the ground. While, up above the tree, there lived among its branches a parrot and a goose. These two birds were on friendly terms with the ferocious tiger.

In the course of his journey, the indigent Brahman was about to arrive at this tree, not knowing that there lived a ferocious man-eating tiger at its roots. Just at this moment, the parrot and the goose from their habitation at the top of the tree, saw the indigent Brahman coming near the tree. Seeing the danger into which the latter was running, they made up

their mind to save him from a horrible death. With this object in view, they flew down from the tree and told the tiger that his deceased father's *guru* or spiritual preceptor was coming to him and that he should, therefore, go out to receive the latter with all due honour and bring him to his lair. The tiger did as he was advised by his two bird-friends to do and, bringing the indigent Brahman to his lair, entertained the latter very hospitably and conferred on the latter all the wealth that he had amassed by killing the wayfarers. The Brahman was very glad in obtaining this untold wealth, and, after a few days, left for his own home. Having arrived there, he and his family lived in great affluence and happiness.

In the course of a few years, all the wealth that the Brahman had obtained from the tiger was spent and he became poor again.

He, therefore, made up his mind to go to the tiger again and obtain from the latter a fresh supply of wealth. With this object in view, he again started on his journey towards the place where the tiger lived.

Now, in the course of the years which had elapsed since the Brahman's first visit, one of the helpful birds—the parrot—had migrated to another forest; while the other helpful bird—the goose—had died. In their place a jackal and a crow had come there and became the tiger's advisers. The crow used to live on the tree; while the jackal used to dwell with the tiger at the foot of the tree. These two new friends of the tiger used to assist the tiger in killing wayfarers and to feed upon the remains of the latter's corpses after the same had been consumed by the tiger.

But, in a tree which grew close to the tree at the foot whereof the tiger dwelt, a new helpful bird had come and taken up his residence thereon. This new bird used to warn travellers who unknowingly came that way and thus saved them from being killed by the tiger.

This new helpful bird saw from the top of the tree that the Brahman was unwittingly coming near that tree with the object of paying a visit to the tiger. He, therefore, thought it highly advisable to inform the Brahman of the change which

had taken place in the tiger's *entourage* and to warn him of the danger he was running into. With this object in view, he flew towards the Brahman and bawled out the following rhyme :—

१. “सुगा गये निकुञ्जवन् ।
२. हन्स् गये कैलास् ॥
३. जाऊ विप्र घरे आपन् ।
४. मन्त्री काग श्रियार् ॥”

Translation.

1. The parrot has gone to Nikunjavana.
2. The goose has died (lit., has gone to Kailāsa or heaven).
3. O Brahman! go to your own home.
4. The crow and the jackal are (now the tiger's) advisers.”

Hearing these words of warning, the Brahman retraced his steps and returned home. He was thus saved from being killed by the tiger and eaten up by him and his wicked friends, the jackal and the crow.

The leading idea which underlies the foregoing folk-tale is that a human being is saved from death by three helpful birds.

Now the question arises : under what category of folk-tales should this new North Bihari folk-story be classified ?

No. II—The Magic Fiddle That Blabbed out the Rājā's Secret

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

The second instalment of these studies is a North Bihari folk-tale entitled "*The Magic Fiddle that Blabbed out the Rājā's Secret.*" It is as follows:—

Once upon a time there lived a Rājā who had two horns growing out from his forehead. He was very much ashamed of this abnormal growth on his forehead and did not at all wish that anybody should know of this fact. Whenever a barber shaved him, he saw these horns. Fearing lest he would divulge his secret to the world at large, the Rājā used to have him killed. In this way, one barber after another shared the same fate. Coming to know of this, the remaining barbers refused to come and shave the Rājā. At last, the Rājā managed to procure an idiotic barber and kept him confined in a well-guarded house so that, after shaving him the latter might not go out, mix with the outside public and inform the latter of the Rājā's secret. But the forcible method by which the barber was compelled to keep the Rājā's secret to himself had a most prejudicial effect upon the former's health, so much so that he became emaciated and black as if he was suffering from a most dangerous disease. He always kept muttering to himself the following rhyme:—

१. कच्चा बिलु रह्य न जाय् ।

२. राजा के दोगो छिं वा ॥

Translation

1. (I am) unable to live (lit., remain) without divulging (lit., saying) the secret.
2. (That) the Rājā possesses two horns (on his forehead).
He grew from bad to worse. One physician after another was called in to treat him, but all of them failed to cure him

of the malady that was undermining his health. At last, one physician was summoned who very skilfully diagnosed that some secret, which the patient was being compelled to keep to himself, was undermining his health and that the latter should be urged to divulge it to somebody whereupon he would recover. As the patient persistently refused to divulge the secret to the physician, the latter advised the former to go to a neighbouring orchard and embrace a particular jack-tree with his two hands, that is to say, perform the चाँकोयार ceremony upon that tree, and divulge the pernicious secret to it.

The barber acted up to the physician's advice. Lo and behold! from that very moment he began to recover; whereas the jack-tree began to wither away till it was dead.

Now the proprietor of the orchard having no use for the dead jack-tree, sold it to a carpenter who cut it down and took the timber home.

From this timber, the carpenter made a *Sāringi* or fiddle and sold it to a dancing girl.

Now, on a festive occasion, a *nautch* was being held in the aforementioned Rājā's palace. The dancing-girl, who had purchased the *sāringi* or fiddle, was dancing to the accompaniment of the playing upon that fiddle which kept chanting out the aforementioned rhyme:—

१. कहा विनु रह्य न जाय् ।

२. राजा के दोगो छिं बा ॥

On hearing the notes of the *Sāringi*, the Rājā was astonished to find that his secret, which was known only to the barber, had become known to the outside public. He made enquiries about the carpenter who had manufactured the *sāringi* or fiddle and, having found him out, sent for him and enquired from him as to where he had obtained the timber from which he had manufactured the fiddle in question. He told the Rājā the whole story of his having purchased the timber of the dead jack-tree on which the barber had performed the चाँकोयार ceremony.

Thereupon the Rājā sent for the barber and enquired from him as to who had divulged his secret to the jack-tree.

The latter admitted having done so in accordance with the physician's advice. Finding that the barber finally told him the truth, he pardoned him but had the magic fiddle which blabbed out his secret and the remainder of the timber of the jack-tree destroyed. Thereafter both the Rājā and the barber lived in peace and happiness.

On analysing the foregoing North Bihari folk-tale, I find that there are two noteworthy features in it which require some discussion. These are :—

(1) The Bihari custom of performing the *आँकोवार* ceremony for transferring diseases.

(2) The question as to whether there are, in the folk-lore of other races, any parallels in the shape of magic fiddles blabbing out some secrets.

As regards the point (1) *supra*, I may state here that there is prevalent in Bihar a rite by the performance of which diseases and other physical disabilities are transferred to trees. The rite consists in the patients going to a tree and embracing it with his or her two hands; and it is believed that by doing this, the disease or physical disability is transferred to trees. In this way, barren women transfer their barrenness to trees by performing the *आँकोवार* rite. There are various other Indian methods for transferring diseases, which I have described and discussed in my paper entitled: "*On some Indian ceremonies for Disease-transference*" which has been published in *The Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (N.S.), Vol. XIII, No. 1 for 1917, pages 13-21.

As regards the point No. (2) *supra*, I may state that the tree-spirit or the vegetation-spirit resident in the jack-tree imbibed the patient's knees and also, coming to know of the secret that the Rājā possessed two horns, chanted it out from the fiddle.

This belief in the existence of vegetation-spirits is widespread among peoples living in a low plane of culture. Whenever a hero's or heroine's blood is spilt or his or her corpse is buried, bamboos and other trees grow up from the blood or buried corpse. There are two instances of this belief in the folk-lore of the Hos of Singbhum and one in the folk-lore

of the Santals of the Santal Parganas. I have described and discussed these three instances in my paper entitled: "*On a Ho Folk-tale of the Wicked Queens Type*" which has been published in *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for March 1926.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS

I.—The Jayapura Copper-Plate Grant of Dhruvānanda Deva

By Narayana Tripathi, B.A.

A revised reading of the text of this plate has already been published on pp. 457-472, Vol. XVI of this Journal, but unfortunately several printing mistakes appear in the body of the text, which need corrections, as indicated below. The symbols printed after the word समत् in line 39 have not also been accurately reproduced. The sentence, "If the third symbol..... 283" in lines 28-30 on page 459 should be read as, "If the third symbol be not a compound monographic, or, indicatory digit, but a simple one, then it may be read as 3 and be taken to represent the regnal year (third) of the donor in the era of 281".

The original charter contains use of two forms of letters *na* and *tha*. The *anusvāra* occurring at the end of a line, e.g., in द्वास् in line 4 and in प्राणिनास् in line 9, has been indicated by the letter *m* or *n* and in द्वास् (line 8) *n* and *s* have been joined together so as to form one compound letter the corresponding one of which is not in use in the current Oriya alphabet. The charter also contains use of two words *Tāmvra* and *Tāmra* (line 33) in the same sense both meaning copper. The use of the word *tāmvra* in place of *tāmra* is found in many a contemporary charter of mediæval Orissa. The current Oriya of *tāmra* (copper) is *tamvā* and of *āmra* (mango) is *āmva*. In the opinion of Dr. Banerji-Sastri, the record contains an orthographical peculiarity, viz., "*b* and *v* often confused", but I do not find a single instance of this in the whole charter.

Corrections to the Text:—

Line	Read	For
4	नातङ्गा (ङ्गा) कुम्हत (तिः)	नातङ्गा कुम्हत (श्रुतं)
5	द्वा $\frac{\text{यात्थ}}{\text{पत्थ}}$ जने	$\frac{\text{द्वा पत्थ}}{\text{त्थ यात्थ}}$ जने

Line	Read	For
5	दिलीपे	दिलापे
6	शूर दुर्लङ्घ्य	शूर दुर्लङ्घ्य
7	यो भूद्विप्यरानन्द	योभ ^{श्री} पा (प) रानन्द द्वि
7	तस्या विरासौव्	तस्या विरासाव्
8	कीर्त्ती	कीर्त्ती
10	रूपाभृतो	रूपाभृतो
10	(गैनि) र्मलैः	(गैनि) र्मलैः
11	केसरि (री)	केसरी
12	यस्योच्चै	यस्योच्चै
13	: प्ररदौ	प्ररदौ
15	दर्पणे	दर्पणे
16	यस्योच्चैः सितमन्दौ (न्दि)	यस्योच्चैः सितमन्दौ (दि)
	रादुधज	राद्वज
16	हृद्यावली	हृद्यावली
17	दु (दू) राद्गाति	दु (दू) राद्गाति
19	जनश्चेष्टितैः	जनश्चेष्टितैः
21	रम्भोदधि	रम्भोदधि
25	येरावदृम(ण्ड)लीये	ध ^ह रावदृ मलीये
27	सकरणो	सकरण
27	रार्ज (ज) पादोपजीवी	राजपदोपजीवी
29	सि (सी) मा	सिमा
30	म्भवण	स्यवण

II.—A few observations on the Hindol Plate of Śubhākaradeva

By J. C. De, M.A., B.L. (Cal.), M.A. (London)

This plate was edited in the March, 1930 issue of this journal (p. 69 to 83).

The original inscription, so far as I can make it out from the copy, puts Śubhākara and deva together. I do not see why "Śubhākara" and "Deva" should be taken separately, as has been done in the fourteenth line of the "text" (p. 78).

The king in the usual way greets, informs and commands (mānayati vodhayati samājñāpayati l. 17; the editor translates "honours and intimates") some of his officers with regard to the grant. Among these officers is mentioned Kumārāmātyaḥ or Kumārāmātyāḥ (l. 15). Panditji translates the word by "younger sons of King" and "Ministers" (p. 81).

It is not quite clear to which "King" he refers. Mahāsāmantas and Mahārājas head the official list, and chāṭabhaṭa-vallabhajātiyān concludes it (l. 15 and 16). It is apparent that in this list the officers are (though it is well known that in some inscriptions they are not, e.g., in F.G.I. no. 38 l. 20 and 21) arranged according to their status. Reigning Mahārājas of Northern India did not think it derogatory to have Mahāsāmantas used with their own names in their own charters.

Directly after the Mahāsāmantaḥ (or Mahāsāmantāḥ) and Mahārājaḥ (or Mahārājas) we get Rājaputraḥ (or Rājaputras). Rājaputras is translated by "princes". This translation is certainly correct, if by "princes" we mean the "sons of rulers", and not reigning vassal princes as distinguished from (independent) kings. I fail to perceive why "the sons of King" should be mentioned again in the list after Rājaputras. Granting that Kumāras were the sons of the reigning Mahārājādhirāja as distinguished from "Rājaputras", the sons of vassal princes, it is naturally expected in this list that kumāras should precede rājaputras.

The term kumārāmātya is a very familiar one to the

student of the administrative history of the period of Hindu Renaissance. In the recently discovered Gunaighar grant of Vainyagupta we find that Mahāsāmanta, Mahārāja Śrī Vijaya-sena who was the Mahāpratihāra of Mahārāja Vainyagupta, made the commands of his overlord known "unto the kumārāmātyas, Revajjasvāmin, Bhāmaha and Vatsabhogika" (Ind. Hist. Quarterly, March 1930, p. 55, l. 16 and 17). In the Bihar Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta we find among other officers kumārāmātyas immediately preceded by uparikas (F.G.I. 12, l. 27). Uparikas also occur in this inscription, but this word has been left untranslated. I think the English equivalent for uparikas will be "governors of provinces" who were higher in status than vishayapatis (heads of districts). The composer of the Kauśāmbī Inscription (F.G.I. no. 1) was the Khādyatapākika, Sāndhivigrahika, Kumārāmātya, Ma-(hādaṇḍanāyaka) Harishena (l. 32). Whether khādyatapākika stands for khādyata-tattva-parīkshaka or not, the mention of the titles other than kumārāmātya shows the high position this person occupied in the hierarchy of the imperial bureaucracy. That he was not the son of the reigning king is proved by his being mentioned as the son of Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Dhruvabhūti. Dhruvabhūti was undoubtedly a high government officer, but he was not even a Mahārāja. In some of the earlier Maitraka grants we do not find the Kumārāmātyas mentioned in the list of officers (*e.g.*, in the Palitana Plates of Dhruvasena I of 206 Val. Sam.; of 210; and of unknown date; E.I. XI, p. 106 to 108, 115, 110 and 111). But in the Maliya Copper Plate Inscription of Dharasena II we find two new classes of officers, *viz.*, the Kumārāmātyas and Rājasthānīyas added (F.G.I. no. 38, p. 165 to 167, l. 20 and 21). The older customary list of officers is obviously added to by the inclusion of these persons. It seems to be a fact that an extension of political power and a greater degree of administrative organisation necessitated the creation of these two classes. The Navalakhi Plates of Śilāditya I of the same house (E.I. XI, p. 178 to 180) support this view. Mahattaras and cāṭabhaṭas are followed by Kumārāmātyas and others. Rājasthānīyas are not mentioned by name (l. 18). Prof. Bhadkamkar who

edited the Plates seem to have overlooked this in his note on the word (p. 176). The evidence I have tried to collect above, from North Indian Inscriptions of the period beginning from the fourth century A.D. and ending by the tenth century A.D. does not support his interpretation, and Mr. Venkayya, the editor of the E.I. draws attention to "a different explanation of the word" in n. 2. of p. 50 of E.I. X. The exalted position of a Kumārāmātya in Northern India is further testified to by the references in the Tipperah Copper-Plate Grant of Lokanātha (E.I. XV, p. 306 to 309). The Kumārāmātya acts as the agent of the overlord to the vassal Lokanātha. The seal itself bears the legend "Kumārāmātyādhikarāṇasya" in relief on the obverse. "Lokanāthasya" is found "on the smaller seal". The officer is referred in the plural number denoting respect (e.g., Kumārāmātyāḥ, l. 1, and vayan in "vijñāpitā vayan", l. 21).

Among the officers of Śubhākaradeva connected with the Kankavirāvivishaya, we come across pustapālas. Panditji corrects pustapāla into pustakapāla and writes pusta(ka) and pāla separately (p. 78). This correction certainly makes the meaning clearer. But there is no indication of a ka in the Plate. This is a term which occurs in other inscriptions. In the Faridpur Copper-Plate Grant of Gopachandra of the year 19 (I.A. XXXIX, p. 204) the land to be granted was "determined" "by the Record-Keeper Nayabhūti's determination" (l. 17 and 18). In the Faridpur Copper-Plate Grant of the time of Dharmmāditya (p. 200 and 201) some specified lands are "determined" "by the Record-Keeper Janmabhūti's determination" (l. 17 to 20). In the Faridpur Copper-Plate Grant of the time of Dharmmāditya of the year 3 (p. 195 and 196) the Vishayamahattaras and the common folk gave "heed to" a "request" about conveyance of land, and "being unanimous", "determined" the matter "by a determination" (avadhāraṇā) by the Pustapāla Vi(na)yasena (l. 9 and 10). I agree with Dr. Pargiter in thinking that he was a "village official" "subordinate to the mahattaras" whose duty lay in preserving records concerning the title to lands (p. 213).

Antaraṅga (the editor prefers Antaraṅga) is taken to be

a relation of the reigning king (p. 81). In the Ghugrahati Copper-Plate Inscription of Samāchāradeva we find that Jivadatta was the Antaraṅga Uparika of Navyāvakāśikā. He "worshipped the lotus feet" of Mahārājādhirājā Samāchāradeva. He "approved" a particular district officer (vishayapati) and was also "the master of the bullion market" (E.I. XVIII, p. 76 and 77).

I shall take a later opportunity of giving the grounds of my objection against the correction of bhāṭa of chāṭabhāṭa into bhāṭas. The editor seems to have omitted the vallabhas who were apparently minor government servants, from his translation. At the same time I must thank him for his edition of the passage which now makes it quite clear that chāṭabhāṭas were paid by the State. They are said to live "on royal bounties" (Rājaprasādināḥ l. 16).

III.—Note on a Recent Instance of Human Sacrifice from the District of Sambalpur in Orissa

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

There is current in many countries throughout the world a widespread belief that avaricious and miserly persons, who accumulate great hoards of wealth during their lifetimes, cannot take away their thoughts from their riches even after their deaths. They, therefore, assume the shape of monstrous snakes and guard their treasure hidden under the earth. When disgusted with their lives as snake-guardians of treasure-trove, they ask some covetous person to take possession of the hidden treasure by sacrificing to them some one of their dearest kinsmen. The presence of this belief in India has received a striking illustration from a recent case which has cropped up in the Nizam's Dominions. A rich woman named Rādhāmmā of village Yelamner kidnapped a child and sacrificed it to find out a hidden treasure. This case has been fully described and discussed by me in a paper which has been published in *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for September 1928, pages 435-437.

Recently there has occurred, in the district of Sambalpur in Orissa, a case of human sacrifice which has been announced in *The Bihar Herald* (published from Bankipur) for Saturday, the 1st November, 1930, in the following paragraph :—

“A case of alleged human sacrifice is reported from Barpali in Sambalpur District. The victim is a seven-year-old lad whose head, it appears, had been severed from the trunk. The body is reported to have been discovered in a well in the house of Jadu Somari, who is stated to be a disciple of a village wizard.”

“A set of instructions written on palm-leaves concerning animal sacrifice is also reported to have been found in the house of Somari. Several arrests have been made.”

The question now arises : Whether the afore-described case of human sacrifice, which has occurred at Barpali in the Sambalpur District is one for discovering hidden treasure or one for other purpose.

As regards the first part of the foregoing question, I am decidedly of opinion that the case is not one of human sacrifice for the purpose of discovering hidden treasure.

There now remains the second part of the question to be answered. Regarding the answer to it, I may state here that during my three months' stay at Ranchi from 20th January to 15th April, 1930, Mr. Anil Chandra Chatterjee, Court Inspector of Ranchi, informed me that the custom of offering human sacrifices for the purpose of lending fertility to newly-cleared lands which had been made suitable for cultivation by cutting down the forest thereupon, prevailed in the neighbouring province of Chota Nagpur and that he had investigated into one or two such cases of human sacrifice which had occurred in the Gumla Subdivision of the Ranchi District in that province. In these cases, he said, that the corpse of the sacrificed victim had been buried under the earth.

In the case of the human sacrifice which occurred in the village of Barpali in the Sambalpur District, the body of the sacrificed victim is reported to have been discovered in a well. This fact lends some plausibility to the opinion at which I have arrived, that it is most likely a case of human sacrifice for lending fertility to newly-deforested lands. The reasons for my opinion may be stated as follows :—

(1) A sacrifice has been defined to be something devoted to a deity or goddess and consumed either in his or her honour or by him or her and by his or her worshippers. It is further defined to be an offering to propitiate a supernatural being or as an expiation.

(2) The method by which an offering is supposed to be conveyed to the deity or the goddess varies much, either according to the residence of the deity or goddess in question or else to the conception of god-head entertained by the worshipper.

(3) *Sacrifices to the earth-deity or earth-goddess may be buried in the field or thrown down precipices, into clefts or ravines.*

(4) Those to ethereal and celestial deities and goddesses may be burnt to ascend the skies in smoke.

(5) Or the skin of the victim may be draped upon the image of the deity or goddess; or the deity's portion may be exposed in the expectation that he will come as in the story of *the Bel and the Dragon* and devour it secretly, or he may simply partake of the spirit of it, as the ancestral spirits of the Zulus were supposed to do by licking it.

In the afore-mentioned case of human sacrifice, which is reported to have occurred at Barpali in the Sambalpur District, the victim's body is reported to have been thrown into a well. Now a well is an excavation into the interior of the earth which is the residence of the earth-deity or earth-goddess. Consequently, we may safely infer that, in the fore-going case, the child was sacrificed to propitiate the earth-goddess (भरिचौ-माता), who only can confer fertility upon lands.

IV.—A Note on Fetish-worship in the Jalpaiguri District in Northern Bengal

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

(*With one plate.*)

Fetish-worship has been defined to be the adoration of a strange-looking or uncouth object such as a rough or unhewn block of stone, a curiously contorted root of a tree, a bird's feather and such like objects. These things are regarded as sacred and, therefore, worshipped in their own characters as symbols and not as the dwelling-places, permanent or temporary, of invisible spiritual beings.

The process by which the adoration of a fetish develops into a distinct Hindu worship or cult is taking place before my very eyes in the heart of the town of Jalpaiguri in Northern Bengal. It is as follows :—

Just to the east of the beautiful Swiss Chalet-like house occupied by T. Mitra, Esq., B.E., I.S.E., Executive Engineer, P.W.D., of the Dooars Roads Division of the district of Jalpaiguri in Northern Bengal, there is a plot of grassy meadow which stretches up to the western bank of the little Karalā River which meanders through it. Just almost in the middle of this meadow and almost opposite to the eastern gate of Mr. Mitra's residence, there stand two pipal-trees (*Ficus religiosa*) and about a yard or two from the roots of these trees, there lies a brownish-looking unhewn block of stone which appears like a mass of *jhāmā* brick from a little distance. This block of stone bears on it marks of vermilion which has been daubed on it ; and, sometimes, offerings of copper pices may be seen placed on it. (See the accompanying plate.)

The Hindu servants employed in Mr. Mitra's household call this unhewn block of stone to be the deity Mahākāla and ascribe to it strange and miraculous powers. One of these servants told me that, on one occasion, this stone had been thrown into the neighbouring Karalā River, that it broke into two pieces,

that both the pieces fell into the river but that, during the night, one piece miraculously flew back to its original place near the roots of the two pipal-trees. The marks of vermilion on the stone and the offerings of pice sometimes found on it show that this stone is worshipped as the symbol of the strange deity Mahākāla.

Now the question arises: Who is the deity Mahākāla and what are his functions?

The Rājbandi Kochs and the Meches were originally the denizens of the district of Jalpaiguri. They still form a considerable proportion of the population of the district.

From the census of 1901, it was found that the Rājbandis or Kochs numbered 321,170 or 2/5ths of the total population of the district. The Kochs appeared first in Bengal about the close of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century when Hajo founded the Koch Kingdom on the downfall of the ancient Empire of Kamrup. During the reign of his grandson Visu, the Kochs became semi-Hinduized and adopted the name of Rājbandi, that is, "Of the royal race". They are now recognized as a distinct caste of Hindus. There seems, however, to be little doubt that they belong to a Mongoloid race and entered Bengal from the east by the valley of the Brahmaputra.

The Meches also are of Mongoloid origin. In the census of 1901 they numbered 22,350. Like many of the animistic tribes of India, the Meches have become gradually Hinduized.

False swearing is considered by them to be a grievous offence and the oath which they take to speak the truth runs as follows:—"I will speak the truth. If I speak not the truth, may I and my wife and children be destroyed by Mahākāl (the deity who rules over the wild animals). Let tigers and bears kill us. Let sickness seize us and all belonging to us. Let all perish and die."¹

The Rājbandis, who form 2/5ths of the population of the Jalpaiguri District, are described as "being Hindus when it suits them to be so, and Meches when they obtain pork and

¹ *The Gazetteer of Jalpaiguri.* By John F. Gruning, I.C.S. Printed at the Pioneer Press, Allahabad, 1911. Page 38.

wish to eat it." In other words, they retain many of their ancient beliefs and superstitions. The Rajbansis worship a number of spirits or deities whose chief attribute is their power to cause evil if they are not appeased by offerings and sacrifices. The undermentioned are the 12 principal deities of the Rajbansis :—

(1) **The Bisto Thākur** who is worshipped so that the rains may not fail.

(2) **The Bormā Thākur** who destroys homesteads by fire if he is displeased.

(3) **The Pobon Thākur** who sends storms and hail and must be appeased to prevent them.

(4) **The Basumati Thākurāni** who has power over the earth ; if she is not satisfied crops fail and there is a famine in the land.

(5) **The Bishhaorī Thākurāni**, a very malevolent deity ; if she is not pleased, children die or become blind, men and cattle are bitten by snakes and all sorts of troubles come.

(6) **The Chandi Thākurāni** who causes sickness.

(7) **The Kālī Thākurāni** who is always endeavouring to do harm and must be frequently worshipped.

(8) **The Mahākāl Thākur**, the god of hills and jungles ; if he is not propitiated he sends tigers and leopards to kill the people.

(9) **The Grām Thākur** who prowls about villages with his wife and causes illness among children.

(10) **The Shib Thākur** who protects the people from troubles, provided that offerings of milk, rice, and plantains are made to him.

(11) **The Lakhī Thākurāni** who brings good fortune ; and

(12) **The Dharam Thākur**, who, like Shib and Lakhi, is a kindly deity.¹

From what has been stated above it would appear that both the Rajbansis (Kochs) and the Meches worship a spirit or deity who is called Mahākāla and who presides over the forests and the wild beasts. As has been shown above, the Rajbansis and

¹ *Op. cit.*, page 42.

the Meches form a large proportion of the population of the Jalpaiguri District. It is, therefore, no wonder that, under their influence the worship of the fetish, which is growing in front of Mr. Mitra's residence, is getting dubbed with the name of Mahākāla. It is just possible that, in course of time, this fetish will be provided with a shrine and will have a priest to carry on its daily worship; and then it will take its place as a popular cult of Hinduism.

V.—A Note on the Worship of the River Tista by the Nepalese of the Jalpaiguri Dis- trict in Northern Bengal

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, Esq., M.A., B.L.

I recently had occasion to stay at Jalpaiguri—the headquarters station of the district of Jalpaiguri in Northern Bengal—for three months from Wednesday, the 26th November, 1930 to Friday, the 20th February, 1931. I stayed in the picturesque Swiss Chalet-like residence of Tinkari Mitra, Esq., B.E., I.S.E., Executive Engineer, P.W.D., Alipur Duars Division of the Jalpaiguri District. It is situated on the western bank of the rivulet Karalā which meanders through the meadow in front of it.

During my three months' stay there, the following incidents and facts of anthropological interest, which throw some gleams of light on the ethnography of the peoples resident in that district, came to my notice. I am, therefore, jotting down, in this paper, a few short notes thereupon.

The Worship of the River Tista by the Hindu Nepalese.

Kānchā, a Hindu Nepalese servant of our household at Jalpaiguri, is stated to have been ill recently. He recovered from it, and, by way of thanksgiving, vowed to worship "the mother-goddess who presides over the River Tista" (निष्ठा-माइ).

On Monday, the 19th January, 1931, he took leave from us to be absent from work during the whole of that day for the purpose of performing the aforementioned worship.

On enquiring from him, I learnt that the undermentioned offerings were presented to the "mother-goddess Tista".

- (1) 105 different kinds of flowers.
- (2) 64 copper pices (which were thrown into the river).
- (3) Paddy, maize, and various other cereals.
- (4) 105 cotton-wicks were lighted.
- (5) Camphor and incense were burnt.

(6) Two pigeons were sacrificed. Subsequently their flesh was cooked and partaken of by Kānchā and his friends.

Kānchā further informed me that *mantrams* or prayer-formulæ were recited in the course of this worship but that he neither remembered them nor understood the meaning thereof. So I am unable to give a detailed description of the rites performed in connection with this worship. 105 appears to be a sacred number with the Hindu Nepalese.

A sacrifice has been defined to be something devoted to a deity or goddess and consumed either in his or her honour or by him or her and by his or her worshippers. The consumption of the sacrificed pigeons by Kānchā and his friends was, therefore, strictly in accordance with the requirements of a sacrifice.

Mr. Annada Charan Sen, Vakil, Jalpaiguri, informs me that, in his younger years, he had seen that a goddessling named "the *Old Dame Tista*" (निखा-बुडी) used to be worshipped in his household and that, in this worship, an elderly woman used to act as the priestess. But he has forgotten the detailed rites performed in connection with this worship.

It is curious that the Nepalese Hindus should take vows to worship the invisible supernatural being presiding over a river by way of thanksgiving for recovery from illness.

But the Hindus in Lower Bengal take vows to worship some god who is represented by the stone *lingam* or phallus and the goddess Kali who is represented by an anthropomorphic image, in case of recovery from illness. For instance, Hindu Bengalis of the male sex suffering from serious and severe ailments, take vows to grow either the hair of their heads, or their beards, or the finger-nails of their hands without cutting the same for a certain period in honour of the deity Tāraknath (an incarnation of Siva) who presides over the shrine of Tārakeshvara in the district of Hooghly in Western Bengal. If they recover from their ailments, they, on the expiry of the stipulated period, visit the deity's shrine at Tārakeshvara, cut their long hair, beards and finger-nails and offer them as thank-offerings together with other valuable offerings to the deity Tāraknath.

If children suffer from some severe illness, their mothers take vows to go to the shrine of the goddess Kālī at Kālighāt

(south of Calcutta) and burn incense on their foreheads in the presence of the image of the goddess, in case of the patient's recovery therefrom. Sometimes, the mothers take vows to go to the same shrine on the patient's recovery, make small incisions on their own bodies, extract a few drops of blood therefrom and present these blood-offerings to the goddess Kālī by way of thank-offerings for their recovery.

The famous Bengali antiquary and scholar the late Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E., bears the following testimony to the prevalence, in modern Bengal, of the aforementioned custom in his essay "*On Human Sacrifices in Ancient India*":—

"The offering of one's own blood to the goddess to which reference has been made above in the extract from the *Kālikā Purāṇa* is a mediæval and modern rite. It is made by women, and there is scarcely a respectable household in all Bengal, the mistress of which has not, at one time or other, shed her blood under the notion of satisfying the goddess by the operation. Whenever her husband or a son is dangerously ill, a vow is made that, on the recovery of the patient, the goddess would be regaled with human blood, and on the first Durgā Pujā following, or at the temple at Kālighāt, or at some other sacred fane, the lady performs certain ceremonies, and then bares her breast in the presence of the goddess, and with a nail-cutter (*naruna*), draws a few drops of blood from between her breasts and offers them to the divinity. The last time I saw the ceremony was six years ago, when my late revered mother, tottering with age made the offering for my recovery from a dangerous and long-protracted attack of pleurisy. Whatever may be thought of it by persons brought up under creed different from that of the Indo-Aryans, I cannot recall to memory the fact without feeling the deepest emotion for the boundless affection which prompted it."¹

Sometimes, if some woman or her child is suffering from some disease of the eye or of some other limb, she takes a vow to present to the goddess Kālī a gold or silver model (in minia-

¹ *Vide Indo-Aryans.* By Rajendralal Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E., in Two volumes. London: Edward Stanford, 1881. Vol. II, Pages 111-112.

ture) of the eye or of the diseased limb in case of recovery from that ailment.

The same custom also prevails in Roman Catholic countries. Whenever a person suffers from some diseased limb or member of the body, he or she, in case of recovery from that ailment, presents to the Virgin Mary models of the diseased limb. On this point the well-known naturalist, Mr. H. W. Bates, F.R.S., who, while travelling in the regions watered by the River Amazon, came across an instance of this custom, says :—

“The most important building (in Para) was the chapel of our Lady of Nazareth, which stood opposite to our place. The saint enshrined here was a great favourite with all the orthodox Paraenses who attributed to her the performance of miracles. The image was to be seen on the altar a handsome doll about four feet high wearing a silver crown and a garment of blue silk studded with golden stars. In and about the chapel were the offerings that had been made to her, proofs of miracles which she had performed. *There were models of legs, arms, breasts, and so forth she had cured.*”¹

There is a miraculous and famous grotto at a place named Lourdes in the Hautes Pyrenees in France, which contains the renowned shrine of the Virgin Mary. This shrine is one of the most celebrated pilgrimages in the world. Thousands of pilgrims visit annually this shrine not only from other continental countries but also from Great Britain and Ireland. Roman Catholic Christians, who suffer from serious and apparently incurable maladies, take vow to the Virgin Mary that if, by her miraculous intervention, they would get cured of their disease, they would visit her shrine and present to her their crutches and the like. In fulfilment of their vows, the pilgrims kiss the sacred stone, as they file through the grotto *where the crutches and other aids of those divinely cured are hung up as thank-offerings.* (See the two plates illustrating the shrine and the offerings on page 1019 of Hutchinson's *Customs of the World*, Vol. II.)

¹ Vide “*The Naturalist on the River Amazon*” by Henry Walter Bates, F.R.S., London : John Murray, 1892, page 29.

VI.—A Note on the Nepalese Belief about a Particular Individual's Being Permanently Obsessed by a Deity

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

During my three months' stay at Jalpaiguri from Wednesday, the 26th November, 1930 to Friday, the 20th February, 1931, the under-described instance of the Nepalese belief about a particular individual's being permanently obsessed by a deity came to my notice. A Hindu Nepalese servant named Kāñchā is employed in the household of Tinkari Mitra, Esq., B.E., I.S.E., Executive Engineer (P.W.D.) of the Alipur Duars Division of the Jalpaiguri District, with whom I stayed during the aforementioned period.

It so happened that on Friday, the 23rd January, 1931, Mr. T. Mitra's little son, Master Rabindra Nath Mitra, in a fit of childish fretfulness, spat on Kāñchā's face. Shortly afterwards, Kāñchā became morose and sorrowful and with tears in his eyes, came and complained to me and Mrs. Mitra about his having been polluted by the child's spitting on his face. He said: "*Myself and my father are not ordinary men. A deity permanently obsesses or resides in us. We would not partake of food touched by the lips of even my mother and sister. I shall have to perform some sort of expiation for removing the pollution from me.*" Having said so, he began to shiver and dance as if he was in a fit of religious ecstasy. On our remonstrating with him for dancing in our presence, he replied that he personally was not responsible for doing so, as the deity residing in him was compelling him to do it. Then we sent him away to his sleeping quarters where he slept the whole night without partaking of any food at all. Next morning he was all right and did not talk any further about performing expiatory rite.

It is curious, that though Kāñchā alleged that a deity permanently obsessed him, he neither claimed to possess any thaumaturgic or wonder-working power or powers, nor did he pretend

to be a holy man or sacred personage. He wore the ordinary dress of a Nepalese, namely, a white coat or shirt, and a pyjama. He partook of all kinds of food including meat, eggs, and fish. He performed the duties of menial servants from washing clothes to cleansing plates and dishes from which the members of the household had eaten. It is curious that the deity residing within him did not get offended or cross at his performing these menial duties.

I am recording these foregoing facts as this is an instance of curious Nepalese belief and so that others who are conversant with Nepalese religious beliefs, customs and rites, may throw further light on it.

It will not, however, be out of place to mention here that among several other tribes residing in different parts of India, priests and others, while performing some religious rites and ceremonies, become temporarily obsessed by deities and other supernatural beings.

Take for instance the Gonds of Central India. The Naidude Gonds worship Bhiwasu, who is identical with the Hindu mythic hero Bhimsena, in the shape of a huge stone besmeared with vermilion. Before it, a little rice cooked with sugar is placed. They, thereafter, daub the stone with vermilion and burn resinous incense in its honour. Then the sacrificial victims, namely sheep, hogs, fowls, with the usual offerings of spirituous liquors, are presented to the deity. *The deity is now supposed to inspire the priest who rolls his head, leaps frantically round and round and ultimately falls down in a trance, when he announces whether his deityship (Bhimasena) has accepted the worship or not.*¹

Then again, *in the ritual for expelling diseases, the dance of ecstasy plays an important part. In the dance, the person supposed to be under the direct influence of the deity moves according to some rude rhythmic measure and announces the deity's will. This religious dance is common throughout the world.*²

¹ Vide Crooke's *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*. (Allahabad Edition of 1894), page 54.

² *Op. cit.*, page 100.

The Airi is a famous hill-ghost and is the spirit of some huntsmen who has been killed in the forest. His temples are always situated in deserted places. A trident represents this deified spirit; and a number of surrounding stones symbolizes his followers. He is worshipped only once during the year by lighting a bonfire round which all the people take their seats. *A kettle-drum is played upon; and one after another, they become possessed and leap and shout round the fire. Some brand themselves with heated iron spoons and sit in the flames. Those who escape being burnt are believed to be truly possessed by the spirit; while those who are burnt, are considered to be mere pretenders to divine frenzy.*¹

¹ *Op. cit.*, page 154.

VII.—Dravidic Names for ‘Palms’

By L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, M.A., B.L.

(Maharaja's College, Ernakulam.)

On page xxii of the Introduction to his Kannada Dictionary, Kittel suggests that Indo-Aryan *tāla*, *tāla* (palmyra) may have been derived from a base connected with Dravidian [Kannada] *tāl*. Kittel makes this suggestion, though he knows full well that *tāl* of Kannada meaning ‘palmyra’ ‘*Borassus flabelliformis*’ is commonly supposed to be a *tadbhava* from Indo-Aryan *tāla*. Kittel contents himself with merely making the suggestion without attempting to support his position by the analysis of the Indo-Aryan word or the Dravidian form.

Similarly on page xxiii of his Introduction he also suggests that Sanskrit *tāla* (bottom, base), a word structurally the same as *tāla* above but with a different meaning, may be allied to Dravidian *tāl* (beneath).

The mere parallelism in structure and meaning between the two forms cannot lead to any inference unless supported by the evidence furnished by the analysis of the forms on either side.

In this paper I propose to consider how far one set of Dravidian forms for ‘palmyra’ and ‘palm-like trees’ may be regarded as native and then to try to indicate in what direction, if at all, there may have been connexion between Indo-Aryan *tāla* (palmyra) and the Dravidian forms with the same meaning.

Dravidian forms for ‘palmyra’ or palm-like trees.

Tamil :—

tāli (palmyra)—rare form, the more common words in Tamil being *pennai* and *panai* ‘fan-palm’.

tāli (different kinds of creepers, etc.)—found commonly in the most ancient classical texts.

*tāl-ai*¹ (coconut-tree)—cf. *tāl-kulai-teṅṅum* (coconut-trees with bending bunches of fruits) in Śilappadigāram.

tāl-ai (fragrant screw-pine)—a common word found in ancient texts and in modern use.

tāl-am (palmyra)—a late *its*. form.

Malayālam :—

tal-a (fragrant screw-pine).

Kannāḍa :—

tāla (palmyra)—the common word is *nunḡu* which literally refers (in Tam. and Kannāḍa) to the pulp of the palmyra-fruit.

<i>tāle</i>	} (palmyra)—these forms are all commonly considered to be <i>tadbhavas</i> of Skt. <i>tāla</i> .
<i>tāli</i>	
<i>tāḍi</i>	
<i>tāḍe</i>	

tāle (fragrant screw-pine, 'Pandanus odoratissimus').

Tuḷu :—

<i>tāli</i>	} (palmyra)	} These are very common forms in Tuḷu. No other common word exists for 'Borassus', while for 'coconut' <i>tālæ</i> , <i>tāræ</i> are far more common than <i>teṅṅu</i> .	
<i>tāri</i>			
<i>tālæ</i>			} (coconut)
<i>tāræ</i>			

Telugu :—*tāḍu* (palmyra) no other word to denote 'Borassus'.

Kūi :—*tāri* (plantain).

Kūvi :—

tāti (palmyra).

tāḍi (plantain).

Kurukh :—*tār* (palmyra)—this form may be directly connected with NIA forms.

In regard to the above words, we shall for the present exclude from our consideration the forms which have meanings

¹ *tāl-ai* with the meaning 'coconut-tree' is rare in old Tamil, the common meaning for this form being 'Pandanus odoratissimus' or the fragrant 'screw-pine'. Cf. however, verse 17 of Puraṇānūru, where *tālai* has been equated to 'coconut-tree'. An early development of the meaning 'coconut' for this form is also attested by Tuḷu *tālæ*, *tāræ* which are in this dialect very common forms to-day.

other than 'palmyra', though we shall have to deal with them later on in the course of our discussion. We have then a number of Dravidian forms which basically resemble one another except for the character of the medial consonants. And these consonants are all related to one another in the different dialects, according to regular principles of change.

If we postulate a base like *tāl-* with the final cacuminal *-ḷ-*, it may be considered (on the strength of analogies)¹ to have given rise to forms with *-ḷ-* in Tamil-Kannada, with *-ḷ-* or *-r-* in Tulu and with *-ḷ-* in Telugu.

But this by no means proves the native character of the Dravidian words. It may well be that an ancient adaptation of Indo-Aryan *tāla* as *tāḷa* may have developed as the above forms in the different dialects.

Are the Dravidian forms native?

Proof for the native character has to be sought in the analysis of the base *tāl* itself and in the confrontation of cognate Dravidian bases with this *tāl-*.

Now the ancient base *tāl-* with the primary meaning 'to be extended, stretched' has given rise to the following forms which are undoubtedly Dravidian.

Tam :—

- tālḷu* (to move).
- tāl-ir* (shoot, branch).
- tāḷu* (stalk, shoot, branch, leg).
- tāl-i* (plant-stalk).
- tāl-udu* (bolt).
- tāl-ai* (to branch off).

Kannada :—

- tālḷu* (to shove).
- tāku* (to arrive).
- tāḷu* (to support).
- tāḷu* (stalk).
- tāl-* (below) etc., etc.

¹ Vide my papers on "Tamil ḷ" [IHQ, 1929], "Tulu Verb" and "Kūi Forms and Dravidian Origins".

Telugu :—

- tāl-* (to bear).
- talūgu* (to remove).
- talāru* (to move).
- talapu* (door).
- tallādamu* (commotion, anxiety).

Malayālam :—Almost all the forms occurring in Tamil are also found in Malayālam.

Tulu :—

- tall-*, *tall-*, *talk-* (to shake off).
- talakæ* (strip of bamboo).
- tali-*, *tali-* (to sprinkle).
- talir* (sprout, bud).
- tāl-*, *tāl-* (to fall).
- tāl-* (to bear).

Kûi *tāka* (to walk)- *cf.* southern *tāl* (leg).

Gôṇḍi :—

- tanḍ-* (to take out, to remove).
- tāk-* (to walk).
- [*cf.* also *tāhka-marā*, the name of the long-stemmed 'Terminalia balerica'.

[-*h-* before -*k-* may arise in Gôṇḍi from -*l* or -*r*, *vide* my paper on the "Glottal Fricative in Dravidian", IA, Dec., 1930].

Kurukh :—

- talakh-* (to pull off).
- ? *tār-* (to remove).
- tār-* (to elongate, to stretch out).

tāl- in Tamil means 'stalk' 'trunk' 'whatever is extended' and *tāli* which denotes the names of different kinds of creepers in Tamil and Malayalam is certainly native.

If this is so, cannot this base very legitimately have been applied to the long-trunked tropical palms, including 'palmyra'? But the specific meaning 'palmyra' is *not* found for these forms in the oldest Tamil texts.

Forms meaning 'coconut' 'screw-pine', etc.

If the base *tāl-* could have denoted long-stemmed plants, it could have been applied also to long-stemmed palms like the

coconut. Tam. *tāl-ai*,¹ Tuḷu *tālæ*, *tāræ*, *cāræ* all of which mean 'coconut' may have been directly derived from the base *tāl-*.

Tamil *tāl-ai*,¹ however, is not restricted to 'coconut-tree' but is used for the 'fragrant screw-pine' in the literary and the colloquial dialects alike, and for similar trees in local colloquial usage in different districts. Let us also remember that there is a more common term for 'coconut', equally ancient, viz., *teṅgu* occurring in the southern dialects. This would indicate that the meaning 'coconut' for *tāl-ai* is secondary.

The Dravidian forms, then, might appear to be native with the meanings: 'long-stemmed plants' 'coconut' 'screw-pine', in this family, judged by the analysis of the base in Dravidian.

The Indo-Aryan form.

IA *tala* has the following meanings: 'surface', 'level', 'base', 'bottom' and occasionally 'lock', 'bolt',² 'palm of the hand' and 'palmyra'.

IA *tāla* means commonly 'fan-palm' and 'slapping the hands'. The forms *tala* and *tāla* are not found in Vedic but only in Epic Sanskrit. Another late OIA word is *tāḍi*, the ancestor of many NIA forms signifying 'palmyra'.

Monier Williams unconvincingly derives *tala* (surface, etc.,) from $\sqrt{\text{stṛ}}$, and adduces Greek *στορέννυμι* and Latin *sternere* as connected. The Pali Text Society Dictionary points out that the derivation of *tala* is uncertain but suggests a Indo-European connection by giving Greek *τηλι* (dice-board) and Latin *tellus* (earth) as possible cognates. The same dictionary suggests

¹ The cerebral continuative *-l-* of Tamil-Kannada-Malayālam confers the connotation of 'descent, mingling, etc.' The relationship of *tāl* (beneath) of Tamil, etc. to *tāl-* (to be elongated, stretched) is probably due to the introduction of this special connotation. *tāl-ai* as applied to the low-stalked screw-pine may have to be attributed to this factor. How far the same connotation accounted for the application of *tāl-ai* to 'coconut-tree' is not clear. Cf. however, phrases like "tāl-kulai-teṅgu" (coconut with bending bunches) in classical texts.

² Cf. the IA meaning 'lock' 'bolt' of *tala*, *tāla*, with Tam. *taḷudu*, *tālu* [line 86, Palikkurāipukkāḍai of Maṇimēgalai]. Strangely enough, the meaning 'bottom' of IA *tala* also corresponds to South Dravidian *tāl-* (to go under). Probable Dravidian influence is possible here.

Greek $\tau\alpha\lambda\iota$ and $\tau\eta\lambda\epsilon\tau\omega$ (to be green, to sprout out) and Latin *talea* (shoot, sprout) as cognates.

Boisacq in his *Dictionnaire etymologique de la langue grecque* (page 966) suggests that "Greek $\tau\eta\lambda\iota\alpha$ 'table de boulanger'; 'plancher pour combats de coqs ou de cailles,' etc.) Sanskrit *tala* 'surface', 'plane', 'plat de la main', 'plante du pied', *tālu* 'palais buccal', *tulya-h* (i.e., $\sqrt{t\bar{l}}$) 'egal', 'droit'" are all connected. He also gives quite a large number of other words as being cognates with these. If then *tala* is structurally native in Indo-Aryan and if the meaning 'palm of the hand' may also be considered to be a native IA development, there would be little difficulty in the evolution from this of the meaning and of the form *tāla* denoting 'palmyra': IE $\sqrt{t\bar{l}}$ > **telos* > *talah* > IA *tālah*.

We have to remember here that so far as the semantic constituents are concerned, the Indo-European affinity to IA *tala* is restricted to the idea of 'surface'; the meanings 'palm of the hand' > 'palmyra' might in the above view have been evolved in India itself.

The problem as raised by the etymologies on either side.

We have seen above that the base from which the Sanskrit words *tala* and *tāla* (with the meanings with which we are concerned) are derived, may conceivably be native in IA.

At the same time we have to note that the base $t\bar{a}l$ is ancient and native in Dravidian with the meaning 'to be extended'. The following Tamil forms are found in the most ancient Tamil texts and they are all derived from the Dravidian days $t\bar{a}l$:—

1. $t\bar{a}l$ (what is extended, stalk, leg, branch)—this word with these concrete meanings is quite common in the oldest texts; it has also a metaphorical meaning, as we see from *Śilappadigāram*, *Kolaikkalakkāḍai*: *talai-t-tāl* (famed extensively); and *Maṇimēgalai*, *Pattiramarapukkuriyakkāḍai*, l. 204, *talai-t-tāl vēndan*.
2. $t\bar{a}li$ (long-stemmed plants)—cf. *Puraṇānūru*, Verse 252, line 3.

3. *tāl-ai* (screw-pine)—found in all old texts.

Further we have seen that many Tamil words formed on a *tāl-* basis with other meanings than those denoting plants, are ancient in Tamil, as they occur quite frequently in classical texts.

Three things, therefore, stand out from our discussion in regard to the problem of the relationship of the IA forms to the Dravidian words. (a) The IA meaning of *palmyra* may have been evolved by a natural semantic process in IA. (b) The Dravidian forms *tāli*, *tāl*, and *tālai* signifying plants are very ancient and presumably therefore native in Dravidian. (c) But we do not have in the oldest Tamil texts any forms on a *tāl-* basis with the particular meaning of '*palmyra*'; on the other hand, the idea of '*palmyra*' is always denoted by totally different forms *panai*, *penṇai* in Tamil classical texts.

Probable relationship of the Dravidian and the Indo-Aryan forms.

Was the development of the meaning '*palmyra*' in Indo-Aryan entirely independent of the influence of the Dravidian forms? If it was, can we say that this Indo-Aryan meaning influenced the meaning of the derivatives of the Dravidian base *tāl-*?

Strange indeed it is that an Indo-European $\sqrt{t\bar{l}}$ 'to stretch' and a structurally similar Dravidian base *tāl* 'to be extended' should have in their semantic evolution along different lines, ultimately converged and met in the notation of a name for '*palmyra*'.

Whether Indo-Aryan was influenced by Dravidian or the latter by the former, it is difficult to say; but the following considerations might enable us to adumbrate certain viewpoints.

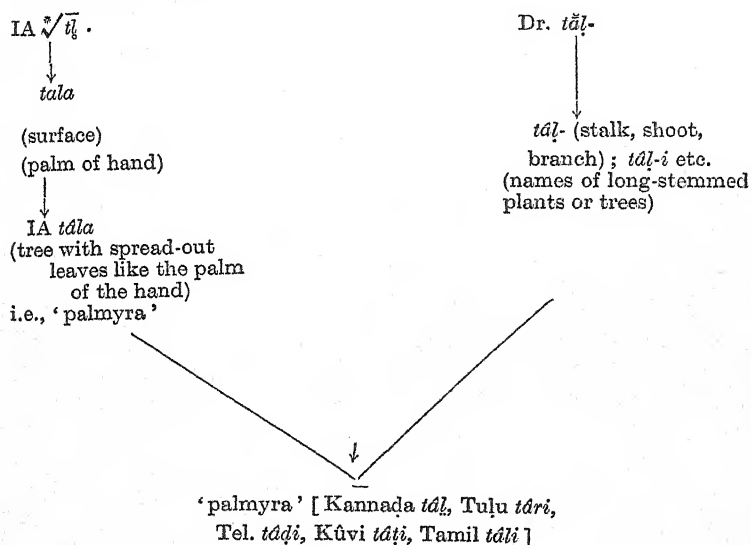
[A]

(1) Tamil, the Dravidian dialect which appears to have offered the strongest resistance to the inroads of Sanskrit vocabulary, fails to show any form on a *tāl-* or *tāl-* basis with the particular meaning '*palmyra*'; on the other hand, the most frequent form is *pan-ai* which alternates with *penṇai* and *pōndai*.

(2) Kannaḍa, Tuḷu, Telugu and the central Dravidian dialects have all come under the strong influence of Indo-Aryan, and it is therefore possible that, while they originally did inherit forms on a *tāl-* basis meaning 'long-stemmed trees or plants', the idea of 'palmyra' was probably imported into words that already denoted certain other plants and trees.

The absence of forms allied to *panai* in Telugu, Kannaḍa and the central Dravidian dialects probably indicates how strong the influence of IA has been in ousting the older Dravidian word.

The perspectives we have envisaged could graphically be represented thus:—



[B]

What is the bearing on our problem of late OIA *tāḍi*, *tāḍi* 'palmyra' which has produced NIA forms with the flapped cerebral -r-?

Prof. S. K. Chatterji has, in a kind reply¹ to my enquiry

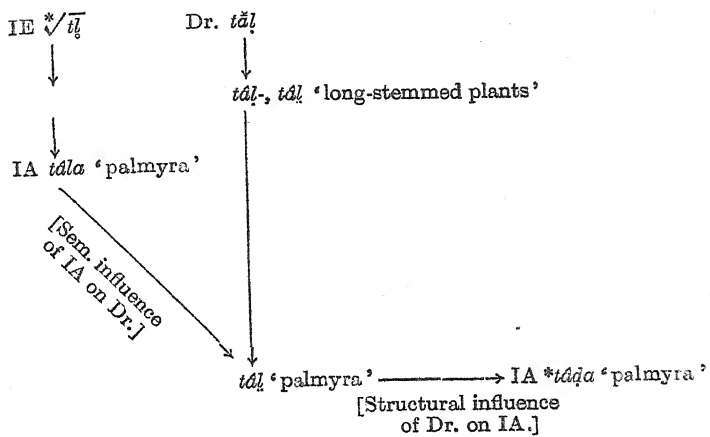
¹ Prof. Chatterji's interesting observations on this point require to be quoted here in full: "IE $\sqrt{tāl}$ might give **telos* > *talaḥ* 'surface', *tālaḥ*

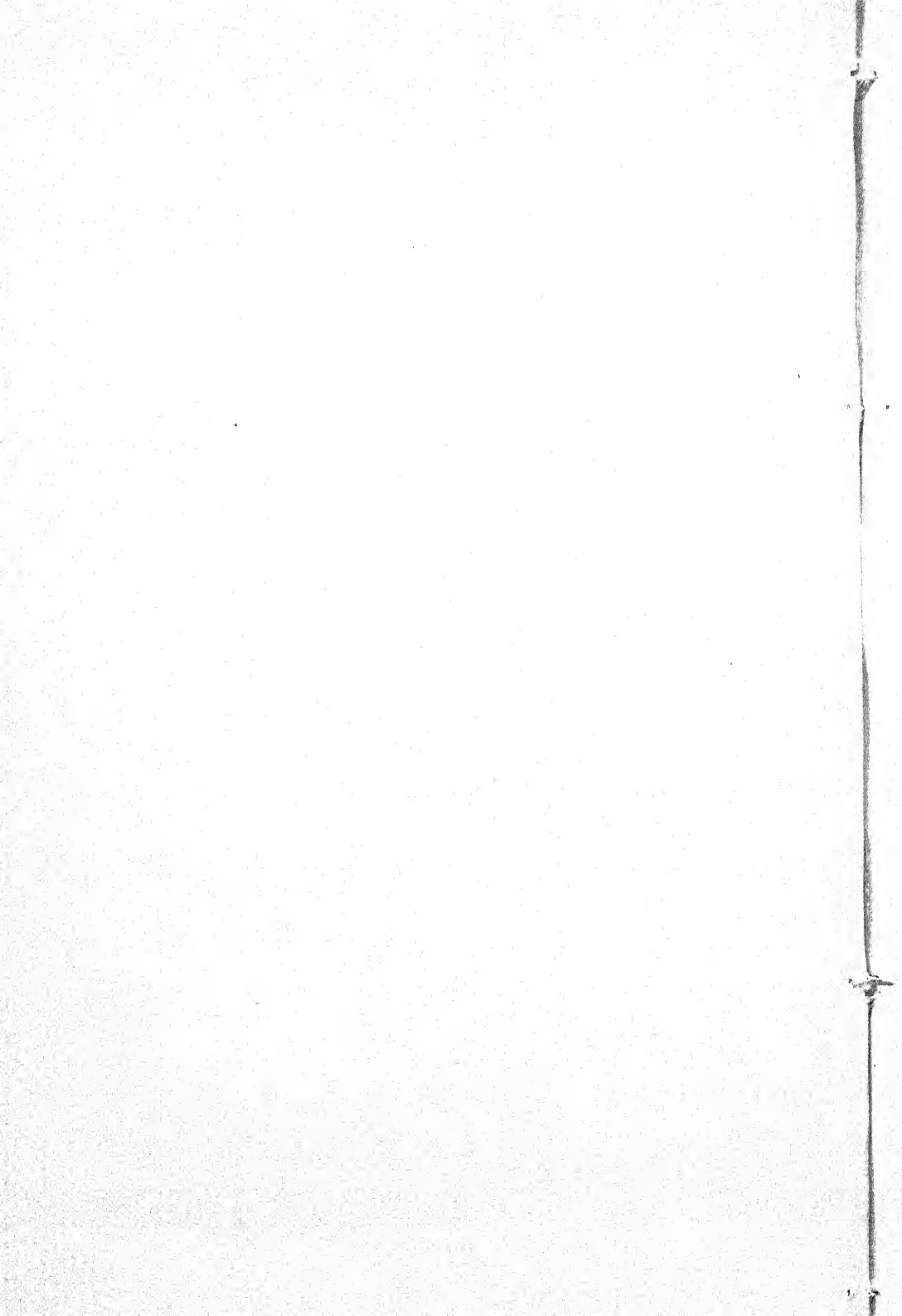
on this point, made the tentative suggestion that "OIA **tāḍa* and not *tāla* [with the meaning 'palmyra'] may be the older form in IA, and that being so, a source other than IE is likely." Dravidian *-l-* can change to *-ḍ-* in Dravidian itself [cf. Tel. *ēḍu*, Tam. *ēḷu* 'seven'; Tel. *kaḍugu*, Tam. *kaḷugu* 'to wash'; Tel. *kūḍu*, Tam. *kuḷu*],—and *-ḍ-* in OIA **tāḍa* may be suggested as being connected with *-l-*, *-ḷ-* of the Dr. forms. It is, however, difficult to regard the meaning 'palmyra' for Dr. *tāl* as original in view of the absence in the ancient Tam. texts of this meaning for the forms concerned. It is equally difficult to resist ascribing to IA *tāla* the late association of 'palmyra' with these Dr. forms. This fact taken together with the plausibility of a native semantic evolution like 'palm of hand' > 'palmyra' in IA itself, would tend to invest IA *tāla* 'palmyra' with an individuality of its own apart from the other IA form **tāḍa*.

Could it then be that (i) *tāla* 'palmyra' was original in IA, (ii) that it influenced in meaning Dr. *tāl*, etc., and (iii) that these Dr. forms with the medial cerebral, in their turn, influenced the production of the other IA form **tāḍa* and its modern representatives with the flapped cerebral *-r-*?

'palm' (in both senses). But my suspicion is that *tāla* 'palm tree' is not connected with *tāla* 'palm of the hand' and *tāla* 'surface'. One very serious objection is in the alternative form with *-ḍ-*: e.g. Skt. *tādī*, *tādī*, whence *tādī-pattra*, Early Bengali *tādīyāta*, New Bengali *teḍet*, *teret* = 'a species of palm-tree the leaves of which were used for writing'; and in Hindustani and most Gangetic dialects, the word for the palm-tree is not *tāl* < *tāla* as in Bengali (but cf. Bengali *tādī* 'palm-wine' 'toddy'), but *tāl* (pronounced of course *tār*) which would be based on a MIA and OIA **tāḍa*, *tādī*. The basic word, I think, was **tāḍa*. OIA intervocal *-ḍ-* became *-l-* and this *-l-* is found in the Rg-Veda; *-l-* < *-ḍ-* might become *-l-*, but we do not have the reverse change of *-l-* > *-ḍ-* in OIA and MIA. So **tāḍa* and not *tāla* has to be taken as the older form in IA.

What is the usual Aryanisation of the *-ḷ-* sound of Dr.? **damīḷa* < ^{tamīḷ} Pali *damīḷa*; but Skt. *draviḍa*, *dramiḍa* suggests *-ḷ-* > *-ḍ-*. Tam. *śōḷa* is in Asokan inscriptions *cōḍa*. So *tāl* > *tāḍa* > *tāla*?





हस्तायुधकृते

मीमांसाशास्त्रसर्वस्वे

प्रथमाध्याये प्रथमः पादः ।



१ धर्मशास्त्रारम्भप्रतिज्ञाधिकरणम् ।

ॐ नमो गणेशाय ॥ इह खलु साङ्गवेदाध्ययनानन्तरं विचार-
कर्त्तव्यतार्थं गुरुगृहवासावसाननिवृत्तिं प्रतिपादयितुं जैमिनिना
आद्यसूत्रं प्रणीतम् । तत्र 'स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्य' इत्यनेन विहिताया
भावनाया भाव्याकाङ्क्षायां किं विश्वजिज्ञायात् स्वर्गः फलं,
उताचरादियहणद्वारा वाक्यार्थज्ञानमिति सन्देहः ।

तत्र यद्यप्यर्थज्ञानं दृष्टमुत्तरकर्मातुष्ठानोपयोगि च तथा-
ऽप्यध्ययनस्य तत्साधनत्वं मानान्तरसिद्धमिति स्वर्गाद्यर्थतैवाध्ययनस्य
युक्ता न चावघातादिविनियमविधिः^१ । नियमो^२ हि न ज्ञानस्वरूपे
प्रमाणान्तरविरोधात् नापि कल्पपूर्वः । अनारभ्य विहितस्याध्ययनस्य
श्रुत्याद्यभावेन कल्पनङ्गत्वात् । अवघातादीनां तु कल्पङ्गत्वात्
तत्साधनरूपे नियमो युक्तः । एवञ्च स्वर्गार्थाध्ययनात् न शब्द-
महिम्ना जायमानमपि ज्ञानं उपयुक्तमिति कदाचिद्विचारे
सम्भवत्यपि अध्ययनानन्तरमवश्यकर्त्तव्यता तस्येति पूर्वपक्षः ।

१ दृष्टफलमित्यर्थः ।

२ वाक्यार्थज्ञानम् ।

३ अध्ययनस्येति शेषः । यथा तण्डुलनिष्पत्तौ अवघातस्य नियमस्तथाऽर्थज्ञान-
ऽध्ययनस्य नियमविधिरस्तीति भावः ।

४ न हि ज्ञानस्वरूपे नियमः सम्भवति तस्य स्वतः सिद्धत्वात् इत्याह—नियमो
हीति ।

सिद्धान्तस्तु—दृष्टेऽप्यर्थज्ञानेऽध्ययनं नियम्यते । ज्ञानस्य हि उत्तरकर्मानुष्ठानाङ्गत्वे सामर्थ्यात् सिद्धे तदुद्देशेन^१ चाध्ययने विहिते तेनैव निराकाङ्क्षैरुत्तरक्रतुविधिभिर्वायान्तरानाद्येपे अध्ययन-जन्यज्ञाननियमस्यापशूद्राधिकरणे वक्ष्यमाणस्याध्ययनविधिप्रसाद-लभ्यतया विधिः साफल्यत् । तेनार्थज्ञानावसानमध्ययनविधिना विधीयत इति विचारं विना तदनुपपत्तेः । अध्ययनविधिरेव विचार-माचिपंस्तदिरुद्धमधीत्य स्वाद्यादिति स्मार्त्तस्नानं बाधत इति^२ ।

एवञ्च वेदाध्ययनानन्तरं यतोऽध्ययनमर्थज्ञानार्थमतो हेतोस्तदुप-योगिविचारफलिका धर्मजिज्ञासा कर्त्तव्येति—

अथातो धर्मजिज्ञासा ॥ १ ॥

प्रथमसूत्रार्थः । धर्मग्रहणमुपलक्षणम् । अधर्मस्यापि ज्ञानाय जिज्ञास्यत्वात् । जिज्ञासा च चतुर्धा—धर्मस्वरूपप्रमाणसाधन-फलविषयत्वात् ।

२ धर्मलक्षणाधिकरणम् ।

तत्र को धर्मः कथं लक्षणक इत्येवं जिज्ञासाविषयीकृतयोर्धर्म-स्वरूपविशेषप्रमाणयोर्निरूपणाय द्वितीयं सूत्रम्—

चोदनालक्षणोऽर्थो धर्मः ॥ २ ॥

यद्यपि^३ गोदोहनादिद्रव्यं यागादिक्रिया नीचैस्त्वादि^४ गुणश्च फलसाधनत्वात् धर्मशब्देनोच्यते न त्वपूर्वादय इति श्रेयस्करभाष्ये

१ अर्थोद्देशेन ।

२ अत्रानुरूपाः पङ्क्तयः शास्त्रदीपिकायां (४० ७ निर्णयसागरसंस्करणे) द्रष्टव्याः ।

३ अत्राद्यनुरूपाः पङ्क्तयः शास्त्रदीपिकायां (४० १७) द्रष्टव्याः ।

४ अनुदण्डादि ।

स्थितं तथापि तेषां^१ फलसाधनत्वेन रूपेण न प्रत्यक्षादिविषयत्वं
किन्तु चोदनैव तत्र प्रमाणमित्यर्थः । उक्तञ्च वार्त्तिके—

द्रव्यक्रियागुणादीनां धर्मत्वं स्थापयिष्यते ।

तेषामैन्द्रियकत्वेऽपि न तादृश्येण धर्मता ॥

अथःसाधनता ह्येषां नित्यं वेदात्मनीयते ।

तादृश्येण च धर्मत्वं तस्मान्नैन्द्रियगोचरः ॥

अथ प्रामाण्यविचारः ।

प्रामाण्यं तु स्वत एव, अप्रामाण्यं तु परतः । अपौरुषेये च
वेदे भ्रमप्रमादाद्यप्रामाण्यप्रयोजकं नास्त्येव । तत्र श्येनादौ लोके
धर्मव्यवहारदर्शनादेद्वोदितं अनिष्टाननुबन्धीष्टसाधनमेव धर्मः । व्यव-
हारानादरेण वाच्यलाघवे तु वेदवोदितेष्टसाधनमात्रम् । उक्तञ्च—

यदि येनेष्टसिद्धिः स्यादनिष्टाननुबन्धिना ।

तस्य धर्मत्वमिष्येत ततः श्येनादिवर्जनम् ॥

यदा तु चोदनागम्यः कार्य्यकार्य्यानपेक्षया ।

धर्मः प्रीतिनिमित्तं स्यात्तदा श्येनेऽपि धर्मता ॥ इति ॥

३ धर्मप्रमाणपरीक्षाधिकारणम् ।

तस्य निमित्तं परीष्टिः ॥ ३ ॥

तस्य धर्मस्य निमित्तं प्रमाणं चोदना तस्याः परीष्टिः परीक्षण-
मस्मिन् पादे क्रियते इत्यर्थः । दृष्टगतावित्यस्मात् ‘दृष्टेरनिष्कार्यस्य’^२
इति नित्ये युचि प्राप्ते ‘परैर्वे’^३ति^४ विकल्पात् पक्षे किन् ।

१ द्रव्यादीनामित्यर्थः ।

२ श्लोकवार्त्तिके, चोदनासूत्रम्, कारिका १३-१४ ।

३ व्यासश्रव्यो युच् ३-३-१०७ इति पाणिनीयसूत्रस्य वार्त्तिकं, संख्या २२२१ ।

४ पाणिनीयसूत्रवार्त्तिकं, सं० २२२४ ।

४ धर्मे प्रत्यक्षाद्यगम्यत्वाधिकरणम् ।

सत्संप्रयोगे पुरुषस्येन्द्रियाणां बुद्धिजन्म तत्प्रत्यक्ष-
मनिमित्तं विद्यमानोपलभ्यनत्वात् ॥ ४ ॥

चोदनैवेत्यस्यार्थस्य साधनाय प्रत्यक्षादीनामनिमित्तत्वमुच्यते ।
इन्द्रियाणां विद्यमानार्थसन्निकर्षे सति प्रत्यक्षमुत्पद्यते । असन्निकृष्टानां
जनकत्वे पक्षे त्वार्जवावस्थानमेव संप्रयोगशब्दार्थः । तथा च
वार्त्तिकम्^१—

सम्यगर्थं च संग्रहो दुष्प्रयोगो^२निवारणः ।

प्रयोग इन्द्रियाणाञ्च व्यापारो^३र्थेषु कथ्यते ॥

यदि वार्त्ता^४र्जवे स्थानं संप्रयोगो^५च वर्ण्यते ।

संख्यादीन् वा विनिर्जित्य प्राप्ति^६पक्षो^७च दूष्यताम् ।

तच्च^८ भाविस्वर्गजनकत्वे न प्रमाणं वर्त्तमानार्थग्राहित्वादित्यर्थः ।
इन्द्रियाणि तु घ्राणरसनचक्षुःश्रोत्रत्वङ्मनोभेदात् षट् । ओत्रं तु
कर्णशङ्कुत्ववच्छिन्ना दिक् “ दिशः ओत्र ” मिति दर्शनात् । मनस्तु
पृथिव्यादीनामेवान्यतमात्मकं तेभ्योऽन्यद्वा ? सर्वथा तावदस्ति मनः ।
तच्चात्मतद्गुणेष्वेव स्वतन्त्रं प्रवर्त्तते न बाह्येषु रूपादिष्वित्यर्थान्तर-
मित्युच्यते । तच्च^९ चक्षुरादिभिरपि घटादौ ग्राह्ये सहकारि अन्य-
मनस्केन रूपाद्यनुपलब्धेः । इन्द्रियजज्ञानच्चापरोचम् । ज्ञानजन्यो
हि विषयगतः फलविशेषोऽयम् । अपरोचं नाम सर्वस्य संवेद्यः ।
यद्भावाभावाभ्यां लिङ्गाभ्यां पश्यामि न पश्यामीतिव्यवहारः ।

१ स्तौकवा० प्रत्यक्षसूत्रं का० ३८, ४३ ।

२ आदर्शपुस्तके ‘दुष्प्रयोग’ इति पाठः ।

३ मुद्रितपुस्तके ‘प्राप्ति’ इति पाठः ।

४ प्रत्यक्षम् ।

५ मनः ।

अपरोक्षञ्च द्विविधम्—अविविक्तसामान्यविशेषविभागं सम्बन्धवस्तु-
मात्रगोचरमालोचनात्मकमेकम्, सविकल्पकञ्चापरम् । प्रत्यभिज्ञा
तु स्मृत्यनुभवरूपम् । तदुक्तं वार्त्तिके^१—

विविक्ता एव तेऽर्था हि^२ स्मृतिप्रत्यक्षगोचराः ।

‘एकमेव ज्ञानं संस्कारेन्द्रियाभ्यां जायमानमग्रे स्मरणमंशान्तरे
प्रत्यक्षमिति’ तद्ध्याख्यायां न्यायरत्नाकरः^३ ।

त्रैत्यत्तिकस्तु शब्दस्यार्थेन सम्बन्धस्तस्य ज्ञान-
मुपदेशोऽव्यतिरेकश्चार्थेऽनुपलब्धे तत्प्रमाणं बादराय-
णस्यानपेक्षत्वात् ॥ ५ ॥

प्रत्यक्षादीनां धर्मे प्रामाण्यनिरासेन चोदनैवेत्यवधारणस्य सिद्धौ
चोदना प्रमाणमेवेत्यस्य साधनार्थमिदं सूत्रम् । अस्मार्थः—
त्रैत्यत्तिकोऽनित्यः शब्दार्थसम्बन्धः तस्य धर्मस्य निमित्तं पूर्वसूत्रे
समासान्तर्गतो निमित्तशब्द इहातुष्यते । तथा च सम्बन्धकर्तृ-
निमित्तदोषशङ्का नास्तीति भावः । कथं धर्मे प्रमाणमित्यपेक्षायां
उपदेशो विधिज्ञानं ज्ञापको यत्र इत्युक्तम् । न च तत्र बाधक-
प्रत्यय इत्याह—अव्यतिरेकश्चेति । अनपेक्षत्वात् प्रमाणान्तरसम्बा-
दानपेक्षत्वात् । आह च—

उपदेशो हि भवति ज्ञानं तस्येति योज्यते ।

जायतेऽनेन तज्ज्ञानमेकाधिकरणत्वतः ॥

१ श्लोकवार्त्तिके, प्रत्यक्षसूत्रे २२० कारिका ।

२ तेऽर्थाच्चीत्यस्य स्थाने तेऽर्थार्थाः इति मुद्रितपुस्तकपाठः ।

३ (क) प्रत्यक्षसूत्रे २२० कारिकायाख्याने ।

(ख) जायमानमित्यतः परं ‘शब्दतत्सम्बन्धयोः स्मरणं, अर्थरूपे लिन्द्रिय-
सन्निकृष्टे प्रत्यक्षमिति पाठो मुद्रितपुस्तके ।

श्रौत्यन्तिकगिरा दोषः करणस्य हि वार्यते ।

अबाधोऽव्यतिरेकेण स्वतस्तेन प्रमाणता ॥

सर्वस्यानुपलब्धेऽर्थे प्रामाण्यं स्मृतिरन्यथा ।

चोदना चोपदेशश्च विधिसैकार्थवाचिनः^१ ॥

उपवर्षस्तु 'तस्य निमित्तं परीष्टि'रित्येवमादिसूत्रत्रयमष्टधा कृत्वा व्याचक्षाणः प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमाणानां धर्मे असामर्थ्यं वदन् प्रसङ्गात् प्रमाणाभासानपि व्युत्पादयामास । तत्र हेतुदोषास्त्रयः— असिद्धिरनैकान्तिको बाधश्चेति । असिद्धिः पञ्चधा—स्वरूपासिद्धिः, सम्बन्धासिद्धिः, व्यतिरेकासिद्धिः, आश्रयासिद्धिः, व्याप्त्यसिद्धिश्चेति । सर्वज्ञत्वपुष्पादिः स्वरूपासिद्धिः । पञ्चधर्मताविकलो द्वितीयः । पञ्चमात्रवृत्तिर्धर्मव्यतिरेकेणान्यत्रासत्त्वादव्यतिरेकासिद्धिरित्युच्यते । स्पष्टौ द्वौ । अनैकान्तिको द्विविधः—सव्यभिचारः, सप्रतिसाधनश्च । शब्दव्युत्पादनप्रसङ्गेन च वर्णानां वाचकता वाच्यस्य च गोत्वादि-सामान्यस्य साधनं तस्य व्यक्त्या सह भेदाभेदौ अवयवावयविनोर्गुण-गुणिनोश्चेत्यादिप्रपञ्चितम् । गुणेष्वयं विशेषः । घटः पटेन संयुक्तो न तु घटेनेति प्रतीतेर्घटनिष्ठः संयोगः पटनिष्ठाङ्गिणः पट-प्रतियोगिकश्च । परमते अन्योन्याभाववत् । रूपादयोऽपि कारण-गुणप्रक्रमेणावयविन्युत्पद्यन्त इति वैशेषिकादिप्रक्रिया नाभ्युपगम्यते रूपद्वयाप्रतीतेः । गुरुत्वाद्याधिकाभावाच्च । अवयवनिष्ठमेव रूपं तत्तादात्म्यापन्नेऽवयविन्यपि वर्तते । अत एव नानारूपसमाहार-श्चित्रम् । एतेन संयोगजसंयोगोऽपि निरस्तः । कर्म तु संयोग-विभागपरं परातिरेकेण नास्तीति यद्यपि भाष्यस्वरसस्तथापि

तदसमवायिकारणतया विप्रतिपन्नं प्रत्यनुमेयम् । वस्तुतः प्रत्यक्षमेव ।
भाष्यन्वन्यार्थकमिति वार्त्तिककाराः ।

आत्मा चानन्दरूपः, 'आनन्दं ब्रह्मेति' श्रुतेः । स च संसारे-
णाभिभूतत्वादिदानौ नोपलभ्यते । मुक्तस्य तु बाह्येन्द्रियनिवृत्तावपि
मनसोऽनुवृत्तेर्मानसप्रत्यक्षेण परमानन्दानुभवः । आह च—

निजं यत्त्वात्मचैतन्यं आनन्दश्लेथ्यते हि यः ।

यच्च नित्यविभुत्वादि तेनात्मा नैव मुच्यते ॥

यद्वा दुःखोच्छित्तिरेव मोक्षः । तथा च वार्त्तिकम्^१—

तस्मात्कर्मक्षयादेव हेत्वभावे न मुच्यते ।

न ह्यभावात्मकं मुक्त्वा मोक्षनित्यत्वकारणम् ॥

दिक् तु स्वरूपेण यद्यपि न प्रत्यक्षा तथाऽपि शब्दविशेषणतया
ओत्रग्राह्या, प्राच्यां शब्द इत्यनुभवात् ।

कालोऽपि घटादिविशेषणतया षडिन्द्रियवेद्यः ।

ध्वनयश्च वायुगुणाः संयुक्तादात्म्येन ओत्रग्राह्याः ।

वर्णास्तु नित्यविभवोऽपि संयोगेन ओत्रग्राह्याः । आनुपूर्वी तु
ध्वन्यौपाधिका । उक्तञ्च—

तद्देशेन च वर्णानां व्याप्तित्वेऽपि क्रमग्रहः ।

एवं ध्वनिगुणान् सर्वान् नित्यत्वेन व्यवस्थितान् ॥

वर्णा अनुपतन्तः स्वरर्थभेदावबोधकाः^२ ॥

एवञ्च क्रमरूपविशेषणानित्यत्वेऽपि वेदः प्रवाहनित्य एव । यद्यपि
वर्णानां प्रवाहनित्यतयापि सम्बन्धनित्यलोपपत्तिस्तथापि वस्तुगति-
मनुरुध्य कूटस्थत्वव्युत्पादनम् । आह च—

व्यक्त्यास्तित्कतो भेदो यद्यप्येकान्ततो भवेत् ।

वर्णेषु जैमिनेः पक्षस्तथापि न विरोत्यते^१ ॥

तस्माच्छब्दार्थयोर्नित्यत्वे तत्सम्बन्धोऽपि नित्यः । स च तत्तदर्थ-
ज्ञानानुकूलशक्तिरूपः । अन्यो वर्णो वाचक इति भाष्याच्चरम-
वर्णनिष्ठः । वार्त्तिकमते तु सर्ववर्णनिष्ठः । आह च—

अन्यवर्णोऽपि विज्ञाते सर्वसंस्कारकारितम् ।

स्मरणं यौगपद्येन सर्वेष्वन्ये प्रचक्षते^२ ॥

तदारूढास्ततो वर्णो न दूरेऽर्थावबोधनात्^३ ।

तस्मात्पदतदर्थसम्बन्धाय न पुरुषापेक्षेति स्थितम् ।

उत्पत्तौ वाऽवचनाः स्युरर्थस्यातन्निमित्तत्वात् ॥ २४ ॥

वाक्यार्थरूपे धर्मे पुरुषसंकेतापेक्षायां सापेक्षत्वादप्रामाण्यम् ।
तदनपेक्षायां तु वाक्यार्थबोध एव न सम्भवतीति निर्मूलो धर्म इति
प्राप्ते केचिदाहुः—

वाक्येनैव हि वाक्यार्थः साक्षादेवाभिधीयते ।

उपलक्षणतश्चास्य सम्बन्धग्रहणोद्भवः ॥

वाक्यं गोपदयुक्तं यत् तत्साक्षादिमदन्वितम् ।

वाक्यार्थं वदतीत्येवं व्युत्पत्तिः सुकरैव हि ॥

सत्यं व्युत्पत्तिरेवं स्यात् तथापि तु न वाक्यतः ।

वाक्यार्थावगतिर्युक्ता तिरोभावेऽपि दर्शनात् ॥

पूर्वभागेषु वाक्यस्य विस्मृत्यपि दृश्यते ।

वाक्यार्थावगतिः पुंसां पदार्थस्यतिशालिनाम् ॥

१ स्त्रो० वा० सू० ५ स्फोटवाद, कारिका ६३, प्र० ५२६ ।

२ 'पूर्व' इति पाठान्तरम् ।

३ स्त्रो० वा० स्फोटवाद, सू० ५ का० ११२ ।

४ स्त्रो० वा० स्फोटवाद, सू० ५ का० ११६ ।

तस्मात्पदोपस्थापितेभ्यः पदार्थेभ्यः एव लक्षणया वाक्यार्थप्रति-
पत्तिः । न त्वन्विते शक्तिरिति ।

वेदाँश्चैके सन्निकर्षे पुरुषाख्याः ॥ २७ ॥

वेदानां पौरुषेयं, वाक्यत्वात्, भारतादिवत् ।

काठकादिसमाख्यापि नित्यत्वे घटते न हि ॥

तस्मादुत्प्रेक्षासूत्रकत्वादप्रामाण्यमिति प्राप्ते आह सूत्रकारः—

उक्तन्तु शब्दपूर्वत्वमाख्या प्रवचनात्^१ ॥

अवश्यस्यार्थस्य कर्तुरस्मरणादभाव एव निर्णीयते । अन्यथा
हि मन्वादिरिव स्मर्येत । किञ्च—

वेदस्याध्ययनं सर्वं गुर्वध्ययनपूर्वकम् ।

वेदाध्ययनता साम्याद्यपेदानौत्तनं तथा^२ ॥

तदिदमाह—

उक्तन्तु शब्दपूर्वत्वमिति ॥ २८ ॥

शब्दः शब्दाध्ययनं काठकादिसमाख्या तु प्रवचननिमित्ता ।

तस्मादपौरुषेयत्वाच्चोदनानां प्रमाणताम् ।

चोदनेतिप्रतिज्ञार्थः पादेनानेन साधिता ॥

चोदनैवेत्यवधारणेन हि प्रत्यक्षादीनामप्रामाण्यं प्रतिज्ञातम् ।
तत्प्रत्यक्षसूत्रेण साधितम् । आत्यन्तिकस्त्वित्यादिना पादशेषेण तु
प्रमाणमेवेत्यंशः साधितः । उत्तरपादत्रयं तु जिज्ञासासूत्रोक्त्या को

१ सुद्रितपुस्तके एते द्वे सूत्रे । आख्या प्रवचनादित्यस्य द्वितीयत्वेन पाठः ।

२ स्तो० वा० अधिकरण ७ कारिका १६६ । अत्र द्वितीयपादे 'वेदाध्ययन-
वाचलादधुनाऽध्ययनं यथा' इति सुद्रितपुस्तकपाठः ।

धर्मः किं प्रमाणक इति प्रतिज्ञयैव संगच्छते । न चार्थवादादि-
प्रामाण्ये चोदनैवेति प्रतिज्ञाव्याकोपः । चोदनैकवाक्यतया चोदना-
भूलतया च प्रमाणीभवतां तेषां प्रत्यक्षादिवत्त्वातन्व्यविरहादिति
दिक् ॥

इति तर्कपादः ॥

अथ द्वितीयः पादः ।

१ अकार्यबोधकवाक्यप्रामाण्याधिकरणम् ।
आम्नायस्य क्रियार्थत्वादानर्थक्यमतदर्शानां
तस्मादनित्यमुच्यते ॥ १ ॥

वायुर्वै चेपिष्ठा देवतेत्यादिर्विषयः । धर्मे प्रमाणमप्रमाणं वेति-
संशयः ।

विधिभावनातदंशत्रयाप्रतिपादकत्वान्निराकाङ्क्षतया च विध्यैक-
वाक्यताविरहान्नैतद्धर्मे प्रमाणम् । तथा हि—

अर्थवादा निराकाङ्क्ष भूतार्थप्रतिपादनात् ।

विध्युद्देशः समाप्यन्ते विशिष्टार्थविधानतः ॥

सिद्धान्तसु—विधिना ह्येकवाक्यत्वात् सुत्यर्थेन विधीनां स्युः ।
स्वाध्यायविधिर्हि फलवदर्थपर्यवसानं कृतस्वस्य वेदस्य बोधयन्
प्राश्नस्यपरतया विनाऽर्थवादानां तदनुपपत्तेस्तत्र तात्पर्यं गमयति ।
विधिरपि पुरुषप्रवृत्तिप्रतिबन्धकीभूतालस्यभङ्गार्थं प्राश्नस्यज्ञानमपेक्षते
ततश्चोभयाकाङ्क्षया विध्यर्थवादयोरेकवाक्यत्वात् प्रमाणमर्थवादाः ।

तदुक्तम्—स्वाध्यायविधिना वेदः पुरुषार्थाय नीयते ।

सर्वस्तेनार्थवादानां प्राशस्त्येन प्रमाणता ॥ इति

एवञ्च पूर्वसूत्र एव मन्त्रनामधेययोरप्यप्रामाण्यं पूर्वपक्षीकृत्य
स्वाध्यायविधिवशादेवार्थवन्तया भवितव्यमिति साधारण्येन सिद्धा-
न्तयितव्यम् ॥

२ विधिवन्निगदाधिकरणम् ।

विधिर्वा स्यादपूर्वत्वाद्वादमात्रं ह्यनर्थकम् ॥ १६ ॥

‘त्रौडुम्बरो यूपो भवति ऊर्जा उडुम्बरः ऊर्कपशवः ऊर्जैवास्या
(स्मा) ऊर्जं पशूनाप्नोति ऊर्जोऽवरुध्यै’—इति विषयः ।

किमूर्जोऽवरुद्धा इति फलसुतार्थवाद इति सन्देहः ।

तत्र तादर्थ्यचतुर्था साध्यत्वं श्रुत्यैव लभ्यते प्रायश्चित्तं लक्षणया ।

न च मुख्यार्थसम्भवे लक्षणा युक्तेति फलविधिरयमिति पूर्वः पक्षः ।

वा -- सिद्धान्तस्तु—त्रौडुम्बरतायाः फले विधीयमानाया अनेनैव
वाक्येनाश्रयस्यापि समर्पणे वा भेदः न च दध्नेन्द्रियकामस्येत्यादा-
विव प्रकरणादाश्रयलाभः । पशुयागो हीह प्रकृतः । स चायोग्यः ।
फले विधीयमानो हि गुणी यत्र कारकतामापद्यते स आश्रयः यथा
होमो दध्नः । न चौडुम्बरता यागे कारकीभवितुं शक्नोति । पशु-
नियोजनं तु यद्यपि यूपद्वारेण योग्यं तथापि तत्सहैव यूपेनाप्रकृतम् ।
न च प्रकृतिवच्छब्देन तत्सन्निधिः । स हि प्राकृतमित्यन्भावं
सामान्येन सन्निधापयति । न तत्र यूपस्य स्वरूपेण विपरिवृत्तिः ।
सामान्यतस्तु जुह्वादीनामप्यस्तीति तेषामप्याश्रयत्वं स्यात् । तथा च
यूपग्रहणानर्थक्यम् । तत्र वाक्येनैवाश्रयसम्बन्धे तु वाक्यभेदः । तस्मा-
दौडुम्बरता यूपोद्देशेन विधीयते । ततः स्मृतिरियमूर्जोऽवरुद्धा इति ॥

३ हेतुवन्निगदाधिकरणम् ।

हेतुर्वा स्यादर्थवत्वोपपत्तिभ्याम् ॥ २६ ॥

‘शूर्पेण जुहोति तेन ह्यन्नं क्रियते’ इति विषयः ।

किं शूर्पेण होमे कर्त्तव्ये अन्नकरणता हेतुएतार्थवाद इति संशयः ।

तत्र हि शब्दश्रुत्या हेतुत्वं गम्यते । लक्षण्या तु प्राशस्त्यम् ।

अत एव च हेतुनिर्देशात् व्याप्तिमन्तरेणानुपपद्यमानात् व्याप्तिवचनं कल्प्यम्—येन येन अन्नं क्रियते तेन तेन होतव्यमिति । तेन व्याप्तिवचनेन सर्वान्नकरणविधायिना शूर्पस्यापि होमसाधनत्वसिद्धेः । शूर्पेण जुहोतीत्यत्र अनुवाद इति प्राप्तेऽभिधौयते—

शूर्पस्य तृतीया श्रुत्या करणत्वं गम्यते । न तदानुमानिकैर्दर्वी-
पिठरादिभिर्विकल्पितमर्हति । न च वेदेनोच्यमानं शूर्पस्य होम-
साधनत्वं हेतुमपेक्षते । अर्थवादस्त्वपेक्षितः प्ररोचनार्थम् । एवञ्चा-
प्रसिद्धव्याप्तिवचनकल्पनाक्लेशोऽपि न भविष्यति तस्मादर्थवादत्वम् ।

४ मन्त्रलिङ्गाधिकरणम् ।

तदर्थशास्त्रात् ॥ ३१ ॥

मन्त्रेष्विदानीं चिन्ता । तेषामानर्थक्यमाशङ्क्य स्वाध्यायविधि-
वशेनार्थवत्तेत्यवसितमेवाद्याधिकरणे कथितम् । तत्पर्यवसानाये-
दानीमर्थविशेषश्चिन्त्यते ।

तेषां क्लृप्तत्वं भवेत् किं दृष्टेनैवार्थप्रकाशनद्वारेण किं
वोच्चारणमात्रेणादृष्टं कुर्वतामिति संशयः ।

तत्र—

यदि दृष्टार्थतैव स्यान्मन्त्रान्नानमनर्थकम् ।

प्रत्यायनाददृष्टं चेत्तद्वोच्चारणतो वरम् ॥

इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

यस्य दृष्टं न लभ्येत स्यात्तस्यादृष्टकल्पना ।

अनुष्ठेयस्य तेऽप्येह मन्त्रोच्चारणमन्त्रवत् ॥

स्मरणञ्च प्रयोगार्थं प्रयोगाच्च फलोदयः ।

एवं दृष्टार्थतालाभाच्चादृष्टपरिकल्पना ॥

इति मीमांसाशास्त्रसर्वस्वे प्रथमस्याध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ।

अथ तृतीयः पादः ।



१ अथ स्मृतिप्रामाण्याधिकरणम् ।

धर्मस्य शब्दमूलत्वादशब्दमनपेक्षः^१ स्यात् ॥ १ ॥

स्मृत्याचाराणां धर्मे प्रामाण्यसुत नेति संशयः ।

तत्र—

प्रायेणानृतवादित्वात् पुंसां भ्रान्त्यादिसम्भवात् ।

चोदनानुपलब्धेऽप्यश्रद्धामात्रात्प्रमाणता ॥

इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमहे—

वैदिकैः स्मर्यमाणत्वात् तत्परिग्रहदार्ढ्यतः ।

सम्भाव्यवेदमूलत्वात् स्मृतीनां स्यात्प्रमाणता^२ ॥

कथं तर्हि मूलभूतश्रुत्यनुपलभिरिति चेत्—

१ 'अनपेक्षे' इति शास्त्रदीपिकाधृतः पाठः ।

२ 'वेदमूलता' इति शास्त्रदीपिकाधृतः पाठः ।

उच्यते—

शाखानां विप्रकीर्णत्वात् पुरुषाणां प्रमादतः ।

नानाप्रकरणस्थत्वात्सृष्टेर्मूलं न दृश्यते^१ ॥

२ श्रुतिप्राबल्याधिकरणम् ।

विरोधे त्वनपेक्ष्यं स्यादसति ह्यनुमानम् ॥ ३ ॥

सृष्टिप्रामाण्यमुत्सृष्टं प्रसक्तं सर्वगोचरम् ।

सति वेदविरुद्धत्वे तदिदानीमपोद्यते^२ ॥

प्रत्यक्षश्रुतिविरुद्धाः सृष्टीरुदाहृत्य चिन्त्यते—प्रमाणमप्रमाणमेति ?

तत्र—पूर्वाधिकरणन्यायेन प्रमाणमिति पूर्वपक्षः ।

न च प्रत्यक्षश्रुतिविरोधात् स्मार्त्तश्रुतिकल्पना नवकृतिः ।

ब्रौह्मादिवदुभयसम्भवात् । तदुक्तम्—

परस्परविरुद्धत्वं श्रुतीनां न भवेद्यदि ।

सृष्टेः श्रुतिविरुद्धायास्ततो मूलान्तरं भवेद्^३ ॥

राद्धान्तस्तु—

स्वातन्त्र्येण प्रमाणत्वं सृष्टेस्तावन्न संमतम् ।

वेदमूलानुमानञ्च प्रत्यक्षेण विरुध्यते^४ ॥

यत्तुभयसम्भवादिति तन्न अष्टदोषदुष्टविकल्पापत्तेः । स हि

ब्रौह्मिवयोरगत्यास्वीकृतः ।

न हि तत्रैकरूपत्वे चिह्नं किञ्चिद्भवस्थितम् ।

येनैकत्र प्रमाणत्वं स्यादन्यत्राप्रमाणात्^५ ॥

१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ७६ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ८१ ।

३ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ८४ ।

४ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ८७ ।

५ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ९१ ।

श्रुतिस्मृत्योः पुनः स्पष्टं व्यवस्थाकारणद्वयम् ।

येन श्रुतेः प्रमाणत्वं स्यात्स्मृतेश्चाप्रमाणा^१ ॥

३ दृष्टमूलकस्मृत्यप्रामाण्याधिकरणम् ।

हेतुदर्शनाच्च ॥ ४ ॥

‘वैसर्जनक्षोभीयं वासोध्वर्युर्गृह्णाति,’ ‘यूपहस्तिनो दानमा-
चरन्ति’ इत्यादि प्रमाणमप्रमाणं वेति संशये श्रुतिविरोधाभावात्
प्रमाणमिति प्राप्तौ—

उच्यते—

लोभाख्यस्य हेतोर्दर्शनात् नात्र श्रुतिमूलानुमा ।

उपपन्नतरच्चैतदेवाक्यानुमानतः ।

दृष्टे हि सत्यदृष्टस्य कल्पना निष्प्रामाणिका^२ ॥

अतः श्रुतिविरुद्धं दृष्टकारणञ्च स्मरणमप्रमाणम् । अन्यत्तु
प्रमाणमिति स्थितम् ॥

आचार्यास्तु—अनन्तशाखाप्रभेदभिन्नस्य वेदस्यास्मदादिभिः कात्स्न्यै-
नानुपलम्भात् स्मृतिमूलवेदाभावो निश्चेतुमशक्यः ।

तेनात्र यदि वा कर्मप्रयोगोऽयं निरूप्यते ।

यदि वा बाध्यमानत्वमुक्तं बाह्यं स्मृतीः प्रति^३ ॥

एतद्विजैमिनिना हितोपदेशिना जिज्ञासुभ्यः प्रतिपाद्यते ।

यावदेकं श्रुतौ कर्म स्मृतौ वान्यत्रतीयते ।

तावत्तयोर्विरुद्धत्वे श्रुतानुष्ठानमिष्यते^४ ॥

१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, प्र० ९२ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, प्र० १०४ ।

३ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, प्र० ११२ ।

४ कारिकेयं शास्त्रदोषिकाधामपि (प्र० २६) यथा चाङ्गरित्यादिना उद्धृता ;
तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, प्र० ११२ ।

‘अणुरपि विशेषः’^१ इति न्यायात् ।

अतश्चैवं अतिस्थित्योर्विशेषोऽनेन दर्शयते ।

नात्यन्तमेव बाध्यत्वं न चाप्यत्यन्ततुल्यता^२ ॥

‘यद्वा चान्येतानि त्रयोविद्भिर्न परिगृहीतानि सांख्ययोग-
पाञ्चरात्रपाशुपतशाक्यनिर्गन्थनिर्मितानि धर्मशास्त्राभासानि तेषा-
मनेनाप्रामाण्यं, पूर्वोक्तसूत्रोक्तकर्त्तृसामान्यप्रत्युदाहरणत्वेन प्रामाण्यं
प्रत्यक्षसूत्रे निराकृतम् । मन्वादिवदेव वेदमूलतया प्रामाण्यमिति
तु इह निराक्रियते ।

सिद्धान्तस्तु—अविच्छिन्नवैदिकपरिग्रहानुपपत्त्या हि मन्वादि-
स्थितित्वनुपलभ्यमानोऽपि वेदः मूलत्वेन कल्पितः । शाक्यादिष्विद-
मत्यन्तविपरीतं अवैदिकप्रमाणञ्चेत्येव शिष्टानां स्मरणम् । वेद-
विद्वेषिण एव च तेषां प्रमाणत्वं मनुते । दृष्टानुसारिणी च कल्पना
न तद्विपरीत्येन । अतोऽत्र वेदकल्पना दवीयसी । अतोऽप्रामाण्यमेव
तेषामिति^३ ।

४ पदार्थप्राबल्याधिकरणम् ।

शिष्टाकोपेऽविरुद्धमिति चेन्न, शास्त्र-

परिमाणत्वात्^४ ॥ ५ ॥ ई ॥

‘आचान्तेन कर्त्तव्यं’ ‘यज्ञोपवीतिना कर्त्तव्य’मित्येवमादीनि
क्रत्वार्थाङ्गस्मरणानि प्रमाणमप्रमाणं वेति संग्रहः ।

१ ‘अणुरपि विशेषोऽध्यवसायकरः’ इत्येष न्यायः ।

२ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ११४ ।

३ यथाः पङ्क्तयः शास्त्रदीपिकायामुपलभ्यन्ते, पृ० २७ निर्ययसागर ।

४ अत्र सूत्रद्वयमेकत्र पठितम् ।

तच्च—

श्रुत्युक्तानां क्रमादीनां स्मार्त्तैराचमनादिभिः ।

व्याकोपः स्यादतस्तावद्विष्यष्टैव विरोधिता ॥

ततः श्रुतिबलीयस्त्वात् स्मृतेः स्यादप्रमाणाता ।

पूर्वभाविप्रमाणस्थं प्रमेयस्याद्वलावलात् ॥

ज्यायस्तेनैव निर्णीते न पश्चादितरादरः ।

नैराकाङ्क्षात् प्रमादृणामतः स्मृत्यर्थबाधनम्^१ ॥

‘वेदं हत्वा वेदिं करोतीति’ क्रमः । कालश्च यः प्रधाने-
नाङ्गानामविप्रकर्षः प्रयोगप्राशुभावश्च प्रयोगवचनावगतः । यश्च
पूर्वाह्नादिः । परिमाणञ्चाविस्मृतसमस्तपदार्थानुष्ठानसिद्ध्यर्थं प्रयोग-
विधिनैराकाङ्क्षितं पदार्थविधिप्रचयावगतम् । तत्तितयमपि क्रम-
कालपरिमाणात्मकं प्रयोगमध्येऽनुष्ठायमानैराचमनादिभिरन्यथात्वं
प्रतिपद्यते । विरोधे च श्रुतिबलीयस्त्वात् स्मार्त्तस्याचमनादेर्बाधः ।
न च श्रुत्यर्थत्वेऽपि पदार्थगुणत्वात् क्रमादेर्दौर्बल्यम् । पूर्वभावि-
प्रमाणबलावलाचिन्तयैव निराकाङ्क्षात् । *पश्चादवगतं प्रमेयबला-
बलस्थानादर्त्तव्यत्वात् । तस्मादाचमनादिस्मृतीनामप्रामाण्यमिति
पूर्वपक्षः ।

सिद्धान्तस्तु—

पदार्थप्राप्त्यपेक्षत्वात् क्रमादेरविरोधिता ।

विरोधेऽपि च दौर्बल्यं पदार्थभ्यो गुणत्वतः ॥

१ शास्त्रदीपिकायामुद्धृताः कारिकाः ।

२ वेदो नाम दर्भमयं सप्तार्जनसंवाधनम् ।

३ वेदिराक्षवनीयगार्हपत्यमध्यवर्तिनी चतुरङ्गुलखाता भूमिरिति साधवः ।

४ अत्रापि शास्त्रदीपिकानुरूपाः पङ्क्तयो द्रष्टव्याः ।

सर्वेषु हि पदार्थेषु प्रबलदुर्बलश्रुतिसमाख्याप्रमाणकेषु प्राप्तेषु प्रयोगवेलायां तद्विशेषणतया क्रम आश्रीयते । तेन स्मार्त्तपदार्थान्तर्भावैव तत्तृप्तिः । एवं यावन्तः पदार्था अवधारितास्तेषामेव पूर्वाह्लादिकालसम्बन्धः प्रधानसन्निकर्षः प्रयोगप्राशुभावश्च कल्प्यते । परिमाणन्तु न कस्य चिच्छब्दस्यार्थः । तथात्वेऽपि वा प्रयोज्यपदार्थप्राप्त्यपेक्षत्वात् पाश्चात्यमेवेति न स्मार्त्तानां श्रुतिविरोधः । सत्यपि वा विरोधे क्रमादीनां पदार्थगुणत्वादौर्बल्यम् । आचमनादीनां तु पदार्थत्वात् प्राबल्यम् ।

यत्तु प्रमाणबलाबलं पूर्वभावीति तन्न, स्वरूपेण प्रमाणयोर्विरोधात् प्रमेयविरोधद्वारको हि प्रमाणविरोधः । तथा च यदैव प्रमेययोर्विरोधो गम्यते तदैव तयोर्बलाबलमपीति तत एव निर्णये जाते नैराकाङ्क्षात् प्रमाणबलाबलमनादर्त्तव्यमिति तस्मादाचमनादिस्थतीनां अवाधात् प्रामाण्यम् ।

आचार्यास्तु—“यज्ञोपवीतादेः प्रत्यक्षश्रुतिविहितत्वेनानुदाहरणत्वाच्चेदमधिकरणान्तरं किन्तु पूर्वोक्तशाक्यादिग्रन्थाप्रामाण्यमेवाक्षिप्य समाधीयते । यद्वि तेष्वाहिंसादिवचनं श्रुतिस्थितिविशिष्टं न कोपयति तत्प्रमाणं भवत्विति चेत्—

न, शास्त्रपरिमाणत्वात् ॥ ई ॥

न खलु येन केनचित्प्रमितो धर्मः फलं साधयति ।

पुराणन्यायमीमांसाधर्मशास्त्राङ्गमिश्रिताः ।

वेदाः स्थानानि विद्यानां धर्मस्य च चतुर्दश ॥

इत्यादिपरिगणितैरेव धर्मप्रमितेर्नियमात्^१ ।

“यत्तु तृतीयं सूत्रम्—

अपि वा कारणाग्रहणे प्रयुक्तानि प्रतीयेरन् ॥ ७ ॥

तदधिकरणान्तरम्^१ ।

अत्र वसन्तोत्सवादयः प्रमाणमप्रमाणं वेति संशयः ।

“तत्र स्रुत्यधिकरणे कर्त्तृसामान्यादाचाराणां स्रुतिवत्प्रति-
पादितमपि प्रामाण्यं निर्निबन्धनतया^२” वसिष्ठविश्वामित्रादीनां
महतामपि “व्यतिक्रमदर्शनाच्चाक्षिप्य समाधीयते ।

यदि वसन्तोत्सवादयोऽष्टकादिवद्देमूलकाः स्रुततत्त्वदेव मन्वा-
दिभिर्निबन्धेरन्^३” । तथा वसिष्ठस्य पुत्रशोकार्त्तस्य जलप्रवेश-
रूपात्मत्यागे विश्वामित्रस्य च चाण्डाल्या जले प्रवृत्तिदर्शनात्
कथमर्वाचीनानामाचारे विस्मयः । तस्माद्भ्रान्त्यादिमूलत्वात् अप्रमाण-
माचार इति पूर्वः पक्षः ।

राङ्गान्तस्तु—धर्मबुद्ध्या वैदिकैरनुष्ठानमसति वेदमूलकत्वेऽनुप-
पन्नम् । व्यतिक्रमस्तु रागद्वेषनिबन्धनो न तु धर्मबुद्धिनिबन्धनः ।
मन्वादिभिस्तु लाघवार्थं शृङ्गग्राहिकतया तत्तदाचाराननुप-
निबन्धद्भिरपि शिष्टाचारः प्रमाणमिति सामान्यात्मनोपनिबद्धमेव ।
तस्मात् स्रुतिवदाचाराणामपि धर्मे प्रामाण्यम्^४ ।

५ शास्त्रप्रसिद्धपदार्थप्रामाण्याधिकरणम् ।

तेष्वदर्शनाद्विरोधस्य समा विप्रतिपत्तिः स्यात्^५ ॥ ८ ॥

‘यवमयश्चरुर्भवति,’ ‘वाराहो उपानहौ,’ ‘वैतसे कटे प्राजा-

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ६०-६१ ।

२-४ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ६१ ।

५ तेष्वदर्शनाद्विरोधस्येत्येवमुपक्रमं वा सूत्रमिति तन्त्रवार्त्तिककाराः, पृ० १४५ ।

पत्यान् सञ्चिनोती'ति श्रूयते । तत्र यववराहवेतसशब्दाः किं प्रियङ्गुवायसजम्बूनां वाचकाः, किं वा दीर्घशूकसूकरवज्जुलाना-
मिति शिष्टानामेव मिथोऽभिधानविप्रतिपत्तिः सन्देहः ।

अविशेषादुभयार्थतेति प्राप्तेऽभिदध्ने—वाक्यशेषाद्दीर्घशूकादय
एव वाच्याः । 'यवमतीभिरङ्गिर्वौडुम्बर्थाः प्रोक्षणे विधीयमाने
वाक्यशेषोऽयम्' ।

‘यत्रान्या औषधग्लानिः सर्वासामेव मोदनात्’ ।

एवं वराहवेतसशब्दावपि ‘वराहं गावोऽनुधावन्ति,’ ‘अप्पुजो
वेतस’ इति वाक्यशेषान्निर्णीयते ।

आचार्यास्तु—

“नैवोच्यन्ते क्वचिद्देशे यवश्रुत्या प्रियङ्गवः ।

जम्बूं न वेतसं प्राङ्गर्वराहं नापि वायसम्” ॥

अधारोप्य विचारेण किं मुधा खिद्यते मनः ।

सन्दिग्धेषु च सर्वेषु वाक्यशेषेण निर्णयम्” ॥

वक्ष्यत्येव न तेनापि पृथक्कार्या विचारणा ।

तस्मादन्यदुदाहृत्य विचार्यमिदमौदृशम्” ॥

यत्र विप्रतिपत्तिः स्थादार्थस्तेऽप्रसिद्धिजा” ।

तत्र किं तुल्यता युक्ता किमेकैव बलीयसी” ॥

१ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० १४७ ।

२ ‘यत्रान्या औषधयो ह्यायन्ते, अथैते मोदमाना इवोत्तिष्ठन्ति’ इति श्रूयते ;
तन्त्रवार्तिके—

पाखान्नेऽन्यौषधीनां तु जायते पचशततनम् ।

मोदमानास्तु तिष्ठन्ति यथाः कणिशशास्त्रिनः ॥ पृ० १४८ ।

३ कुमारिलभट्टाचार्यास्तु ।

४-६ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० १४८ ।

७ प्रयोगेनेति सूत्रपुस्तकपाठः ।

८ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० १४८ ।

तत्र पूर्वः पक्षः—

“ आर्यास्तावद्विशिष्यैरन्नदृष्टार्थेषु कर्मसु ।
दृष्टार्थेषु तु तुल्यत्वमार्थस्तेऽच्छप्रयोगिणाम् ॥
तस्मात् पीत्वादिशब्दानां वृत्तहत्यादिबोधने ।
समा विप्रतिपत्तिः स्यादार्थस्तेऽच्छप्रयोगतः^१ ” ॥

राङ्गान्तस्तु—

प्रतिपादकतामात्रं स्तेऽच्छेष्यवगम्यते ।
अविश्रुतस्तु शब्दार्थः शिष्टेष्वेवावधार्यते^२ ॥

न तावदनेकार्थत्वं गौरवात् । “ शब्दप्रयोगेऽप्यन्यतरस्याप्यनव-
धारणेन कदा चित्कस्य चिदुपादानेऽष्टदोषदुष्टविकल्पापत्तेः^३ । तत्र
यद्यणुरपि विशेषो नावधार्यते तदा गत्यभावात् द्वयोरप्यभिधेयता
स्यात् । अस्ति त्वभियुक्तानभियुक्तयोर्विशेषः । शास्त्रस्या हि शब्दैक-
समधिगम्यधर्माधर्माविश्रुतिलिप्तया शब्दार्थतत्त्वं निगमनिरुक्त्याकर-
णादिभिर्विविच्य परिपालयन्ति । स्तेऽच्छास्तु दृष्टार्थव्यवहारस्य
यथाकथंचित् सिद्धेः प्रयोजनाभावात् नाविश्रुतिसिद्धौ यतन्ते ”^४ ।
तस्मादार्थप्रसिद्धिरेव बलीयसीति ।

१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० १४६ ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिकाकारिणाप्युद्धृतं कारिका, पृ० ६३ ।

३ इति वृत्तयोश्च द्वयोरप्यर्थत्वकल्पनानन्तरं पौलुशब्दप्रयोगे यदा हस्ती गृह्यते
तदा वृत्तार्थत्वप्राप्तकं यत्प्रमाणं तस्य प्राप्तप्रामाणपरित्यागः अप्राप्ताप्रामाणस्वीकारश्चेति
दोषद्वयम् । पुनः प्रयोगे यदा वृत्तो गृह्यते तदा वृत्तार्थताप्राप्तकप्रमाणस्यैव परित्यक्त-
प्रामाणस्वीकारः स्वीकृताप्रामाणपरित्याग इति दोषद्वयमित्येवं चलारो दोषाः । तथा
हस्यर्थताप्राप्तकप्रमाणस्य प्राप्तप्रामाणपरित्यागः अप्राप्ताप्रामाणस्वीकार इति दोषद्वयं,
पुनः प्रयोगे यदा हस्ती गृह्यते तदा हस्यर्थताप्राप्तकप्रमाणस्य स्वीकृताप्रामाण-
परित्यागः परित्यक्तप्रामाणस्वीकारश्चेति एवं पर्यायत्रयेणैकैकस्मिन्प्रमाणे चलारश्चलारो
दोषाः इत्यष्टदोषदुष्टविकल्पापत्तिरिति मयूखमालिका, पृ० ६३ ।

४ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ६३ ।

यद्वा यत्र मातुलदुहितपरिणयनादिषु स्रुत्याचारयोर्विरोधस्तत्र किं तुल्यकचत्वमुत स्रुतीनां बलीयस्त्वमिति संशयः ।

तत्र—

“यथैव श्रुतिमूलत्वात् स्मरणानां प्रमाणता ।

आचाराणां तथैवेति न विशेषो बलाबले^१” ॥

एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“सप्रत्ययप्रणीता हि स्रुतिः सोपनिबन्धना ।

तथा श्रुत्यनुमानं हि निर्विघ्नमुपलभ्यते^२ ॥

आचारात्तु स्रुतिं ज्ञात्वा श्रुतिर्विज्ञायते ततः ।

तेन ह्यन्तरितं तस्य प्रामाण्यं विप्रकथ्यते^३” ॥

‘प्रत्ययिततरा हि मन्वादयः स्मर्तारः । तत्स्मरणं गुणवत्तर-
कर्तृकत्वेनेतरजनचारिद्यादिसम्भणौघतरम् ।

किञ्च आचरितृणां जनानां स्वयमितस्ततो विप्रकीर्णपरप्रकर-
णादिगतश्रुत्युद्धरणेनार्थं प्रतिपत्तुं सामर्थ्याभावाद्दृश्यमेते महर्षिभि-
रेव ज्ञात्वा स्रुत्वा समर्पितमर्थमनुतिष्ठन्तीत्यङ्गीकार्यम् । अत-
श्चाचारस्य स्रुतिकल्पनेन श्रुतिकल्पकत्वमिति ह्यन्तरितं प्रामाण्यम् ।

अपि च कर्मस्वरूपमात्रमाचारेषु प्रत्यक्षम्, कर्त्तव्यता तु
सुखादिहेतुवन्तरमालोच्य परिशेषात् कल्या । पञ्चान्मूलभूतश्रुति-
कल्पनम् । स्रुतिषु तु द्रागेव ग्रन्थतः कर्त्तव्यतावगतौ सत्यां मूलमात्रं
कल्प्यमिति महानविशेषः । न चात्र विकल्पः । वस्तुनि तद-

१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० १५० ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिकायान्तु कारिकायास्तत्तार्थान्वित्यं पश्यते ‘तस्यास्तेन बलीयस्त्व-
माचारान्निर्निबन्धनात्’ । ‘उपजायते’ इति मूलपुस्तकपाठः ।

३ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० १५० ।

सम्भवात् । न हि मातुलदुहित्परिणयनं प्रत्यवायं जनयति चेति
सम्भवति । तस्मात् गृह्यमाणकादिहेतुन्तरस्याचारस्यैवाप्रामाण्यम् ।

अथ वा^१ ”

“ चितृचर्वाश्वबालादेर्लोकेऽन्योर्थः प्रतीयते ।

वेदे तदभियुक्तैश्च तस्मादन्यो विलक्षणः ॥

यथा चितृच्छब्दस्य लोके त्रिगुणत्वमर्थः चितृद्रज्जुरिति, वेदे तु
‘चितृद्वहिष्यवमान’मित्युक्त्वा तृचत्रयस्यानुक्रान्तत्वात् स्तोत्रीयानव-
कमर्थः । चरुशब्दस्यापि लोके स्थाली वाच्या, वेदे त्वा‘दित्यः
प्रापणीयश्चरु’रित्युक्त्वा ‘अदितिमोदनेने’तिवचनादोदनोर्थः । एव-
‘माश्वबालः प्रस्तर’ इति लोकप्रसिद्ध्या अश्वजातीयबालमय इति
गम्यते । वाक्यशेषात्तु काशमयः । ‘ऐक्ष्यौ विधृती’ इतीच्छवय-
वात्मिके लोकात् । वाक्यशेषात्तु काशमूलके^२ ” ।

“ तत्र लोकवाक्यशेषयोस्तुल्यवत्त्वमुत वाक्यशेषस्या प्रतीति-
र्बलीयसीति संशयः ।

तत्र—

पदार्थपदसम्बन्धे तुल्यत्वं लोकवेदयोः ।

अदृष्टसाधनत्वे हि लोकाद्देदोऽतिरिच्यते^३ ” ॥

तस्माद्विकल्पेनार्थद्वयं ग्राह्यमिति पूर्वः पक्षः ।

“ सिद्धान्तस्तु—

वाक्यैकत्वं विधिस्तुत्योर्विषयैक्यादृते न हि ।

तेनात्र वाक्यशेषस्या प्रतिपत्तिर्बलीयसी ॥

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० २४ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० १५२-१५३ ; शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० २५ ।

३ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० २५ ।

तस्माद्यत्र वाक्यशेषः त्रिवृद्वह्निष्वपमानमित्यादिषु तत्र तावत्त-
दनुगुण एवार्थः समाश्रयणीय इति तावदिह स्थितम् । यत्र तु
वाक्यशेषो नास्ति त्रिवृदग्निष्टुदग्निष्टोम इत्यादिषु तत्रापि रुदि-
वशाद्यमेवार्थ इति दशमे वक्ष्यते । चरुशब्दोऽपि स्थाल्यां
लाक्षणिकः । तेनासत्यपि वाक्यशेषे 'सौर्यं चरु'मित्यादावोदन-
वचनत्वमेवेति दशमे वक्ष्यते । न च 'सन्दिग्धेषु वाक्यशेषा'दित्य-
नेन गतार्थत्वम् । इह वाक्यशेषात्प्रागर्थान्तरं निर्णीतं वाक्यशेषेण
बाध्यते न तु प्रथमं सन्दिग्धं तेन निर्णीयत इति^१ ।

ई स्नेच्छप्रसिद्धार्थप्रामाण्याधिकरणम् ।

चोदितं तु प्रतीयेताविरोधात् प्रमाणेन ॥ १० ॥

“ये शब्दा न प्रसिद्धाः स्वरार्यावर्त्तनिवासिनाम् ।

तेषां स्नेच्छप्रसिद्धोऽर्थः किं^२ ग्राह्यो नेति चिन्थते^३ ॥

पिक-नेम-सत-तामरसशब्दा हि आर्याणामप्रसिद्धार्थकाः,
स्नेच्छानां तु कोकिलादिषु प्रसिद्धाः । तत्र यदि स्नेच्छप्रसिद्धि-
रप्रमाणमेव ततो निरुक्तादिवशेनार्थः कल्प्यः । अथ सा प्रमाणं तर्हि
सैव गृहीयते ।

तत्र—

“निरुक्त्याक्रियाद्वारा प्रतिपत्तिर्बलीयसी ।

शास्त्रस्था वेत्यनेनासौ कल्यापि हि बलीयसी^४” ॥

स्नेच्छा हि दृष्टार्थव्यवहारित्वात् न शब्दार्थाविज्ञवे यतन्ने तस्मा-

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० २५-२६ ।

२ बूलपुस्तके 'किं' इत्यस्य न पाठः ।

३ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० १५५ ।

४ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० १५६ ।

क्षेत्रेषु प्रसिद्धोऽप्यर्थो न विस्मयणीयः । निरुक्तादिद्वारेण तु अर्थ-
वत्ताकल्पने तेषामप्यर्थवत्ता भविष्यतीति पूर्वः पक्षः । उच्यते—

“ पदानि तावदेतानि वेदादिष्वेव दर्शनात् ।

अविज्ञुतानि तेषाञ्च भाव्यमर्थन केन चित्^१” ॥

स च स्नेच्छप्रसिद्धोऽपि गृह्यते ।

“ आर्यैः सहाविरुद्धत्वात् तस्य तैरप्यपेक्षणात्^२” ।

यत्तु ‘शास्त्रस्था बलीयसी’^३ति तन्न ।

“ प्रसिद्धौ विद्यमानायां तद्वलीयस्त्वभिष्यते ।

असत्यां तु बलीयस्त्वं बन्ध्यासुतबलोपम्^४” ॥

निरुक्तादिप्रसिद्धिस्तु—

“ विहिता बद्धरूपा च या सन्देहप्रवर्तिनी ।

अनन्योपायतामाचे कचिदेव ग्रहीष्यते^५” ॥

तस्मान्स्नेच्छप्रसिद्ध एव पिक इति कोकिलः ।

नेमोऽर्धम् । सत इति दारुमयपात्रम्, वर्तुलं शतच्छिद्रम् ।

तामरसं पद्मम् । इत्येवमादिरर्थो ग्राह्यः ।

७ कल्पसूत्राणामस्वतःप्रामाण्याधिकरणम् ।

प्रयोगशास्त्रमिति चेत् ॥ ११ ॥

“ कल्पसूत्राण्युदाहृत्य संप्रत्येतद्विचार्यते ।

किमेतेषां स्वतन्त्राणां प्रामाण्यं वेदवद्भवेत् ॥ १ ॥

१ शास्त्रदीपिकायामुद्धृतेयं कारिका ।

२ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० १५८ ।

३ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० १५८ ।

४ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० १५८ ।

५ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० १६० । अत्र ‘प्रवर्तिनी’त्यस्य स्थाने ‘प्रदायिनी’ति मुद्रित-

किम्वा वेदत्वमेवैषां मन्त्रब्राह्मणवन्मतम् ।

वैदिकार्थप्रबन्धाद्धि नैतेषां स्थितितुल्यता ॥ २ ॥

सिद्धरूपः प्रयोगो यैः कर्मणामनुगम्यते ।

ते कल्पा लक्षणार्थानि सूत्राणीति प्रचक्षते^१ ॥ ३ ॥

अथवा मन्वादिस्मृतयोऽप्यत्रोदाहरणम् । यदा अङ्गान्यत्रोदा-
हरणम् । शाक्यादिग्रन्था वा । “तदेतानि चत्वार्यपि विचार-
स्थानानि समानन्यायानि सह विचार्यन्ते—किमेषां स्वातन्त्र्येण
प्रामाण्यं नवेति^२” तत्र शाक्यादिव्यतिरिक्तानां प्रामाण्यं तावद्वगीत-
मेव । तत्किमेषामेवापौरुषेयत्वं वेदत्वं वा कल्प्यं उत वेदमूलकत्व-
मिति संग्रहे—

“वेदं हि कल्पयित्वैभ्यः पुनस्तस्यापि नित्यता ।

वक्तव्यैव वरं तेन सा तेज्येवावधारिता ॥ ४ ॥

सिद्धानां नित्यतैवैका सुबोधा वेदतापि वा^३” ।

शाक्यादिग्रन्थेभ्योऽप्यवगतिस्त्वावज्जायते सा च स्वतः प्रमाणम् ।
न च तेषां पौरुषेयत्वम् ।

“येनैवाकृतकत्वं हि वेदस्य प्रतिपाद्यते ॥ ५ ॥

न्यायेन तेन शाक्यादिग्रन्थस्यापि भविष्यति^४” ।

शुद्धवाक्यसमाख्यापि प्रवक्तृत्वे निबन्धना ॥ ६ ॥

तच्छिष्टत्वनिमित्ता वा काठकाङ्गिरसादिवत् ।

तदुक्तैः (तान्) शाक्यैः—यथोत्पादाद्वा तथागतानामनुत्पादाद्वा
स्थितैवैषा धर्मनित्यतेति । उत्पादिति प्रवाहनित्यत्वमभिप्रेत्य

१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० १६१ ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० २८ ।

३ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० १६६ ।

४ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० १६८ ।

अनुत्पादादिति कूटस्थनित्यत्वम् । तथागता बौद्धाः । तस्मात्
स्वातन्त्र्यममीषामिति प्राप्तावाचक्षहे—

“ नैतेषां पौरुषेयाणां स्वातन्त्र्यमुपपद्यते ।

विश्वष्टं पौरुषेयत्वं दृढकर्तृस्यतेर्वशात्^१ ” ॥

“ पुरुषपरम्पर्यैव ह्येषु कर्तारः स्मर्यन्ते । न काठकादिवत्
प्रवचनेन परिहर्तुं शक्यन्ते । तत्र हि समाख्यानमात्रम्^२ ” । न च
कल्पादीनामनित्यत्वे नित्यब्रह्मयज्ञाङ्गतया विधेयत्वानुपपत्तिः ।
ग्रन्थव्यक्तेरनित्यत्वेऽपि सर्वकालमेवंविधकिञ्चिद्व्यक्तिसत्त्वेन तदुपपत्तेः ।
तस्माद्वेदमूलकत्वेनैव कल्पादीनां प्रामाण्यम् । शाक्यादीनां तु
स्वरूपेण नित्यताभ्युपगमे सर्वं क्षणिकमितिसिद्धान्तव्याकोपः ।
प्रवाहनित्यत्वान्तत्र कजात्(?) परत्त(?)यत्किञ्चिद्व्यक्तिसार्वदिकत्वरूपा
अशक्याभ्युपगन्तुमपोहवादिना । तस्मात् स्थितैव धर्मनित्यतेत्येतत्
खसिद्धान्तविरुद्धमेव ॥

८ सामान्यश्रुतिकल्पनाधिकरणम् ।

अनुमानव्यवस्थानात्तत्संयुक्तं प्रमाणं स्यात् ॥ १५ ॥

प्राच्यादिभिरेवानुष्ठेयमाना होलाकादयः^३ कन्दोगादिभिरेव
परिगृहीता गौतमादिस्मृतयश्च किं तेषामेव धर्मा उत सर्व-
साधारणा इति संशयः । तत्र—

१ शास्त्रदीपिकाकारैर्धृतं कारिका, पृ० ३९ ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ३९ ।

३ वसन्तोत्सवो होलाका चर्कट्यादिरूपसङ्कुलक्रमागतस्वावरदेवताभ्यर्चनरूपा-
क्रिन्वैवकादयो दक्षिणात्यैर्मातृगणपूजाक्षय्याद्यादयः प्रतीत्यैर्व्यष्टिपौर्णमास्याभ्यर्चना-
पूर्वक्रियासाण्ड्यभवावनरूपा दृषभयज्ञादय उदीचैरित्यादिशब्दार्थः—मयखमालिका
पृ० ४१ ।

“ लिङ्गव्यवस्थया लिङ्गी व्यवस्थां प्रतिपद्यते ।

धूमो हि यत्र तत्रैव वह्निर्नान्यत्र मीयते^१ ” ॥ १ ॥

इत्येवं प्राप्ते ब्रूयात्—

“ विशेषाभावमात्रेण प्रसिध्येत्सर्वधर्मता ।

विशेषणाद्भवस्या स्यात्तच्च नेहोपपद्यते^२ ” ॥ २ ॥

न हि सर्वधर्मत्वे प्रमाणान्तरमपेक्षितम् । विधिनैव सामान्यतः प्रवृत्तेन तत्सिद्धेः । व्यवस्थावादिना तु विधेर्विशेषघटितत्वं वाच्यम् । न च तत्र प्रमाणमस्ति, न वा सम्भवति सर्वव्याचरितेषु अनुगतस्थानाचरितभ्यश्च व्यावृत्तस्य जातिगुणसंस्थानादेर्दुर्निरूपत्वात् । प्राच्यादिसमाख्यापि व्यभिचारिणी निर्दोशस्यैरपि कैश्चिदनाचरणात् चिरविनिर्गतपुत्रपौत्राणां तदाचरणदर्शनाच्चेति । तस्माद्विशेषस्य निष्प्रमाणकत्वात् दुर्निरूपत्वाच्च सर्वधर्मत्वमाचाराणां स्युतीनां चेति सिद्धम् ।

६ साधुपदप्रयुक्त्यधिकरणम् ।

प्रयोगोत्पत्त्यशास्त्रत्वाच्छब्देषु न व्यवस्था स्यात् ॥ २४ ॥

व्याकरणं प्रमाणमप्रमाणं वेति चिन्त्यते । तत्र—

“ निर्मूलत्वाद्विगीतत्वान्नैष्कल्यादेद्वाधनात् ।

पूर्वापरविरोधाच्च नास्य प्रामाण्यसम्भवः^३ ” ॥

नियमद्वयार्थं हि व्याकरणम् । साधूनेव प्रयुञ्जीतेति प्रयोग-
नियम एकः । गवाद्य एव साधवो न गाव्याद्य इति साधुत्व-

१ शास्त्रदीपिकाकारैर्द्वैतेयं कारिका, पृ० ४१ ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ४१ ।

३ शास्त्रदीपिकाकारैर्द्वैतेयं कारिका, पृ० ४२ ।

स्वरूपनियमोऽपरः । तत्राद्ये तावत् प्रत्यक्षादीनां न मूलत्वं, तेषां धर्माधर्मयोरप्रवृत्तेः । नापि वेदवाक्यानि मूलं, गवादिषु प्रतिपद-
मनन्तवाक्यपाठासम्भवात् । अपठितानां च मूलत्वानुपपत्तेः । न च साधूनेव प्रयुञ्जीत इति एकेनैव लक्षणेन सर्वसङ्ग्रहः । साधुत्वस्य दुर्वचत्वात् । वाचकत्वमेव तदिति चेत्—प्रयोगप्रत्ययानुपपत्त्या गाव्यादिष्वपि तत्सिद्धेः । अनादित्वं तदिति चेत्—गाव्यादिष्वपि सम्बन्धकर्तुरस्मरणेन तत्सिद्धेः । अदृष्टसाधनत्वं तदिति चेत्—तस्य प्रत्यक्षाद्यविषयत्वात् । साधुभिर्भाषितेति वेदादेव तत्प्रमितावात्मा-
श्रयापत्तेः । एतेन द्वितीयनियमोऽप्यपास्तः । तस्मान्मूलाभावा-
दप्रमाणं व्याकरणम् ।

किञ्च सूत्रकारो हि “समर्थः पदविधि”रित्यादि^१ सूत्राणि प्रणयति । भाष्यकारश्च प्रत्याचष्ट इति परस्परविगानम् । अपि च उक्तरीत्या निर्मूलत्वादेव निष्फलत्वम् । अपि च ‘दृष्टं सामे’-
त्यधिकृत्य ‘कलेर्दक्’, ‘वामदेवाङ्घ्र्या’वित्युक्तम् । वेदे तु ‘यदकालयत्तत्काले यस्य कालेयत्वं ततो वसु वामं समभव’दित्युप-
न्यस्य ‘वामं वा इदं देवेभ्योऽजनि तस्माद्वामदेव्य’मिति । तथा च वेदबाधः । अपि च—

“ब्राह्मणार्थो यथा नास्ति कश्चिद्ब्राह्मणकम्बले ।

देवदत्तादथो वाक्ये तथैव स्युरनर्थकाः^२ ॥

इत्यभ्युपगमादर्धव्यातिपदिकं क्रियावाचको धातुरिति चाभ्यु-
पगमात् पूर्वापरविरोधः । तस्मादप्रमाणं व्याकरणम् । ततश्च गाव्यादथोपि गवादिवदेव प्रयोक्तव्या इति ।

^१ पाणिनीयसूत्रम् ।

^२ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० २१० ।

तत्र ब्रूमः—

“यथैव^१ तुल्यपाण्यादिरूपत्वादणसङ्करम् ।

वदतः स्यतिबाधः स्यात् तथा वाचकसङ्करम्^२” ॥

यत्तु स्यतिर्निमूलेति तन्न । प्रयोगनियमे मन्वादिवत् वेदमूल-
त्वात् । प्रत्यक्षमेव च वाजसनेयादिषु वचनम्—‘तस्मात् ब्राह्मणेन
न स्नेच्छितवै’ इति । द्वाभ्यामेव च वाक्याभ्यां साधून् प्रयुञ्जीत
नासाधूनिति समस्तशब्दापशब्दविधिप्रतिषेधसिद्धेर्नान्तवाक्यकल्पना-
पत्तिः । अनादित्वं वाचकत्वं अनपभ्रष्टत्वं व्याकरणाभ्यासजनित-
संस्कारव्यङ्ग्यो जातिविशेषो वा साधुत्वम् । तदभावश्चासाधुत्वम् ।
न च गाव्यादीनामशक्तत्वेऽबोधकतापत्तिः । साधुशब्दस्यतिद्वारा
प्रबलतरशक्तिभ्रान्तिबलाद्वा तदुपपत्तेः । एवञ्च—

“यथा रत्नपरीक्षायां साध्वसाधुत्वलक्षणम् ।

तथा व्याकरणात् सिद्धं साधुशब्दनिरूपणम्^३” ॥

एवञ्च स्वरूपनियमेऽपि उदात्तादिविभाग इव प्रत्यक्षं मूलम् ।
तस्माद्देकस्यैव वाचकत्वे इतरेव तदशक्तिजाः^४ इति नाष्टदोषदुष्ट-
विकल्पापत्तिः ।

“था तु हस्तः करः पाणिरित्यत्रानेकशब्दता ।

अनन्यगतिकत्वेन सा दृढस्मरणेन च^५” ॥

यदपि विगीतत्वादिति तन्न । सूत्रप्रत्याख्यानान्देवेदमूलत्वे केन
उपायमात्रतया उपेयांशे अविगानात् । समूलत्वादेव च वैफल्यमपि
निरस्तम् ।

१ अत्र ‘यथा चे’त्यादि सुप्रतिपुस्तकपाठः ।

२-३ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० २३२ ।

४ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० २२६ ।

यदपि वेदबाधनादिति तदपि न ।

“ धर्मसाधनतांशे हि विगानं नैव विद्यते ।

अन्वाख्यानविगानं तु लक्ष्यभेदान्न दुष्यति^१ ” ॥

यदपि पूर्वापरविरोधादिति तदपि न । प्रकृतिप्रत्ययविभागस्य कल्पितत्वेन निरवयवस्फोटव्युत्पादन एव तात्पर्यमिति वैयाकरण-सिद्धान्ते तात्पर्यविषयीभूतांशे अविरोधात् । आपातप्रतीतिविरोधस्तु अर्थवादेष्विव न दोषमावहति । तस्मात् व्याकरणं प्रमाणमिति सिद्धम् ।

१० आकृतिशक्त्यधिकरणम् ।

प्रयोगचोदनाभावादर्थैकत्वमविरोधात्^२ ॥ ३० ॥

गवादयो वाचका न तु गाव्यादय इति निर्णीते वाचकप्रसङ्गा-
द्वाच्यविशेषश्चिन्तयिष्यते—किमाकृतिरुत व्यक्तिरिति ।

तदुपोद्घातत्वेनेदं चिन्त्यते—किं लोकवेदयोः शब्दार्थौ भिन्नावुता-
भिन्नाविति ।

तथा हि—भेदपक्षे लोकव्यवहारानुपातिनां वैदिकशब्दानां
शक्तिरेव दुर्यहा । उपायाभावात् । अतो नारम्भणीयमाकृत्यधि-
करणम् ।

अभेदपक्षे तु लोके वृद्धव्यवहारानुसारेण कृतः शब्दार्थनिर्णयो
वेदे फलिष्यति । तेनाकृत्यधिकरणस्यायमुपोद्घातः । तत्र सत्यपि
कतिपयवर्णाभेदे स्वरच्छान्दसवर्णागमलोपविकारविपर्ययादिधर्मभेदेन
लोकवेदयोः पदानां भेदः । स्वरूपादिशब्दसाहचर्याच्च । तथा

१ तन्त्रवार्तिक, प्र० १३८ ।

२ अविभागादिति मुद्रितपुस्तकपाठः ।

‘उत्ताना वै देवगवा वहन्तौ’त्यादिदर्शनादर्थोऽप्यन्य इति प्राप्ते
ब्रूमः—

“प्रत्यक्षप्रत्यभिज्ञानादर्थैकत्वं प्रतिष्ठितम् ।

वर्णात्मकं पदं तच्च तदभेदाच्च भिद्यते^१” ॥

ननु खरादिभेदात्पदभेदो वाक्याधिकरणे दर्शितः ।

“पदावधारणोपायान् बह्वनिच्छन्ति स्वरयः ।

क्रमन्यूनातिरिक्तत्वस्वरवाक्यश्रुतिस्मृतौः^२” ॥ इति

सत्यम् । यो ह्यर्थप्रतीत्यौपयिको धर्मस्तद्भेदेन भिद्यत एव पदम् ।
यथा पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वे वज्रग्रीह्यर्थत्वम् । अन्तोदात्तत्वे स्वार्थ-
वृत्तिता स्मरणादवगम्यते । ब्रह्मब्राह्मणादिषु तु न्यूनातिरिक्तत्वात्
जराराजादिषु क्रमान्यत्वात् । न चैवं लोकवेदयोरर्थौपयिकधर्म-
भेदोऽस्ति । यदि हि अनियतस्वराणामन्योऽर्थः, नियतस्वराणां चान्य
इति स्यात्तदा स्यादेव पदभेदः । पद्यते गम्यतेऽनेनेति हि पदम् ।
अतो गमकस्वरूपस्य भेदे सत्येव भिद्यते । न तु धर्ममात्रभेदात् ।
एवं देवासः तन्नेत्यादिषु लौकिकेभ्यो न्यूनातिरेककृतस्वरूपभेदे
सत्यपि अर्थान्तरानवगमात् सत्यपि वा केषांचित् भेदे अग्नि-
मित्रादीनां भेदस्याप्रमाणकत्वात् सिद्धमेकत्वं लोकवेदयोः पदानाम् ।
पदैक्ये चार्थानामपेकम् । उत्तानादिवचनं त्वन्यपरम् ॥

एवं स्थिते विचार्यते—किमाकृतिः शब्दार्थ उत व्यक्तिरिति ।

“द्वौ च पञ्चावुपन्यस्तौ भाव्यकारेण यद्यपि ।

व्याख्यातारस्तथाप्यत्र ब्रूयुः पञ्चान्तराण्यपि ॥

नियोगेन विकल्पेन द्वे वा सह समुच्चिते ।

सम्बन्धः समुदायो वा विग्रिष्टा वैकथेतरा ॥

एते पक्षाः पुनर्योज्या व्यतिकीर्णाः परस्परम् ।

लिङ्गकारकसङ्ख्याभिः संहतासंहतात्मभिः ॥

पुनर्जात्यादिपक्षाणां तादृश्येवात्र योजना ।

एवं शब्दस्वरूपस्य पुनर्जात्यादिभिः सह^१ ” ॥

गोशब्दार्थः किमाकृतिरेव, अथ व्यक्तिरेव, उताकृतिर्वा व्यक्तिर्वा ।
अथाकृतिश्च व्यक्तिश्च । किं वोभयोः सम्बन्धः । उत समुदायः ।
किमाकृतिविशिष्टा व्यक्तिः, उत व्यक्तिविशिष्टा आकृतिरिति^२ । एषैव
चाष्टपक्षी लिङ्गादिभिर्व्यस्तसमस्तैर्योज्या । एवञ्च यद्यप्यनेकपक्ष-
सम्भवेत् तथाप्याकृतिरेवेति दृढः पक्षोऽयमेकतः । इत्यन्यतः सर्वे
व्यक्तिपक्षानुपातिनः । तस्मात्—

“ दर्शितेष्वपि सर्वेषु विचारः क्रियते द्वयोः ।

का शब्देनाकृतित्वव्यक्त्योरुच्यते काऽनुगम्यते^३ ” ॥

तत्र—

“ प्रयोगचोदनाभावाद्भुक्तेरेवाभिधेयता ।

न ह्याकृतिरमूर्त्तत्वाद्भवहारोपयोगिनी^४ ” ॥

न हि आकृताववहननालम्भनादीनि सम्भवन्ति । न चाक्षिप्तव्यक्तौ
तदन्वयः । आक्षेपो हि अनुमानमर्थापत्तिर्वा । तथा चाशब्दार्थत्वा-
द्भुक्तेः पदार्थान्तरान्वयो न स्यात् । उक्तं हि तद्गताधिकरणे—

गम्यमानस्य चार्थस्य नैव दृष्टं विशेषणम् ।

शब्दान्तरैर्विभक्त्या वा धूमोऽयं ज्वलतीति वत् ॥ इति

अथ लक्षणैवाक्षेपः तथापि तस्याः शक्यान्वयानुपपत्तिज्ञाना-
धीनतया प्रथमं सामान्यबोधस्यानुभवविरुद्धस्यापातात् । तस्मा-

१-२ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० २४५-२४७ ।

३ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० २४८ ।

४ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ५० ।

व्यक्तिरेवार्थः । कथं तर्हि व्यक्त्यन्तरे प्रयोगः । या एवमाकृतिका
सा गौरिति सामान्यमुपलक्षणीकृत्य शक्तिग्रहादित्यवेहि । यः
शुक्लवासाः स देवदत्त इतिवत् । यथा चोपलक्षणभूतं वासो न
शक्यकोटिनिविष्टं तथेह जातिरपि । अस्तु वा जातिविशिष्टव्यक्ति-
रेव वाच्येति पूर्वः पक्षः ।

सिद्धान्तस्तु—

विशेष्यं नाभिधा गच्छेत् क्षीणशक्तिर्विशेषणे ।

व्यक्तावाच्येपलक्ष्यायामवघातादिसम्भवः ॥

यत्तूक्तमनुपपत्तिज्ञानाधीना लक्षणेति तन्न । निरुद्धलक्षणाया
अतथालात् ।

वस्तुतस्तु जातिव्यक्त्योरभेदादेव लक्षणाप्यनावश्यकौ ।

आह च—

“ तेन तल्लक्षितव्यक्तेः क्रियासम्बन्धचोदना ।

जातिव्यक्त्योरभेदो वा वाक्यार्थेषु विवक्षितः^१ ” ॥ इति

अस्मिंश्च पक्षे यद्यपि व्यक्तयः सामान्यात्मना वाच्या एव तथापि
विशेषरूपेण वाच्यत्वं नास्तीति प्रतिपादयितुमिदमधिकरणम् ।
अत्र च नामाख्यातयोरेव विचार्यता । न तु निपातोपसर्गयोः ।
तदुक्तम्—

“ चतुर्विधे पदे चात्र द्विविधस्वार्थनिर्णयः ।

क्रियते संशयोत्पत्तेर्नोपसर्गनिपातयोः ॥

तयोरर्थाभिधाने हि व्यापारो नैव विद्यते ।

यदर्थद्योतकौ तौ तु वाचकः सविचार्यते^२ ” ॥ इति

^१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ५२ ।

^२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० २६०-२६१ ।

नाम्नामपि मध्ये जातिशब्द एवोदाहरणम् । न तु गुणक्रिया-
द्रव्ययदृच्छासर्वनामशब्दाः । प्रयोजनन्तु पूर्वपक्षे सामान्यविशेष-
शब्दयोरेकविषयतया सामान्यशिष्टस्य विशेषशिष्टेनावधः । सिद्धान्ते
तु बाध इति ।

इति मौमांसाशास्त्रसर्वस्वे प्रथमाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ।

प्रथमाध्याये चतुर्थः पादः ।

१ उद्भिदादिशब्दानां यागनामतया प्रामाण्याधिकरणम् ।

उक्तं समाम्नायैदमर्थं तस्मात् सर्वं तदर्थं स्यात् ।

इह सम्भवदाख्यातसामानाधिकरणानुद्भिदभिजिच्चिचाज्यपृष्ठ-
बहिष्पवमानाग्निहोत्रश्वेनादिशब्दानुदाहृत्य चिन्त्यते किमेते धर्मे
प्रमाणमुत नेति । तत्र विधिभावना तदंशत्रयाप्रतिपादकत्वेन
विधिबहिर्भावात् स्तावकत्वाभावेन चार्थवादे बहिर्भावान्मन्त्रत्व-
प्रसिद्धभावेन चामन्त्रत्वान्नाममात्रस्य च प्रवृत्तिविशेषकत्वाभावेनान-
र्थकत्वाद्प्रसिद्धार्थकत्वाच्चाप्रमाणमेवंजातीयकमिति प्राप्य स्वाध्याय-
विध्यध्यापितस्थानर्थक्यासम्भवात्त्वदुक्तमार्गेण च मन्त्रार्थवादत्वा-
सम्भवाद्धिद्युद्देशान्तर्भावनैव प्रामाण्यमेषामावश्यकमित्यपर्थवसितमेव
सिद्धान्तयितव्यम् । तदेतदर्थवादप्रस्तावेऽभिहितमपि अनेकविचार-
व्यवहितत्वात् विशेषविचारायोपस्थापितम् ।

२ उद्भिदादिशब्दानां यागनामधेयताधिकरणम् ।

अपि वा नामधेयं स्याद्यदुत्पत्तावपूर्वमविधायक-
त्वात् ॥ २ ॥

नामधेयानि प्रमाणमिति स्थितम् । तत्रोद्भिदादिषु यौगिकेषु
चिन्थते—गुणविधिः कर्म नामधेयं वेति ।

“तत्रावयवयोगेन खनित्रादौ प्रसिद्धितः ।

प्रवृत्त्यौपयिकत्वाच्च गुणो यागे विधीयते^१” ॥

न च मत्वर्थलक्षणा यागानुवादात् । उक्तं हि—

“करणेषूपदिष्टेषु यार्थात्साध्यत्वकल्पना ।

तस्यां गुणविधानेन नास्ति मत्वर्थलक्षणा^२” ॥

“यदि ह्यत्र यागो विधीयेत ततस्तस्य करणत्वात् उद्भिदादेरपि
करणस्य करणान्तरसम्बन्धायोगात् सामानाधिकरणनिर्वाहायोद्भि-
च्छब्देन तद्वन्तं यागं लक्षयित्वा उद्भिद्वता यागेनेति वर्णनीयं स्यात्^३” ।
यदा तु यागभाव्यकायां भावनायां करणत्वेन गुणो विधीयते
तदा वैयधिकरणेनैवान्वयान्नोक्तदोषः । न चैवं ज्योतिष्टोमवाक्ये-
ऽपि गुणविधानं न तु यागविधिरिति क्वाप्यविहितस्य यागस्य
कथमनुवाद इति वाच्यम्, प्रकृतकर्माभावेनागत्या ज्योतिष्टोमवाक्ये
मत्वर्थलक्षणमाश्रित्य गुणविशिष्टकर्मविधानात् । उद्भिदादयस्तु तत्रैव
गुणविधयः । न चोत्पत्तिशिष्टज्योतिष्टोमगुणावरुद्धे^४ उद्भिदादि-
गुणविधानासम्भवः । काम्यत्वेन तेषां बाधकत्वात् । प्रकृतं

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ५५ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० २९९ ।

३ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ५६ ।

४ ‘न चोत्पत्तिकज्योतिष्टोमादिगुणावरुद्धे’ इत्यादि शास्त्रदीपिकापाठः, पृ० ५७ ।

ज्योतिष्टोममाश्रित्योद्भिद्गुणः पश्वर्थत्वेन विधीयत इति वास्तु ।
तस्मान्गुणविधिरिति प्राप्तेऽभिधीयते—

“ धातोरत्यन्तपारार्थाद्विप्रकृष्टविधेस्तथा ।

फले कर्मणि वा नेह गुणो वाक्ये विधीयते^१ ” ॥

“ फले विधीयमाने गुणे परपदसम्बन्धविधानाद्भातोरत्यन्त-
पारार्थं विप्रकृष्टार्थविधिश्च । अथ तु कर्मण्येव गुणो विधीयते
तथापि विप्रकृष्टार्थविधानं, धातोश्च किञ्चित्पारार्थमस्यैव फलपदं
चानर्थकं स्यात् ।

दध्यादौ गत्यभावेन सर्वमेतत्समाश्रितम्^२ ।

उद्भिदादिषु तन्नैवं नामधेयत्वसम्भवात्^३ ” ॥

“ दध्नेन्द्रियकामस्य जुज्यात्,’ ‘व्रीहिभिर्यजेतेत्येवमादिषु
दधिब्रीह्यादिपदानामर्थान्तरे निरूढत्वान्न सामानाधिकरण्येन यजि-
नामत्वम् । अप्रसिद्धार्थं हि प्रसिद्धपदसामानाधिकरण्येन निर्णयं
न लत्यन्तनिरूढमपि तदुक्तम्^४ ”—

“ पदमज्ञातसन्दिग्ध^५प्रसिद्धैरप्युच्यते ।

निर्णीयते निरूढं तु न स्वार्थादपनीयते^६ ” ॥

इति तथा च गत्यभावाद्दध्यादौ धातुपारार्थं विप्रकृष्टार्थविधानं
आश्रितम् । उद्भिदादयस्तु यथैवावयवद्वारेण खनित्रादौ वर्तन्ते
तथैव स्वफलोद्भेदनकारित्वाद्यागेऽपीति नात्र धात्वर्थविधानं
बाधितव्यम्—

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ५७ ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिकायां ‘समञ्जस’मिति पाठः ।

३ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ५७-५८ ।

४ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ५८ ।

५ अत्र सम्बन्धमिति पाठान्तरम् ।

६ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० २८६ ।

“विशिष्टविधिपचे तु भवेन्मत्वर्थलक्षणा ।

सोमादौ गत्यभावात्सा न त्वत्र गतिसम्भवात्^१ ॥

“प्रयोजनञ्च नाक्षां व्यवहार एव सर्वत्र न ह्यनन्तरेण नाम-
धेयं चत्विग् वरणादिष्वनेनाहं यक्ष्य इति लघुराख्यानोपायः ।
क्वचिच्च गुणफलोपबन्धेनार्थवत्ता । ‘दर्शपूर्णमासावारण्यमानोऽन्वा-
रम्भणीयामिष्टिं निर्वपे’दिति गुणोपबन्धः । ‘दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां स्वर्ग-
काम’ इति फलोपबन्धः । क्वचित्कर्मभेदकतयाऽर्थवत्वम्—यथा-
ऽत्रैवोद्भिदा यजेते’ति^२ ॥ क्वचिच्चानिर्देशकत्वेन—यथा कुण्ड-
पायिनामयने मासमग्निहोत्रं जुहोतीति ।

३ चित्रादिशब्दानां यागनामताधिकरणम् ।

यस्मिन् गुणोपदेशः प्रधानतोऽभिसम्बन्धः ॥ ३ ॥

‘चित्तया यजेत पशुकामः,’ ‘पञ्चदशान्याज्यानी’त्युदाहृत्य
चिन्त्यते—किं चित्ताज्यशब्दौ विधेयगुणसमर्पकौ उत नामधेयमिति ।
तत्र चित्तयेत्यग्रीषोमीये गुणविधिः । तथाहि—

“चित्तत्वस्त्रीत्वयोगो हि प्राणिजातौ स्वभावतः ।

तेनैते प्राण्यागाङ्गं प्रकृतिं दैक्षमाश्रिते^३ ॥

“स्त्रीत्वादिविभागो हि प्राणिव्यतिरिक्तेऽर्थे शब्दानुकारमात्रेण
विज्ञायते । पश्यादिषु तु वास्तवः । प्रकृतञ्च दधि मधु घृतं पयो
धाना उदकं तण्डुलास्तत्संस्पृष्टं प्राजापत्यमितिदध्यादिद्रव्यकं कर्म
तच्च स्त्रीत्वान्वयायोग्यमिति प्रकरणादुक्तव्यमाणे वाक्याद्यागमात्र-
सम्बन्धिनी प्रसक्ते सामर्थ्यात् प्राण्यागमाकाङ्क्षन्ती प्रकृतौ वा

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, ४० ५८ ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, ४० ५९ ।

३ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, ४० २८९ ।

द्विरुक्तत्वादित्यनेन न्यायेन सर्वप्राणियागपरमप्रकृतिमग्नौषोमौयं चित्तत्वस्त्रीत्वे गच्छतः^१ ” । न चोद्भिद्यथायः निरुद्धत्वात् नापि मत्वर्थलक्षणा । “ उत्पत्तिवाक्यावगतकरणत्वेनार्थान्निष्ठं यद्यागस्य साध्यत्वं तदनुवादेन वैयधिकरणेन गुणविधानात् । नापि वाक्यभेदः । एकपदोपात्तत्वाच्चित्तत्वस्त्रीत्वयोर्भयविशिष्टैककारकविधानात् पशुकामपदमपि साधनकामनानुवादः । अस्ति हि पशुयागं कुर्वतः पशौ कामना । एवं पञ्चदशान्याज्यानीत्यत्रापि सङ्ख्याविशिष्टाज्यविधानान्न वाक्यभेदः । तस्मादुणविधिः । एवञ्चाज्यैः स्तुवत इत्याद्युत्पत्तिवाक्येऽप्याज्यादिपदं गुणवाक्यप्राप्तगुणानुवादकं न नामधेयमिति प्राप्ते^२ ” ब्रूमः—

“ वाक्यभेदप्रसङ्गेन सामानाधिकरण्यतः ।

अन्वाख्यानार्थवादाच्च नामतैवोपपद्यते^३ ” ॥

“ चित्तत्वं स्त्रीत्वं च नैकेन वाक्येन विधातुं शक्यम् । उभयविशिष्टकारकविधानेऽपि गौरवम् । कामपदं च फले सुखं साधने तु गौणम् । प्रकृतफलाकाङ्क्षदध्यादिद्रव्यकयागातिक्रमश्च न न्याय्यः । तस्मात् तस्यैव^४ फले विधानम् । चित्तापदं च सामानाधिकरण्येन नामधेयम्^५ ” । दध्यादिचित्तद्रव्यकत्वाच्च यागेऽपि चित्तशब्दोपपत्तिः । पञ्चदशान्याज्यानीत्यत्रापि समासाभावान्न विशिष्टद्रव्यविधिः । द्रव्यसङ्ख्ययोर्विधाने तु वाक्यभेदः । न वा क्रियाविशेषणं विधीयते । विधायकस्य नामपदैः सह साक्षादसम्बन्धात् ।

१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० २८६ । शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ६१ ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ६२ ।

३ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ६२ ।

४ तत्रैवेति शास्त्रदीपिकासम्मतः पाठः ।

५ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ६२ ।

न चेह क्रिया काचिदुपाया विधीयमानार्थादनेकमपि गुणमा-
चिपेत् । आह च—

“अर्थादनेकमर्थं विधापयति भावना ।

विशेषणविधिस्त्वन्यन्न गृह्णाति विशेषणम्^१” ॥ इति

“न चैषां स्तुतिप्रयोगवचनेन ग्रहणम् । अक्रियात्मकत्वात् ।

आह च—

नावान्तरक्रियायोगादृते वाक्योपकल्पितात् ।

गुणद्रव्ये कथं भावैर्गृह्णन्ति प्रकृताः क्रियाः^२” ॥ इति

आज्यस्य संसर्गिद्रव्यत्वेन साक्षात्पञ्चदशत्वानुपपत्तौ अश्रुतफलादि-
परिमाणकल्पनापत्तिश्च ।

तस्मादाज्यानुवादेन सङ्ख्यामात्रं विधीयते ।

अतः पञ्चदशानीति शब्दोऽपि स्यात् समञ्जसः ॥

‘स्तोमे उविधिः पञ्चदशादर्थ’ इति हि स्तोमे उपत्ययः स्मर्यते ।
स्तुतेश्च मानस्तोमः स्तुतिसाधकतमस्तोत्रो पापविच्छेदक इत्यर्थः ।
तस्मात् गुणवाक्यवशेन नामधेयत्वम् । सामानाधिकरण्याच्चाज्यैः
स्तुत इति वाक्यशेषाच्च । “यदाजिमौयुस्तदाज्यानामाज्यत्व-
मिति^३” ।

४ यागनामधेयताधिकरणम् ।

तत्प्रस्थं चान्यशास्त्रम् ॥ ४ ॥

‘आधारमाधारयति,’ ‘अग्निहोत्रं जुहोती’त्याधारशब्दोऽग्नि-
होत्रशब्दश्च गुणविधिः कर्म नामधेयं वेति संशयः ।

१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० २८१ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० २८३ ।

३ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० २८४ ।

तत्र “ प्रसिद्धादिभिर्गुणविधिः । न च मत्वर्थलक्षणा । अग्निहोत्र-
शब्दे वज्रव्रीहिणैवाग्नये होत्रमस्मिन्निति मत्वर्थस्योक्तत्वात् । उपसर्ज-
नार्थोऽग्निर्देवता विधीयते^१ ” । आह च—

“ सर्वत्राख्यातसम्बद्धे श्रूयमाणे पदान्तरे ।

विधिशक्त्युपसंक्रान्ते स्याद्वातोरनुवादित^२ ” ॥ इति

“ नामधेयत्वे चारूपत्वं स्यात् । यद्यपि च दध्नादिवाक्यैर्द्रव्यं
लभ्यते तथापि देवताभावादरूपत्वम् । न च ‘यदग्नये च प्रजापतये
च सायं जुहोति’, ‘यत् सूर्याय च प्रजापतये च प्रातः’रिति देवता-
लाभः अनेकगुणोपपादनेन विशिष्टकर्मविधायकत्वात् अन्यथा वाक्य-
भेदात्^३ ” । यदाह—

“ प्राप्ते कर्मणि नानेको विधातुं शक्यते गुणः ।

अप्राप्ते तु विधीयेरन् बहवोऽप्येकयत्नतः^४ ” ॥ इति

“ आघारशब्देनापि चरणसमर्थं आज्यपयःप्रभृतिद्रव्यमभिधीयते ।
तच्च द्वितीयानिर्देशादाधारणसंस्कार्यत्वेनावगम्यते । निष्प्रयोजनस्य
च संस्काराभावात् प्रयोजनापेक्षायां प्रकृतद्रव्यापेक्षोपांशुयाजार्थता
विज्ञायते । प्रकरणेन च गुणे विधीयमाने नास्ति मत्वर्थलक्षणा ।
मतुप्प्रत्यययुक्तस्यैव वाक्यस्य कल्पनात्^५ ” । आह च—

“ श्रूयमाणस्य वाक्यस्य न्यूनाधिकविकल्पने ।

लक्षणावाक्यभेदादिदोषो नानुमिते त्वसौ^६ ” ॥

इति । तस्मात् गुणविधिः ।

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ६३ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० २८० ।

३ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ६३-६४ ।

४ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ४७६ ।

५ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ६४-६५ ।

६ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० २८१ ।

“एवञ्चाधारस्य संस्कारत्वात् द्वितीयानिर्देशोपपद्यते । अग्नि-
होत्रे चार्थाक्षिप्तसाध्यत्वानुवादेनोपसर्जनार्थविधानात् । नामधेयत्वे
तु कर्मैव विधेयम् । तच्च करणमिति तृतीयान्तं स्यादिति^१”
प्राप्ताबुध्यते—

“विधित्सितगुणप्रापि शास्त्रमन्यद्यतस्त्वह ।

तस्मात्तत्राप्रापणं व्यर्थमिति नामत्वमित्यते^२” ॥

किञ्च—

“वाक्यार्थो न विधातव्यो धात्वर्थविधिसम्भवे ।

पदान्तरं न चानन्यगतिनामत्वसम्भवात्^३” ॥

“किं पुनः शास्त्रान्तरं यदस्य गुणस्य प्रख्यापकं, उच्यते—

अग्नेस्तावदग्निर्ज्योतिर्ज्योतिरग्निः स्वाहेति सायं जुहोति सूर्यो
ज्योतिर्ज्योतिः सूर्यः स्वाहेति प्रातरिति वाचनिकमन्त्रवर्णात् प्राग्निः ।
‘यदग्नये च प्रजापतये सायं जुहोती’त्येतत्तु मन्त्रवर्णप्राप्ताग्निसूर्यानु-
वादेन प्रजापतिसमुच्चयविधानम् । अतो न वाक्यभेदः । आधार-
वाक्येऽप्याधारसंज्ञके कर्ममात्रे विहिते ‘चतुर्गृहीतं वा एतदभूत्त-
स्याधारमाधार्य’त्यनेनैवाज्यप्राप्तेः चरणात्मकत्वं प्राप्तमिति तन्निमित्त-
नामधेयत्वसम्भवात् कर्मविधानमेव युक्तम् । दृष्टं हि ‘आधार-
यती’ति मान्त्रवर्णिकेन्द्रदेवतावलाद्यागत्वसिद्धेः । अतो नामत्वम् ।^४”

कथं पुनर्द्वितीयानिर्देशः । न चार्थाक्षिप्तसाध्यांशाभिप्रायकः सः ।
अशाब्देनानध्याहृतेन च शब्दस्थानन्वयात् । न च भावनान्तरा-
ध्याहारः अग्निहोत्रहोमं कुर्याद्धोमेन च फलमिति वाक्यभेदप्रसङ्गात्
उच्यते—“अस्ति तावदार्थिकं धात्वर्थस्य साध्यत्वम् । अतः साध्य-

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ६५ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० २९६ ।

३-४ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ६६-६८ ।

साधनदयोरेकार्थसमवायात् साध्याभिधायिनौ द्वितीया साधनत्व-
मेव लक्षयन्ती धातुसामानाधिकरण्यं प्रतिपद्यते इत्यविरोधः^१” ।

५ श्येनादिशब्दानां यागनामधेयताधिकरणम् ।

तद्व्यपदेशश्च ॥ ५ ॥

“इह रूढशब्दा एव वाक्यभेदरहितास्तद्व्यपदेशवन्त उदाहरणम् ।
यथा—‘श्येनेनाभिचरन्यजेते’त्यादिषु श्येनादिशब्दाः तेषु गुणविधिः
कर्मनामधेयं वेति संशयः ।

अत्यन्तनिरुद्धत्वाद्गुणविधिर्योतिष्ठोमादिषु काम्यत्वाच्च नित्य-
मुत्पत्तिशिष्टमपि सोमं बाधते । यद्वा गुणविशिष्टकर्मविधानं अप्र-
सिद्धार्थकल्पनातो वरं मत्वर्थलक्षणा सोमादिवत् । न च गौणवृत्त्या
कर्मवचनत्वं युक्तं लक्षणातो गौणत्वस्य जघन्यत्वात् । लक्ष्यमाण-
गुणैर्योगात् वृत्तिर्गौणीति हि वक्ष्यति^२” । अपि च गौणत्वे औतार्थ-
परित्याग एव स्यात् । “लक्षणायां तु तद्वत्यपि वर्त्तमानः श्येनशब्दो
लोहितोष्णीषादिवदुपसर्जनौभूतश्येनविधिपर एव करणीभूतेन तु
यागेन करणीभूतस्यैकवाक्यता नान्तरेण मत्वर्थलक्षणां लभ्यत इत्येक-
वाक्यत्वार्थं लक्षणाश्रयणम् । तात्पर्यं तु श्रुत्यर्थ एवेति न श्रुतिबाधः ।

उच्यते—

गुणविधौ तावत् स एव स्रोतव्यः । तस्य चात्मनैवोपमानमनुप-
पन्नमिति^३” । यथा वै श्येनो निपत्यादत्त एवमयं द्विषन्तं भ्रातृव्यं
निपत्यादत्त इति “तद्व्यपदेशात्मकवाक्यशेषानुपपत्तिः । विशिष्ट-
विधिस्तु गौरवादेवायुक्तः । न च सोमादिवत् पदान्तरस्थानन्य-
गतिकत्वम् । उक्तवाक्यशेषानुसारात् गौणत्वेन नामत्वसम्भवात्^४” ।

वाक्यशेषवत्त्वादेव च लक्षणातो दुर्बलाऽपि गौणी समाश्रयणीया ।

आह च—

“गौणं लक्षणिकं वापि वाक्यभेदेन वा स्वयम् ।

वेदो यमाश्रयत्यर्थं को नु तं प्रतिकूलयेत्^१” ॥ इति

“तस्मान्नामधेयम् । एवं यौगिकवाक्यभेदतत्प्रत्यतद्व्यपदेशैश्चतुर्भिर्नामत्वं साधितम् । एतैरेव च सर्वत्र नामधेयत्वमिति द्रष्टव्यम्^२” ।

ई वाजपेयादिशब्दानां नामधेयताधिकरणम् ।

नामधेये गुणश्रुतेः स्याद्विधानमिति चेत् ॥ ई ॥

‘वाजपेयेन स्वारज्याकामो यजेते’ति वाजपेयशब्दे गुणविधिः कर्मनामधेयं वेति चिन्थ्यते । “तदर्थमिदं विचार्यते—

यजेतेत्याख्यातं गुणफलाभ्यां तन्त्रेण सम्बद्धं क्षमते न वेति सर्वाणि चोद्भिदादीन्यत्रोदाहर्त्तव्यानि ।

तत्र—

सर्वेष्व्याख्यातशब्देषु तन्त्रसम्बन्धसम्भवात् ।

मत्वर्थलक्षणादोषो नास्तीत्याक्षिप्यतेऽधुना ॥

कर्मत्वं करणत्वं वा नाख्यातेनाभिधीयते ।

यागादेः किन्तु सम्बन्धमात्रं साधारणं हि तत् ॥

यदि हि यजेतेत्यनेन यागस्य कर्मत्वमुच्यते ततः साध्यद्वया-
समवायान्न फलं सम्बध्येत । गुण एव तु साधनतया सम्बध्येत ।
अथ तु करणत्वमेव यागस्य ततः करणद्वयासमवायान्न गुणः
सम्बध्येत । फलमेव तु सम्बध्येतेति न स्यात्तन्त्रत्वम् । इह तु

१ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० १५५ ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ६८ ।

प्रकृत्या यागमात्रमुक्तं प्रत्ययेन तु भावना । तयोस्तु समभिव्याहारात् सम्बन्धमात्रं गम्यते । तच्च कर्मत्वकरणत्वयोः साधारण्याद्यागकर्मिका यागकरण्या चेति द्विरूपाभावना भवति । सा च यागकर्मत्वांशेन^१ गुणसम्बन्धं तत्करणकत्वांशेन^२ फलसम्बन्धं तन्त्रेणैव लभते । अतो विनैव मतर्थलक्षणया यागे गुणविधानमुपपन्नमिति । अत्रोच्यते—

सम्बन्धमात्रतात्पर्यं नैकस्याप्यन्वयो भवेत् ।

तद्विशेषपरत्वे तु स्यादन्यतरसङ्गतिः ॥

रूपद्वयपरत्वं तु विनाऽऽवृत्त्या न लभ्यते ।

तस्मान्नाख्यातशब्दस्य तन्त्रसम्बन्धसम्भवः^३ ॥

“यद्याख्यातेन धात्वर्थभावनयोः सम्बन्धमात्रमवगतं ततः फल-गुणयोर्मध्ये एकस्यापि तदन्वयो न स्यात् । फलस्य साधनापेक्षत्वात् यागकरणिकैव भावना फलसम्बन्धमर्हति । तथा गुणस्य साध्यापेक्षत्वाद्यागकर्मिकयैव भावनया सह सम्बन्धः । अनिर्धारितोभयरूपा तु नैकेनाप्यन्वीयते । अयोग्यत्वात् । तस्मात् लक्षणया विशेषपरता । तच्च कर्मपरत्वे गुणस्यैव सम्बन्धः करणपरत्वे तु फलस्यैव । उभयपरत्वं त्वावृत्तिं विना दुर्लभम् । एवं गुणप्रधानत्वोद्देश्योपादानं^४ विध्यनुवादलङ्घनमपि वैरूप्यमतो न तन्त्रता । आह च—

“तन्त्रत्वमैकरूप्येण भवेत्तुल्योपकारतः ।

उपकारान्यथात्वे तु भवेदावृत्तिलक्षणम्^५ ॥ इति

१ ‘यागकर्मिकांशेने’ति शास्त्रदीपिकासम्मतः पाठः ।

२ ‘करणिकांशेने’ति च शास्त्रदीपिकासम्मतः पाठः ।

३ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ६९-७० ।

४ ‘गुणप्रधानत्वोद्देश्योपादेयत्वे’ति शास्त्रदीपिकाभिमतः पाठः ।

५ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० १०० ।

“न तु यथा भावनाकर्मकरणत्वादिरूपभेदमन्तरेणैव साध्या-
दिभिः सम्बध्यते इदमनेनेत्यं कुर्यादिति तथा यागोऽपि कर्मकरण-
त्वादिरूपमनादृत्यैव गुणफलाभ्यां सम्बध्यत इति न वैरूप्यमिति चेत्-
न । भावना हि क्रियारूपा सर्वकारकसाधारणरूपैवेति युक्तं पद-
वैरूप्येणानेकसम्बन्धं लभते । यागस्वक्रियारूपः कथमिव कारकरूपै-
र्गुणादिभिः सम्बध्यते । तदसौ भावनादारेणैव आरूप्यैकहायनीवद्गुण-
फलाभ्यां सम्बध्यत इति वक्तव्यम् । भावनासम्बन्धोऽपि चास्य न
स्वरूपेण सम्भवति । कारकं हि क्रियया सम्बध्यते न वस्तुस्वरूपम् ।
अतोऽवश्यं कर्मात्मना करणात्मना वा धातुना यागः प्रतिपादनौयः ।
तथा चोक्तरीत्या न तत्र सम्बन्धः । तेन गुणविधिपक्षे मत्वर्थलक्षणा
स्यादेव । तद्वरं वाजं पेयं सुराद्रव्यमस्मिन्निति सुराग्रहविधानान्त-
त्यस्यतया नामधेयत्वम्” । एवमुद्भिदादीनामिति स्थितम् ।

७ आग्नेयादीनामनामताधिकरणम् ।

तद्गुणास्तु विधीयेरन्नविभागाद्विधानार्थं न चेदन्येन
शिष्टाः स्युः ॥ ६ ॥

‘यदाग्नेयोऽष्टाकपालोऽमावास्यायां च पौर्णमास्यां चाच्युतो
भवती’त्यत्राग्नेयशब्दो गुणविधिर्नामधेयं वेति विचारः ।

“तत्रानेकगुणविधाने वाक्यभेदादष्टाकपालद्रव्यकं कर्ममात्रं
विधीयते । तस्य च स्थानक्रमादग्निदैवत्यं याज्यानुवाक्यायुगलमङ्गं
भवति । अतो मान्त्ववर्णिकोऽग्निरग्निहोत्रवत्प्राप्त इति तद्वदेव
तत्प्रत्यन्यायेन नामधेयत्वमित्येवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमहे—

मन्त्राकाङ्क्षा न चास्ति सत्यामपि न योग्यता ।

मन्त्रस्य नास्ति वचनमग्निहोत्रेऽस्ति तत्त्रयम् ॥

न ह्यष्टाकपालो भवतीत्येतावता पुरुषव्यापारः कश्चिदुक्तो योऽनुष्ठानाय स्मारकं मन्त्रमपेक्षेत । सत्यामपि तु मन्त्राकाङ्क्षायां पुरोडाशमात्रविषयस्य व्यापारस्य देवतावाचिमन्त्रसम्बन्धायोग्यत्वान्न सम्बन्धः । न च वाचनिको मन्त्रः । येनाधारवद्ब्रह्मान्मान्ववर्णिकौ देवता स्यात् । अग्निहोत्रे तु होमस्य पुरुषव्यापारत्वादस्ति मन्त्राकाङ्क्षा । योग्यश्च होमो देवताभिधायिना सम्बन्धुं वाचनिकश्च तत्र मन्त्रः । तेन युक्तं मान्ववर्णिकदेवताकल्पनम् । इह तु सम्बन्धस्याकाङ्क्षायोग्यतावशेन कल्प्यत्वान्न यागात्माकृसिद्धिरस्तीति न वाक्यभेदः^१ ” ।

८ बर्हिरादिशब्दानां जातिवाचिताधिकरणम् ।

बर्हिराज्ययोरसंस्कारे शब्दलाभादतच्छब्दः ॥ १० ॥

नामधेयप्रसङ्गेन द्रव्यनाम्नां बर्हिराज्यपुरोडाशशब्दानां संस्कृतेषु शास्त्रस्थैः प्रयुज्यमानानां असंस्कृतेऽपि जातिमात्रे कैश्चिदशास्त्रस्थैः प्रयुक्तानां किं यूपादिशब्दवत् संस्कारनिमित्तता उत जातिशब्दतेति चिन्त्यते ।

“तत्र पील्वादिवदश्ववालादिवच्च शास्त्रस्थयाज्ञिकप्रसिद्धिः । सार्वलौकिकी जातिमपहाय केचिदेतान् प्रयुञ्जते^२ ” । संस्कारत्वमपहाय जातिमात्रे लौकिकाः प्रयुञ्जते । तेनैषामव्यभिचाराज्जातिवाचिता । “न च जातिमात्रे शास्त्रस्थानामप्रयोगादतद्वचनत्वम् ।

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ७३-७४ ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ७५ ।

न हि यो यत्र शक्तः स तत्सर्वैः प्रयोक्तव्य इति नियमः । तस्मा-
ज्जातिशब्दः^१ ” ।

६ प्रोक्षण्यादिशब्दानां यौगिकताधिकरणम् ।

प्रोक्षणीष्वर्थसंयोगात् ॥ ११ ॥

“ प्रोक्षणीशब्दस्यापि पूर्ववत् संस्कारनिमित्तत्वं प्राप्तमपोद्यासंस्कृते-
ऽपि क्वचित् प्रयोगादव्यभिचाराच्च जातिनिमित्तता प्राप्ता ।
न चावयवार्थता युक्ता समुदायप्रसिद्धेर्बलीयस्त्वात् । अवयवद्वारेण
हि विशिष्टार्थप्रतीतिर्वाक्यादिव वाक्यार्थप्रतीतिः पदार्थनिमित्ता
लाक्षणीकौ समुदायप्रसिद्धौ तु श्रुत्या प्रतीतिरिति सैव बलीयसी ।
उच्यते—

रुद्धिर्लब्धात्मिका योगं बाधते न त्वलम्बिका ।

तत्रैव चात्मलाभोऽस्या यत्र नावयवार्थता^२ ” ॥

“ यथा वृक्षेऽश्वकर्णस्य सत्सु त्ववयवार्थेषु तत एवोपपन्नत्वा-
दर्थापत्तिः परिचीणा । नादृष्टा समुदायशक्तिं कल्पयति^३ ” ।
आह च—

“ भवेतां यदि वृक्षेषु वाजिकर्णौ कथञ्चन ।

अदृष्टां समुदायस्य कः शक्तिं जातु कल्पयेत्^४ ” ॥

“ इह च सन्धवयवार्थाः प्रकृष्टोच्छण्हेतुत्वात् । स्त्रीलिङ्गत्वाच्च ।
तेनात्र नात्मानं लभते रुद्धिः वाक्यार्थं वाक्यवत् । तस्माद्यौगिकः
प्रोक्षणीशब्दः^५ ” ।

१-२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ७५-७६ ।

३ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ७६ ।

४ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ६०६ ।

५ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ७७ ।

१० निर्मन्थ्यशब्दस्य यौगिकताधिकारणम् ।

तथा निर्मन्थ्ये ॥ १२ ॥

“ निर्मन्थ्यशब्दस्यापि शास्त्रप्रयोगात् संस्कारवाचित्वे अव्यभि-
चाराद्वा जातिनिमित्तत्वमुद्गाह्य प्रसिद्धाऽवयवार्थत्वात्पूर्ववद्यौगिकत्वं
साधनीयम् । विशेषस्त्वयं—प्रोक्षणीशब्दो हि सेचनसाधनत्वनिमित्तः ।
अस्ति चापां प्रोक्षणसाधनत्वं सर्वदेति युक्तं यौगिकत्वम् ।
निर्मन्थ्यशब्दस्तु मन्थनकर्मत्वनिमित्तः । न च निष्पन्नस्याग्नेर्मन्थन-
कर्मत्वमस्ति । निष्पन्ने चाग्नावयं शब्दो लोके वेदे च प्रयुज्यते ।
निर्मन्थ्यमानय पक्ष्यामह इति । निर्मन्थ्येनेष्टकाः पचन्व्यभिचारा-
ज्जातिनिमित्त इति शब्दां निर्वर्त्तयितुमतिदेशः क्रियते । भूत-
पूर्वमपि योगं निमित्तीकृत्य सन्तानाभिप्रायेणापि प्रयोगोपपत्तेर्न
रूढिः कल्प्या^१ ” । तस्माद्योगः प्रयोजनं तु—

“ पाकेनाग्नेरुपात्तत्वाद्विशेषणपरा श्रुतिः ।

तच्च पाकाङ्गभूतत्वात्तद्देशादौ करिष्यते ॥

यथैव लोहितोष्णीषादिविधिषु विशेष्याणां प्राप्तत्वाद्विशेषण-
परत्वं एवमिहापि विशेष्यानुवादेन विशेषणभूता निर्मन्थनक्रियैव
पाकाङ्गत्वेन विधीयते । अङ्गानाञ्च प्रधानेन एकदेशकालकर्त्तृत्वं
वक्ष्यते । तेनाचिरनिर्मथितेनादूरनिर्मथितेनानन्यकर्त्तृनिर्मथितेने^२—
ष्टकाः पक्त्वा इति ।

११ वैश्वदेवादिशब्दानां नामधेयताधिकारणम् ।

वैश्वदेवे विकल्प इति चेत् ॥ १३ ॥

“ चातुर्मासेषु प्रथमे पर्वणि अष्टौ यागाः समान्नाताः—

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ७७ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० १०६-१०७ ।

‘आग्नेयमष्टाकपालं निर्वपति । सौम्यं चरुं सावित्रं द्वादशकपालं
सारस्वतं चरुं पौष्णं चरुं मारुतं सप्तकपालं वैश्वदेवीमामिच्छां
द्यावापृथिव्यमेकादेशकपालं’मिति । तत्सन्निधाविदमन्नायते—
‘वैश्वदेवेन यजेते’ति । तत्र संशयः । किं यजेतेत्यनूद्धानां
यागानां वैश्वदेवशब्देन गुणविधिः किम्वा तेषामेव नामधेयमिति ।

तत्र नामत्वपक्षे स्याद्वाक्यमेतदनर्थकम् ।

देवतातो विधेया स्याद्वाक्यभावादिकल्प्यते ॥

नामत्वपक्षे हि तस्याविधेयत्वाद्यागस्यारूपत्वेनाविधेयत्वात् समस्त-
वाक्यानर्थक्यप्रसङ्गः । तस्माद्गुणविधिः ।

अग्न्याद्यवरद्वेषु यागेषु देवतान्तरमनवकाशमिति चेत्—न ।
विकल्पसम्भवात् । न चाद्यापि सूत्रभाष्यकाराभ्यामुत्पत्तिशिष्टप्राबल्यं
कथितं, इति तुल्यबलतां मन्यते । गुणाधिकरणे बलाबलं वक्ष्यते
तेन गतार्थमिति चेत्—न । आनर्थक्याच्च । वक्ष्यति हि—
श्रुतिलिङ्गाधिकरणे आनर्थक्यप्रतिहतानां बलाबल इति वाक्य-
स्थानर्थक्यं भावूदिति देवतैव विधेया । सा च गत्यभावादुत्पन्न-
शिष्टाप्युत्पत्तिशिष्टैरग्न्यादिभिर्विकल्पयिष्यत इति प्राप्तावाचक्ष्महे—
तत्तनुवादत्वेऽपि समुदायीकरणेनार्थवत्^१ ” । एकशब्दोपादाने हि
सत्येकप्रतीत्यारूढानामग्नेयादीनां सामानाधिकरण्यादेकसंज्ञा-
सम्बन्धो लभ्यते । “ततश्च प्राचीनप्रवणे वैश्वदेवेन यजेतेत्यादौ
वैश्वदेवनामकस्याग्नेयादिसमुदायस्य ग्रहणं सिध्यति^२ ” । इतरथा
त्वामिच्छायागस्यैव ग्रहणं स्यात् । “एवञ्चैकदेशदेवतात्वेन विशेषां
देवानां समवायात्तत्प्रत्यन्यायेन नामधेयं वैश्वदेवशब्दः^३ ” ।

१२ वैश्वानरेष्टत्वाद्यर्थवादताधिकरणम् ।

पूर्ववन्तोऽविधानार्थास्तत्सामर्थ्यं समाम्नाये ॥ १७ ॥

“वैश्वानरं द्वादशकपालं निर्वपेत् पुत्रे जाते” इत्युक्ता
 ‘यदष्टाकपालो भवति गायत्र्येवैनं ब्रह्मवर्चसेन पुनाति यन्नवकपाल’
 इत्येवमादिश्रूयते । तत्र विचारः—किमष्टाकपालादिशब्दाः प्रकृत-
 वैश्वानरयागस्य नामधेयं उत तत्रैव गुणविधिः उत फले गुणविधिः
 उत अर्थवाद इति । तत्र वैश्वानरसामानाधिकरण्यादष्टत्वादीनां
 द्वादशसु प्राप्तेः । तद्व्यख्यान्यायेन च नामधेयत्वमाशङ्क्य द्रव्य-
 वचनत्वात् यागसामानाधिकरण्याभावात् तद्व्यख्याभावाच्च गुण-
 विधिः । तथा हि यद्यपि द्वादशस्त्रष्टौ सन्ति तथापि न द्वादश-
 कपालेऽष्टाकपालः सम्भवति । यो ह्यष्टसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः पुरो-
 डाशः सोऽष्टाकपालः । न च पुरोडाशान्तरमस्ति पुरोडाशे । न च
 द्वादशकपाल एवाष्टसु संस्कृत इति शक्यते वक्तुम् । अष्टभिस्त्वतुर्भिश्च
 संस्कृतोऽसौ न केवलैरष्टभिः । ततश्चासामर्थ्यात्तद्विहितानुपपत्तिः ।
 तस्मात् प्राप्यभावान्न तद्व्यख्यत्वम् । अस्तु तर्हि गुणविधिः । अष्टा-
 कपालद्रव्यं वाष्टवसंख्या वा वैश्वानरयागे विधीयते न चोत्पत्ति-
 शिष्टद्वादशकपालविरोधादविधानम् । सर्वेषामुत्पत्तिशिष्टत्वात् ।
 एकं हीदं वाक्यं वैश्वानरमित्यादि यस्मिन् जात इत्यन्नं एकोप-
 क्रमावसानत्वात् तन्मध्ये च श्रुताष्टत्वादयः सर्वेऽप्युत्पत्तिशिष्टाः ।

यद्वा सर्व एवोत्पन्नशिष्टाः वैश्वानरं द्वादशकपालमिति देवता-
 विशिष्टयागविधानात् । तत्र तु यदष्टाकपाल इत्यादिवाक्यान्तरै-
 र्वैकल्पिकद्रव्यविधानम् । उपक्रमे तु द्वादशकपालशब्दो गुणवाक्य-
 प्राप्तद्रव्योपलक्षणार्थ इति । उच्यते—

उत्पत्तिवाक्यशिष्टत्वं न तावदुपपद्यते ।

सर्वेषामर्थभेदेन वाक्यं तत्र हि भिद्यते ॥

अर्थवादत्वे ह्येकवाक्यत्वं सिद्ध्यति । तत्पक्षे तु नानागुणविधा-
नेनार्थभेदाद्वाक्यभेदः । किञ्च निर्वपतिनात्र कर्मविधानं स च
द्वितीयान्तेन द्वादशकपालेनैव सम्बध्यते न तु प्रथमान्तैरष्टा-
कपालादिभिः । ततश्च द्वादशत्वमुत्पत्तिवाक्यगतत्वादितरेभ्यो
वाक्यान्तरगतैर्भ्यो बलवत् स्यात् ।

न चाप्युत्पन्नशिष्टत्वं सर्वेषामुपपत्तिमत् ।

न द्वादशकपालस्य ह्यविवक्षोपपद्यते ॥

वैश्वानरसामानाधिकरण्याद्वितीयान्तं द्वादशकपालपदं निर्वपति-
संयुक्तं नाविवक्षितं तस्मादुत्पत्तिशिष्टं द्वादशकपालत्वम्^१ ।

अस्तु तर्हि ब्रह्मवर्चसादिफलार्थत्वेन वैश्वानरयागमाश्रित्याष्ट-
त्वादिगुणविधानकाम्यत्वाच्चोत्पत्तिशिष्टवाधेनापि निवेशः । तथा हि—

पुरुषार्थसमासे तु काम्यं नित्यस्य बाधकम् ।

विशेषतश्च सामान्ये पूर्वप्राप्ते प्रवर्तनात्^२ ॥

एवं प्राप्तेऽभिधीयते—

“फलार्थेषु गुणेषु स्याद्वाक्यभेदोऽर्थभेदतः ।

उपक्रमोपसंहारसाम्याच्चात्रैकवाक्यता ॥

‘वैश्वानरं द्वादशकपाल’मिति यैवेष्टिरूपक्रान्ता तामेव यस्मिन्
जात एतामिष्टिं निर्वपतीत्युपसंक्रियमाणामन्ते पश्यन्तो न तन्मथे
वाक्यान्तरमुपगन्तुमीश्वरे । फलेभ्यस्तु गुणे विधीयमानेऽर्थभेदा-
द्वाक्यभेदः स्यात् । तस्मादर्थवादत्वम् । अवयवद्वारेणावयवविस्तृतिः ।

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ८१-८२ ।

२ कारिकेयं तन्त्रवार्तिके नोपलभ्यते, शास्त्रदीपिकाकारैरपि नोद्धता ।

यो ह्यवयवोऽष्टासु कपालेषु संस्कृतः सोऽष्टाकपालपुरोडाशसादृश्या-
द्गौण्या वृत्त्याष्टाकपाल इत्युच्यते स्तोतुम्^१ ॥

१३ यजमानशब्दस्य प्रस्तरादिस्तुत्यर्थत्वाधिकरणम् ।

तत्सिद्धिजातिसारूप्यप्रशंसाभूमलिङ्गसमवाया

इति गुणाश्रयाः ॥ २३-२७ ॥

‘यजमानः प्रस्तरः,’ ‘यजमान एककपाल’ इत्यत्र गुणविधि-
नामधेयमर्थवादो वेति संशयः ।

तत्र प्रस्तरशब्दो यजमानस्य यजमानशब्दो वा प्रस्तरस्य
सामानाधिकरण्यान्नामधेयमिति प्राप्ते भिन्नार्थत्वेन प्रसिद्धत्वाच्च नाम-
धेयमिति निराकार्यं तस्माद्गुणविधिः । तत्रापि यजमानस्य मुख्य-
त्वात् ‘मुख्यं वा पूर्वचोदनात् लोकव’दिति न्यायेन प्रस्तरलक्षिते
तत्कार्यं सुगधारणादौ कार्यं यजमानो विधीयत इति गुणविधि-
रिति प्राप्तम् । तदपि न सुगधारणे विनियुक्तस्य यजमानस्य
स्वपदार्थकरणविरोधात् । प्रस्तरवच्च सूक्तवाकेन प्रहरणादेककपाल-
वच्च सर्वज्ञतकरणात् सर्वतन्त्रविलोपः स्यात् । तस्मादर्थवादः ।
गुणाच्च सामानाधिकरण्यं यजमानशब्दाभिहितो ह्यर्थः स्वसमवेतं
स्वकार्यकरत्वं सम्बन्धाद्बोधयति । तच्च प्रस्तरेऽस्तीति तद्व्यकारकः
प्रस्तरबोधः ।

एवञ्च स्वार्थसदृशे तद्गुणशालिनि तात्पर्यभाक् शब्दो गौण
इत्युच्यते, गुणादागतत्वात् ; यथा सिंहो देवदत्त इति । आह च—

“अभिधेयाविनाभूते प्रवृत्तिर्लक्षणेऽप्येते ।

लक्ष्यमाणगुणैर्योगाद्गुणैरिष्टा तु गौणता^२ ॥ इति

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ८२-८३ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ३१८ ।

यत्तु आरोपितार्थवृत्तित्वं गौणत्वमिति तन्न । शब्दबोधस्य
भ्रमत्वापत्तेः वेदे आरोपयितुरभावाच्च । गुणविवक्षया आवश्यक-
त्वेन सिंहत्वाद्यारोपकल्पने प्रमाणाभावाच्च । कथं तर्हि 'खपुष्पं
भवत्सिद्धान्त' इत्यादिप्रयोगेषु खपुष्पादिशब्दानां गौणत्वं इति ।
उच्यते—खपुष्पशब्दस्य हि आरोपितत्वविशिष्टं पुष्पमर्थः । तद्गुण-
श्चारोपितत्वं तथा च यथा खे पुष्पमारोपितं तथा जगत्कारणे
परमाण्वादौ सुखदुःखमोहात्मकमारोपितं तन्निष्ठा अत्यन्ताभावप्रति-
योगीति यावत् । आह च—

“ परमाणुशरीरादिकारणात्मादिवादिभिः ।

ततोऽन्यादृक् प्रधानात्मरूपं नास्तीति वर्ण्यते^१ ” ।

इति तस्माद्यजमानवत् कार्यकारित्वात् प्रस्तरस्य प्रश्लेष्यम् ।
प्रस्तरमुत्तरं वर्हिषः सादयतीति विधेः शेषः । एवं यजमान एक
कपाल इत्यपि एककपालं सर्वज्ञतं करोतीतिविधेः शेषः ।

१४ आग्नेयादिशब्दानां ब्राह्मणादि- स्तुत्यर्थताधिकारणम् ।

जातिः ॥

‘अग्निर्वै ब्राह्मण’ इत्यादिष्वपि प्राग्गुणविधित्वं च निराकृत्यार्थ-
वादत्वं साधनीयम् । पूर्वत्र परशब्दस्य परत्रप्रवृत्तौ तत्सिद्धिकरत्वं
निमित्तमुक्तमिह तु जातिर्जननमिति यावत् । प्रजापतिरकामयते
ह्यर्थवादे हि अग्निब्राह्मणौ द्वावपि सृष्टिकाले ब्राह्मणो मुखाज्जाता-
वित्युक्तम् ।

अनेन निमित्तेनाग्निशब्दो ब्राह्मणे प्रवर्तते स्तोतुम् ।

१५ यूपदिशब्दानां यजमानस्तुत्यर्थताधिकरणम् ।

सारूप्यात् ॥

आदित्यो यूपो यजमानो यूप इति । अत्र सारूप्यं प्रवृत्ति-
निमित्तम् । यद्यपि सादृश्यमात्रं सर्वत्रास्ति तथाऽपौह चतुर्ग्राह्यं
तद्विवक्षितम् । चातुषं हि यूपस्य यजमानसारूप्यमूर्ध्वं, आदित्य-
सारूप्यमञ्जननिमित्तं तेजस्त्रिवम् । तद्वारेण यजमानादित्य-
शब्दाभ्यां यूपः स्तूयते ।

१६ अपश्वदिशब्दानां गवादिप्रशंसार्थत्वाधिकरणम् ।

प्रशंसा ॥

‘अपशवो वाऽन्ये गो अपश्वेभ्यः पशवो गो अपश्वः’ इत्यत्र
पशुकार्ये गवाश्वव्यतिरिक्तानां प्रतिषेधप्रतीतेर्गुणविधिवेन पूर्वपक्षः ।

सिद्धान्तस्तु—तत्र तत्राजादीनां विहितत्वात् प्रतिषेधोऽनुपपन्नः न
च विकल्पो वैषम्यात् कल्पो ह्यत्र विधिः । अन्यत्र कृत्प्रस्तस्मादर्थ-
वादः । शब्दप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं तु प्रशंसा । तथा हि—‘अपशव’ इति
नञ्समासगतेन पशुशब्देन गवाश्वगतं प्राशस्त्यमुपादाय पश्चात्तदभावो
नञ्जा पश्चन्तरेषु कथ्यते । आह च—

“गवाश्वादिगतां पूर्वमुपादाय प्रशस्तताम् ।

तदभावोऽन्यपश्वादौ नञ्समासेन कथ्यते^१” ॥ इति

गवाश्वेषु यत्प्राशस्त्यं न तदन्येष्वस्तीति । सोऽयं गवाश्वगत-
प्राशस्त्याभावः पश्चन्तराणामपशूनाञ्च तुल्य इत्यनेन सादृश्येन
घटादिवचनस्यापशुशब्दस्याजादिष्वपि प्रयोगः । तस्मादप्रशस्त्यास्ते
गवाश्वमेव प्रशस्तमिति प्रशंसैव फलं यद्यपि न सिद्धादावपि

प्रशंसाफलकत्वमविशिष्टं तथापि तत्र प्रशंसा न प्रवृत्तिनिमित्त-
मिति शेषः ।

१७ भूमाधिकरणे बाहुल्येन सृष्टिव्यपदेशाधिकरणम् ।

भूमा ॥

‘सृष्टीरुपदधाती’ति श्रूयते । इह च अ(च?)यनेनार्थगृहीत-
मप्युपधानं अध्वर्यवकर्तृकत्वसिद्ध्यर्थं विधीयते तदाहुः—

“क्लृप्तवन्त्य^१पि वक्तव्या पुनरेवंविधा क्रिया ।

आध्वर्यवसमाख्यानं तथा हि प्रतिपद्यते^२” ॥ इति

किञ्च संहतस्यायनेनापि चयनोपपत्तेर्न नियमत उपधानप्राप्तिः
न चैवमपि संहतानामेवोपधानं किञ्च स्यादिति वाच्यम् । तस्येष्टकाः
प्रत्युपधानतया प्रतिप्रधानमादत्ते । तस्मादुपधानमात्रं विधेयम् ।
सृष्टीरिति तु लिङ्गप्राप्तमन्त्रानुवादमात्रमिति भाष्यकारः ।

केचित्तु मन्त्रोऽपि विधेयः । अविशिष्टसामर्थ्यतया हि ग्रहणा-
दावपि प्राप्तः सः ।

अपि च—

“प्रत्यक्षब्राह्मणोक्तानां मध्यमा चितिराश्रयः ।

तदर्थमपि सम्बन्धः कार्यो मन्त्रोपधानयोः” ॥

तस्माद्विशिष्टविधिगुणविधिर्वेत्याहुः । न चास्मिन् सूत्रे सृष्टीनां
विधानमादर्त्तव्यम् । गुणवृत्तिनिमित्तकथनमात्रपरत्वात् । गुणस्येह
भूमा । सृष्ट्यस्येष्टसमुदायेऽप्ये ‘कथा सुवते’ इत्यनुवाके सृष्टि^३
(भूमास्तीत्यनेन सादृश्येन सृष्टिशब्दः ।)

१ अत्र ‘प्राप्तवन्त्यपि’ति वार्तिकपाठः ।

२ तन्त्रवार्तिक, प्र० ४९८ ।

३ इतः परः प्रथमाध्यायग्रन्थः आदर्शं नोपलभ्यते ।

अथ द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ।

—•••—

१ अपूर्वस्याख्यातप्रतिपाद्यत्वाधिकरणम् ।

भावार्थाः कर्मशब्दास्तेभ्यः क्रिया प्रतीयेतैष
द्वयो विधीयते ॥ १ ॥

सम्बन्धमात्रं प्रतीतम् । न तु करणत्वं कर्मत्वं वा । तदुक्तम्—

“ सम्बन्धमात्रमुक्तं च श्रुत्या धात्वर्थभावयोः ।

तदेकांशनिवेशे तु व्यापारोऽस्या न विद्यते^१ ” ॥ इति

तत्र साध्यान्तरसम्बन्धे धात्वर्थस्य योग्यत्वात् करणत्वमेव श्रुति-
वशाद्भवति । नामार्थस्य तु वा -- चं करणत्वं दुर्बलम् । यागश्च
साधननिष्पादितः सन् फलं साधयिष्यति । न हि शास्त्रप्रवृत्तेः
प्राक् तन्निष्पत्तिः कचिदुपपद्यते । तस्माद्धात्वर्थस्य फलभावना-
करणत्वमिति । यस्य च फलसाधनत्वं स धर्म इति । तद्भेदस्य
सापवादस्य शब्दान्तरादिभिर्निरूपयिष्यमाणस्योपोद्घातोऽयम् ।

केचित्तु—शास्त्रभेदमेव द्वितीयाध्यायार्थमाहुः । प्रथमे हि शास्त्र-
प्रामाण्ये निरूपिते तदेव शास्त्रं कुत्र भिन्नं कुत्र नेति जिज्ञासा
संभवति । ननु कर्मभेदगोचरेति । तन्न । शास्त्रभेदस्यानुष्ठानानौप-
यिकत्वेनाचिन्त्यत्वात् । वक्ष्यमाणशेषशेषिभावाद्यनुयोगाच्च । चोदना-
प्रामाण्यबलेन सिद्धस्य चैत्यवन्दनादिव्यावृत्तस्य धर्मस्वरूपस्य कुत्र
भेद इति जिज्ञासासम्भवात् । शेषशेषित्वादिविचारोपयोगादभेद-
स्येति दिक् । तदेवं समानप्रत्ययोपात्तविधिवत्त्वात् धात्वर्थस्य फल-
भावनाकरणमिति स्थितम् ।

अथ भावनानिरूपणम् ।

का पुनर्भावना कस्य विधिः ?

उच्यते—

करोत्यर्थान्त्रिका उत्पादनापरपर्याया परोत्पत्त्यनुकूलव्यापाररूपा भावना । सा चाख्यातवाच्या । आख्यातार्थस्य करोतिना विवरणात् ।

उक्तञ्च—

“ सिद्धकर्तृक्रियावाचिन्याख्यातप्रत्यये सति ।

सामानाधिकरण्येन करोत्यर्थोऽवगम्यते^१ ” ॥ इति

अयं भावः । अभवतो गगनादेरक्रियमाणत्वात् भवतश्च घटादेः क्रियमाणत्वात् भवत्यर्थकर्तुः करोति कर्मत्वम् । तथा च करोत्यर्थ-कर्तुर्भवितप्रयोजकतया भवतेः प्रयोजकव्यापारे णिजुत्पद्यमानः करोत्यर्थमवलम्ब्यते । तेन स भावना । आह च—

“ करोतिः क्रियमाणेन न कश्चित्कर्मणा विना ।

भवत्यर्थस्य कर्त्ता च करोतेः कर्म जायते ॥

करोत्यर्थस्य यः कर्त्ता भवितुः स प्रयोजकः ।

भविता तमपेक्षाय प्रयोज्यत्वं प्रपद्यते ॥

प्रयोज्यकर्तृकैकान्तव्यापारप्रतिपादकाः ।

एण्ता एव प्रयुज्यन्ते तद्वयोजककर्मसु ॥

तेन भूतिषु कर्तृत्वं प्रतिपन्नस्य वस्तुनः ।

प्रयोजकक्रियामाहुर्भावनां भावनाविदः^२ ” ॥ इति

स्यादेतत् । भावना धातुवाच्यैव । भोक्तव्यमित्यादावाख्यातं विनापि तद्वतीतेः । तथा च तत्रापि कारकापेक्षा दृश्यते । अस्ति च तत्रापि करोतिसामानाधिकरण्यम् । किं कर्त्तव्यम् ।

भोक्तव्यम् । किं कृतवान् । भुक्तवानिति । धातुत्वेन भावना-
वाचकत्वाविशेषेऽपि पचित्यादिप्रातिखिकरूपेण विक्रीदनादौ शक्तिः ।

न चैव पचतिविक्रियत्योः सकर्मकत्वाकर्मकत्वविभागानुपपत्तिः ।
पचतीत्यस्य हि विक्रितिविशिष्टं करोतीत्यर्थः । तेन विक्रित्यास्य-
फलव्यधिकरणस्यैव देवदत्तादिनिष्ठस्य फलानुकूलव्यापारस्य पचि-
वाच्यतया परसमवेतक्रियाफलशालित्वरूपं कर्मत्वं तण्डुलादीनां न
विरुध्यते । विक्रीयन्तीत्यस्य तु विक्रितिं कुर्वन्तीत्यर्थः । तेन
फलसमानाधिकरणव्यापारवाचकतया क्रियाफलस्य परसमवेतत्वा-
भावात् । विक्रिदिरकर्मकः । एतेन घटो जायते घटं करोती-
त्याद्यपि व्याख्यातम् । जनेरुत्पत्त्याख्यफलसमानाधिकरणतदनुकूल-
व्यापारवाचित्वात् । उक्तञ्च—

“अस्यादावपि कर्त्रेण भाव्येऽस्यैव हि भावना ।

अन्यत्राग्रेषभावात्तु तथा सा न प्रकाशते^१” ॥ इति

कर्तृत्वं च निष्पन्नावयवाभेदात् सूक्ष्मरूपेण वेत्यन्यदेतत् ।
प्रत्युत त्वन्मत एवोक्तं विभागानुपपत्तिः । किञ्च भावयति घटमिति-
वत् भवति घटमित्यपि प्रयुज्येत । तुल्यार्थत्वात् । एकत्र हि
कर्तुः कुम्भकारस्य व्यापारं णिजाचष्टे अन्यत्र त्वाख्यातप्रत्यय इति ।

ननु प्रयोजकव्यापारो णिजार्थः । कर्तृव्यापारस्त्वाख्यातार्थ इति
भेद इति चेत्— न । कारकचक्रप्रयोक्तुः कर्तृत्वे घटस्यातथात्वात् ।
यदि तु

“धातुनोक्तं क्रियेन्नित्यं कारके कर्तृतेष्यते”

इति वैयाकरणोक्तरीत्या प्राधान्येन धातृपात्तव्यापारवत्त्वं कर्तृत्वं
तवापि सम्मतम् ।

आख्यातार्थनिरूपणम् ।

कस्तर्हीदानीमाख्यातार्थः ? व्यापारस्य धातुनैवाभिहितत्वात् ।

अपि च ज्योतिष्टोमयाजीत्यादौ धातुपात्तभावनां प्रति ज्योति-
ष्टोमयागरूपस्यांशान्तरस्य धातुपात्तस्यैव करणत्वे यज इति णिनिः
संगच्छते । न चैवं शयीत स्वास्थ्यमित्यादिप्रयोगापत्तिः । शयनस्य
भाव्यतयैवान्वयात् । तथैव व्युत्पत्तेः । त्वत्पक्षेऽपि साम्याच्च । एवं च
क्रियावाचको धातुरिति व्याकरणस्य प्रतिनान्यथयितव्येति ।

उच्यते—

“प्रत्ययार्थं सह ब्रूतः प्रकृतिप्रत्ययौ सदा ।

प्राधान्याद्भावना तेन प्रत्ययार्थोऽवधार्यते ॥

तथा क्रमवतोर्नित्यं प्रकृतिप्रत्ययांशयोः ।

प्रत्ययश्रुतिवैजायां भावनात्माऽवगम्यते^१ ॥

प्राधान्यबलेन तदागमे हि तदृश्यत इति न्यायेन च भावनायाः
प्रत्ययार्थत्वं निश्चीयत इत्यर्थः ।

यत्तु कृदन्तेष्वपि भावना प्रतीयत इति तत्सत्यम्, किन्तु
धात्वर्थैरेव तदाक्षेपः । आह च—

“धात्वर्थकारकैरेव गुणभूतोऽवगम्यते ।

भावनात्मा कृदन्तेषु तस्मान्नैवाभिधीयते^२ ॥

“यथैव भावप्रधानत्वादाख्याते तत्सम्बन्धादेव गुणभूतकारक-
प्रतीतिसिद्धेर्न कर्तृकर्मणोरभिधानं एवं कर्चाद्यभिधानादेव तद-
न्यथानुपपत्त्या^३ ॥ वा धात्वर्थाव्यभिचाराद्वा भावनास्त्राभः । “तथा-
भूतयैव च भावनया कारकसम्बन्धोऽप्युपपद्यते^४ ॥ एतेन करोति-

१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ३४८ ।

२-४ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ३५० ।

सामानाधिकरण्यं व्याख्यातम् । न चैवं धातोः सकर्मकाकर्मकत्व-
विभागानुपपत्तिः ।

“ अन्यदेव हि धात्वर्थप्राप्यं कर्मसकर्मके ।

अन्यदेव च सर्वत्र प्रत्ययार्थनिबन्धनम् ॥

ओदनं पचति ग्रामं गच्छतीति धात्वर्थापवर्गलभ्यमेकं कर्म
अपरं पुनर्भावनाकर्म । तत्र कदा चिद्धात्वर्थकमेव भावनाकर्मत्वमपि
प्रतिपद्यते पाकेन ओदनं भावयतीति । कदा चित् पुनः स्वकर्म-
विशिष्टधात्वर्थयुक्ता भावना कर्मान्तरेण युज्यते ग्रामगमनेन स्वार्थं
भावयेदिति ओदनपाकेन चेति । तच्च प्रायेण एवं कामशब्देन
सम्बध्यते । सुखकाम आसीत् स्वास्थ्यकामः शयौतेति । अत्र हि
धात्वोरकर्मकत्वेऽपि प्रत्ययार्थभावनां प्रति कर्मत्वेन स्वादीन्यवधार्यन्ते ।
आस्ते श्रेत इत्यादौ तु धात्वर्थ एव कर्मतया संबध्यते । तस्मात्—

साक्षादव्यभिचारेण धात्वर्थो यत्र कर्मभाक् ।

सकर्मकः स धातुः स्यात् पारम्पर्यं त्वकर्मकः ॥

आसनशयनादौ हि आनन्तर्येण नियमेन वा कर्मविशेषो न
निह्यत इत्यकर्मकत्वम् । पचिगम्यादीनां तु वित्तिद्यत्तत्संयुज्य-
मानसाक्षात् सम्बन्धिकर्माव्यभिचारात् सकर्मकत्वं न तु भावना-
विशेषणत्वे कश्चिद्विशेषः^१ ” । अस्तु वा त्वदुक्तरातीत्या फलभावनयोः
सामानाधिकरण्यवैयधिकरण्याभां विभागः । एतेन भवति घट-
मित्यादि प्रयोगापादानमपि प्रत्युक्तम् । तत्र धात्वर्थसमानाधि-
करण्यस्यैव व्यापारस्य व्युत्पत्तिबलात् प्रतीतेः । ज्योतिष्टोमयाजी-
त्यादौ तु धात्वर्थेनैव भावनाक्षेप इति दिक् । तस्मात् प्रत्यय-
वाच्यैव भावना । भावनाशब्दोऽप्यदूरविप्रकर्षेण तद्वाचकः ।

आह च—

“यादृशी भावनाऽऽख्याते धात्वर्थश्चापि यादृशः ।

नासौ तेनैव रूपेण कथ्यतेऽन्यैः पदैः क्वचित् ॥ इति

भावनाशब्दो हि निष्पन्नात्मिकां सत्त्वरूपापन्नां लिङ्गसंख्या-
योगिनीं अभिधत्ते । आख्यातं तु लिङ्गसंख्यारहितरूपेण^१ । अत
एवानन्याख्येयो भावार्थ इति सिद्धान्तः । तदेवं भावना निरूपिता ।

विधिनिरूपणम् ।

विधिस्तु पुरुषप्रवर्तनात्मकः । शब्दनिष्ठप्रेरणाख्यः शब्दभावेन^२-
त्युच्यते । अभिधा भावनेति च । सा च लिङादिवाच्या ।

आह च—

“अभिधाभावनामाङ्गरन्यामेव लिङादयः ।

अर्थात्मभावना त्वन्या सर्वाख्यातेषु गम्यते^३ ॥ इति

तस्या अर्थश्रयमुक्तमभियुक्तैः—

लिङ्गोभिधा सैव च शब्दभावना भाव्यं च तस्याः पुरुषप्रवृत्तिः ।

सम्बन्धबोधः करणञ्च तस्यां प्ररोचना चाङ्गतयोपयुज्यते ॥ इति

कथमप्रसिद्धायां तस्यां शक्तिग्रह इति चेत्—उच्यते—

शब्दश्रवणानन्तं प्रवृत्तिमुपलभ्य तद्वैतुभूतप्रेषणाध्येषणादि-
व्यापारालुवृत्तप्रवर्तनासामान्ये शक्तिग्रहः । अपौरुषेये तु वेदे पुरुष-
धर्मस्य प्रेषणादेरसम्भवात्तद्व्यतिरिक्तस्य विशेषस्य तर्कितस्य लक्षण-
मालिङादिर्बोधकः । तदाहुः—

१ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० २५२ ।

२ यस्तु शब्दगतः प्रयोजकव्यापारः यत्र पुरुषप्रवृत्तिः साध्यतां प्रतिपद्यते सा
शब्दभावेनेति न्यायमञ्जरीकारः, पृ० २४३ ।

३ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० २४४-४५ ।

अस्ति प्रवर्त्तनारूपमनुस्यूतं चतुर्व्यपि ।

तत्रैव लिङ्विधातव्यः किं भेदस्य विवक्षया ॥

न्यायव्युत्पादनार्थं वा प्रपञ्चार्थमथापि वा ।

विधादीनामुपादानञ्चतुर्णामादितः कृतमिति ॥

कृत्यानां तु प्रेषवाचित्वेऽपि प्राप्तविषयप्रवर्त्तनात्वरूपप्रेषस्य वेदे-
ऽसम्भवात् । प्राप्तविषयत्वाख्यविशेषणत्यागेन लक्षणया विशेष-
परत्वमेव । तदाहुः—

“ प्रवर्त्तनस्युतिः प्राप्ते प्रेष इत्यभिधीयते ।

अप्राप्तप्रेषणं सर्वं विधित्वं प्रतिपद्यते^१ ” ॥ इति

सा च शक्तिशक्तिमतोरभेदात् शब्दात्मिकेत्युच्यते । सा च
यद्यपि समानप्रत्ययोपात्ततयाऽर्थभावनयैव सह विशेषणतया सम्बध्यते
तथापि दध्ना जुहोतीत्यादौ तात्पर्यतो गुणांशे पर्यवस्यति । अथः—
साधनता तु लिङादेः प्रवर्त्तकत्वानुपपत्तिलभ्येत्याचार्याः । सैव
लिङादिवाच्येति तु मण्डनप्रभृतयः ।

२ अपूर्वस्यास्तित्वाधिकारणम् ।

चोदना पुनरारम्भः ॥ ५ ॥

अपूर्वं सिद्धं कृत्वा तज्जनकं किमिति चिन्तितम् । अपूर्वमेव
तु निष्प्रमाणकमिति पूर्वपक्षः ।

सिद्धान्तस्तु—

“ फलाय विहितं कर्म क्षणिकं चिरभाविने ।

तत्सिद्धिर्नान्यथेत्येवमपूर्वं प्रतिगम्यते^२ ” ॥

१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० २५१ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० २६० ।

कर्मभ्यः प्रागयोग्यस्य कर्मणः पुरुषस्य वा ।

योग्यता शास्त्रगम्या या परा सापूर्वमिष्यते ॥

श्रुतार्थापत्तिरेवैका प्रमाणं तस्य चेत् फलमेवोपजायते^१ ।

एषात्र प्रक्रिया । यागेन स्वर्गं कुर्यादिति प्रथमं बोधः । “ कथं
विनश्यरेण फलं कर्त्तव्यमित्यपेक्षायां अपूर्वं ह्येति । कथमपूर्वं
क्रियत इत्यपेक्षायामङ्गान्तुष्ठानेनेति । ततः पूर्वापरकालीनैरङ्गैरुप-
कृतस्य यागस्य फलापूर्वसाधनत्वं साक्षात्तं सम्भवतीत्युत्पत्त्यपूर्वं
कल्प्यते । तत्र सन्निपत्योपकारकाङ्गापूर्वाणि यागस्यैव शक्त्यतिशय-
मादधानानि उत्पत्त्यपूर्वनिष्पत्तौ व्याप्रियन्ते (तद्वारेण फलापूर्वम्) ।
आरादुपकारकाणि औत्पत्त्यपूर्वभ्यः फलापूर्वनिष्पत्तौ । दर्शपूर्ण-
मासयोस्तु पक्षद्वयवर्त्तिभ्यां समुदायाभ्यां युगपत् फलापूर्वरम्भायोगात्
प्रतिसमुदायमेकैकमपूर्वं कल्प्यते । तत्कथं भावापेक्षायामग्न्या-
धानाद्यङ्गोपदेशः । ततः पूर्वोत्तराङ्गसहितेभ्यः साक्षात्तदुत्पत्त्ययोगा-
त्यतिचिकं चीणि चीष्णपूर्वाणि कल्प्यन्ते^२ ” । इति न वा पूर्वपक्षः
सिद्धान्तसम्मतः ।

३ कर्मणां गुणप्रधानभावविभागाधिकरणम् ।

तानि द्वैधं गुणप्रधानभूतानि ॥ ६ ॥

आख्यातभेदादपूर्वभेद इति स्थितम् । तदपवाद - - - नेद-
मधिकरणमारभ्यते । दर्शपूर्णमासयोः श्रूयते—‘त्रीहीनवहन्ती’ति ।
तत्र किमवघातादपूर्वमस्ति उत नेति संशयः । तत्र

१ “ श्रुतार्थापत्तिरेवैका प्रमाणं तस्य वेद्यते ।

शब्दैकदेशभावाच्च स्वार्थेऽव्यागम एव नः ” ॥

इति तन्त्रवार्त्तिकपाठः, प्र० ३६६ ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, प्र० १०५-१०६ ।

“आख्यातत्वाविशेषेण भूतैर्भवार्थजन्मनः ।

सिद्धे च साध्यता शक्तेः सर्वाख्यातप्रधानता^१” ॥

तस्मात् ब्रौह्मपेक्षयावघातः प्रधानम् । ततश्चापूर्वमिति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“नामाख्यातार्थसम्बन्धे यदक्लृप्तप्रयोजनम् ।

तस्यादृष्टार्थता युक्ता नेतरस्याप्रमाणिका^२” ॥

स्यादेवं यद्यदृष्टं कल्प्येत । इह तु क्लृप्तमेव ब्रौह्मीणां याग-
निर्दत्तिरूपं प्रयोजनम् । अवघातस्य च ब्रौह्मार्थत्वे तुषविमोकादि
दृष्टमेव इति नादृष्टं कल्प्यम् ।

यत्तु नियमात् पूर्वं तत् क्रियाकृतं न भवतीति न तथा
व्यपदिश्यते किञ्च अवघातस्यादृष्टार्थत्वपक्षेऽपि द्रव्यनियमात् कल्प्यमेव
तदिति वरम्, दृष्टार्थावघातनियमादेकमेव तत्कल्पितम् । तेन यत्र
द्रव्यं प्रति क्रियाणां प्राधान्यं तत्रैवापूर्वभेदः । अस्य विवेकार्थं
गुणत्वप्रधानलक्षणं तृतीयासिद्धमेव । सिद्धवत् कृत्यदृष्टार्थलाभा-
लाभावेव परिचायकतया सूत्रकारः^३ ।

यैस्तु^४ द्रव्यं न चिकीर्ष्यते तानि प्रधानभूतानि

द्रव्यस्य गुणभूतत्वात् ॥ ७ ॥

यैः कर्मभिर्द्रव्यं धर्मतः स्वरूपतो वा न संस्कर्तुमिष्यते तानि
प्रयाजादीनि स्वसाधनं प्रति प्रधानभूतत्वाददृष्टार्थानीत्यर्थः ।

यैस्तु द्रव्यं चिकीर्ष्यते गुणस्तत्र प्रतीयेत तस्य

द्रव्यप्रधानत्वात् ॥ ८ ॥

यैरवघातादिभिर्द्रव्यं ब्रौह्मादि चिकीर्ष्यत इति उत्पाद्यते

१-२ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० २८३ ।

३ अत्र चुटिर्दृश्यते ।

४ अन्यत्र ‘तु’शब्दप्रयोगो न दृश्यते ।

विक्रियते आप्यन्ते संस्क्रियते वेत्यर्थः । प्रयोजनं तु प्रैयङ्गवेपि चरावतिदेशप्राप्तौ ब्रीहिसाधनकोऽवघातः पूर्वपक्षे । कुतः ।

“ प्रधाने हि श्रुतं द्रव्यं नाङ्गद्रव्यस्य बाधकम् ।

प्रयाजेज्याज्यवत्तेन हन्तौ स्यात् ब्रीह्यवाधनम् ॥

सिद्धान्ते तु बाध्यन्ते कुतः ।

प्रधानौपचिकं द्रव्यं संस्कारैरपि युज्यते ।

तेन हन्त्यादिभिः सर्वैः संस्कर्त्तव्याः प्रियङ्गवः^१ ” ॥

४ संमार्जनादीनामप्रधानताधिकरणम् ।

धर्ममात्रे तु कर्म स्यादनिवृत्तेः प्रयाजवत् ॥ ६ ॥

यद्यपि पूर्वाधिकरणे द्रव्यचिकीर्षा गुणकर्मलक्षणतया नोक्ता । उपकारकत्वलक्षणशेषत्वप्रसङ्गात् । तादर्थ्यलक्षणं हि श्रुत्यादिप्रमाणकं शेषत्वम् । न तु प्रत्यक्षाद्युपकारनिमित्तमिति वक्ष्यमाणत्वात् किन्तु—

“ अन्यतः सिद्धशेषाणां येषां दृष्टोपकारिता ।

तेषां नापूर्वमस्तीति हन्त्यादीनामुदाहृतिः^२ ” ॥

तथापि तदैव गुणकर्मलक्षणमिति भ्रान्त्या प्रत्यवतिष्ठमानस्य भ्रम-
निरासार्थमिदमधिकरणम् । ‘सुचः संमार्जनी’त्यादिषु चिन्त्यते ।
संमार्गादयः प्रधानकर्म उत गुणकर्मेति । तत्र दृष्टप्रयोजनाभावाच्च
गुणकर्म न च द्वितीयया सुचां साध्यत्वम् । ‘सक्तूनं जुहोति’ इत्यादौ
व्यभिचारात् । “ अतः सुगादिसाधनकसंमार्गविधानात् प्रधान-
कर्मैवेति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

स्यत्या साध्याभिधायित्वं द्वितीयायाः प्रतीयते ।

कर्त्तुर्यदीप्सितं यच्च तथायुक्तमनौप्सितम् ॥

^१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ६८४ ।

^२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ६८६ ।

तत् कर्म तद्वितीयार्थं द्रव्येवं पाणिनेः स्मृतिः ।

बलीयसी च साचारात् प्रयोगश्चास्ति तादृशः^१ ॥

ईप्सितानीप्सितानुवर्ति साध्यरूपं कर्म तच्च द्वितीयार्थं इति व्याकरणादवगतम् । समीहितभाव्यापेक्षायां च भावनायां क्रतु-साधनत्वेन समीहिताः सुच एव द्वितीयाबलात् साध्यत्वेन सम्बध्यन्ते । सक्तूनां तु भूतभाव्युपयोगाभावेन भाव्यत्वान्वयायोगात् । साधनत्वं द्वितीयया लक्ष्यते । आह च—

“भूतभाव्युपयोगं हि संस्कार्यं द्रव्यमिष्यते ।

सक्तवो नोपयोक्ष्यन्ते नोपयुक्ताश्च ते कश्चित् ॥

प्राधान्यमेव तत्रापि द्वितीया वदति स्वतः ।

विरोधात्तेन सम्बन्धो गुणभावस्तु लक्ष्यते^२ ॥ इति

“प्रयोजनं तु पूर्वपक्षे प्रकृतौ सुक्लृप्तमार्गस्य बद्धसाधनत्वात् कपिञ्जलन्यायेन त्रिवस्य शास्त्रीयत्वात् पात्राविवृद्धावपि पशु-चातुर्मास्थेषु तिष्ठ एव संमार्ष्टव्याः पूर्वपक्षे । सिद्धान्ते तु सर्वाः^३” प्रतिप्रधानं संस्कारावृत्तेः ।

५ स्तोत्रादिप्राधान्याधिकरणम् ।

स्तुतशस्त्रयोस्तु संस्कारो याज्यावद्देवताभि-
धानत्वात् ॥ १३ ॥

स्तोत्रशस्त्राण्युदाहरणम् । “स्तुतिरेव स्तोत्रम् । शस्त्रमपि सैवा-प्रगीतमन्त्रसाध्या । गुणगुणिसम्बन्धकीर्त्तनं स्तुतिः । सा च गुण-गुणिभ्यां निर्वर्त्यते । तत्र गुणानामकर्माङ्गतया निष्प्रयोजनत्वात्^४”

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १०६ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ३८६ ।

३-४ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ३८४ ।

स्तुत्यर्थत्वमसंदिग्धम् । स्तुतिस्तु स्तुत्यां देवतां प्रति किं स्मारकत्वेन
गुणभूता किं वा देवतां प्रति प्रधानभूता सत्यदृष्टार्था इति संशयः ।

तत्र—“देवतास्मरणं दृष्टमुज्झित्वाऽदृष्टकल्पनम् ।

न युक्तं तेन तादर्थ्यात् स्तोत्रादेर्गुणकर्मता^१” ॥ इति
प्राप्ते उच्यते—

“सत्यं दृष्टार्थता युक्ता अतिशेन्न विरुध्यते ।

देवतास्मरणार्थत्वे स्तुतिरूपं^२ विहन्यते^३ ॥

“अतस्य हि प्रयोजनकल्पनम् । स्तुतिशेह कर्त्तव्यतया श्रूयते ।
‘आज्यैः सुवते,’ ‘प्रउगं शंसती’ति । यदा च मन्त्रवाक्यं गुण-
सम्बन्धाभिधानपरं तदा स्तुतिर्भवति । यदा तु गुणदारेण गुणि-
प्रकाशनार्थं न तदा स्तुतिः । न हि लोके योऽयं वक्रकेशान्त-
स्तमानयेति परिचायकत्वेन गुणोक्तौ स्तौतीति व्यवहरन्ति । तस्मात्
स्तौतिशंसत्योः प्रकाशनलक्षणायां मानाभावात् अतिबलाददृष्टार्थ-
त्वम् । एवञ्च माहेन्द्रग्रहयाज्याभ्याससन्निधावैन्द्री स्तुतिरूपपद्यते^४” ।
तथा हि—

यां काञ्चिदप्युपादाय देवता साधिता स्तुतिः ।

अदृष्टं यागमात्रार्थं करोत्यारादवस्थितम् ॥

तत्पक्षे तु यचेन्द्रस्तचैन्द्री स्तुतिरुत्कृष्यते । अतिसमवायित्वादेव-
तायाः । यदि तु मनोतास्याग्निशब्दोऽग्निषोमाविवेन्द्रशब्द एव
महेन्द्रं लक्षयेत्तर्हि लक्षणैव दोषः ।

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १११ ।

२ अथ ‘अतर्क्य’मिति सुद्रितपुस्तकपाठः ।

३-४ शास्त्रदीपिका पृ० १११ ।

५ अग्नीषोमीयपशौ ‘त्वं ह्यग्ने प्रथमो मनोते’ति मनोतामन्त्रे अतोऽग्निशब्दो
लक्षणया यथाग्नीषोमौ प्रतिपादयति तथा इन्द्रशब्दोऽपि लक्षणया महेन्द्रं प्रकाशये-
दित्यर्थः—मयूखमालिका, पृ० १११ ।

ई मन्त्राविधायकत्वाधिकरणम् ।

विधिमन्त्रयोरैक्यार्थमैकशब्दात् ॥ ३० ॥

द्विविधमाख्यातमुक्तम्—प्रधानकर्मणां विधायकं गुणकर्मणाञ्च ।
किमेतदेव प्रकारद्वयसुतान्योऽप्यस्तीति प्रसङ्गात् प्रतिपाद्यते ।

तत्र 'देवांश्च याभिर्यजेते ददाति चे'त्येवमादीनि यच्छब्दा-
मन्त्रणोत्तमपुरुषादिसंयुक्तान्याख्यातानि । 'यस्योभयं हविरार्ति-
मार्च्छेदि'त्यादीनि च निमित्तादिप्रतिपादनेनाख्यातान्तरैरेकवाक्यतां
गतानि उदाहरणम् । तानि च प्रायेण मन्त्रेष्वेवेति मन्त्रोपन्यासः ।
अविधायका मन्त्रा इति प्रसिद्धिश्च । न तु मन्त्रत्वस्य कश्चित्
न्यायोपयोगः । तानि विधायकानि न वेति संशयः । तत्र—

“विधायकत्वमेतेषामाख्यातत्वाविशेषतः ।

सत्यपि प्रकृते कर्मण्यभ्यासात् कर्मभेदधीः^१” ॥

“प्राप्तत्वाद्यदि चेत्थेन मन्त्राणामनुवादता ।

तैरेव विहितं कस्मान्न स्मारयति चोदना^२” ॥

यत्तु मन्त्रत्वादविधायक इति तन्न । वसन्ताय कपिञ्जलाना-
लभत इत्यादौ व्यभिचारात् । तस्मादगृह्यमाणविशेषत्वाद्वाङ्मण-
वन्मन्त्रोपि विधायकः । अभ्यासाच्च कर्मभेद इति प्राप्तेऽभिधीयते—

“यच्छब्दादिभिरेतेषां विधिशक्तिर्विहन्यते ।

न हि याभिर्यजेतेति कथञ्चिद्विधिसम्भवः^३” ।

तथा दामि गृह्णामीति नात्मनात्मा विधातुं शक्यः । तथा
अग्नीदग्नीन् विहरेत्यादावामन्त्रेण विधिशक्तिलोपः । अभिसुखा-

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ११२ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ४१२ ।

३ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ११२ ।

नभिमुखपुरुषसाधारणत्वाद्विधेः। आमन्त्रणस्य च तद्विरुद्धस्वभाव-
त्वात्। तस्मादेवमादीनां प्रयोगमध्ये पुरुषान्तरेण पुरुषे स्मारयितव्ये
सामर्थ्यम्। न तु विधाविति सिद्धमभिधायकत्वम्। आह च—

“अनुष्ठाने पदार्थानामवश्यं भाविनी स्मृतिः।

अनन्यसाधनाऽनन्यकार्यैर्मन्त्रैः प्रसाध्यते^१” ॥

एवञ्च मन्त्रैरेव स्मृत्वा कर्त्तव्यमिति नियमादृष्टमपि कल्प्यम्।

यत्र तु मन्त्राभावस्तत्र ब्राह्मणमेव विधायकं स्मारकञ्च। तदुक्तम्—

“विधायकं सदप्यर्थं ब्राह्मणं स्मारयिष्यति।

मन्त्रतस्तु विरोधे स्यादित्यत्रैतद्विध्यते^२” ॥ इति

७ मन्त्रनिर्वचनाधिकारणम् ॥

तच्चोदकेषु मन्त्राख्या ॥ ३२ ॥

न्यायानौपयिकेनापि मन्त्रशब्देन पूर्वं व्यवहृतमिति तत्प्रसङ्गात्
मन्त्रलक्षणमुच्यते। तत्पूर्वोक्तमभिधानम्। चोदकं प्रयोजकं येषां
तेषु मन्त्राख्येति। प्रायिकमिदम्। यत्राभियुक्तानां मन्त्रत्वप्रसिद्धिः
स मन्त्र इति विवक्षितम्। प्रयोजनन्तु—‘अहे बुध्निय मन्त्रं मे
गोपाय। यमृषयस्तथिविदा विदुः। ऋचः सामानि यजूंषि’ इति
वेदवाक्यार्थबोधः।

८ ब्राह्मणनिर्वचनाधिकारणम्।

शेषे ब्राह्मणशब्दः ॥ ३३ ॥

मन्त्राङ्गिन्नं ब्राह्मणमिति। एतदपि प्रासङ्गिकम्। फलं तु
‘एतद्ब्राह्मणान्येव पञ्च हवींषि’ इति वाक्यार्थबोधः।

१ मन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ४१४।

२ मन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ४१२।

६ ऊहाद्यमन्त्रताधिकरणम् ।

अनाम्नातेष्वमन्त्रत्वमान्नातेषु हि विभागः स्यात् ॥ ३४ ॥

ऊहप्रवरनामधेयानां मन्त्रत्वमुत नेति संशये मन्त्रैकवाक्यत्वेन तन्मध्ये निवेशात् मन्त्रैर्कार्यकरत्वाच्च मन्त्रत्वमिति प्राप्त उच्यते—

“अभियुक्तप्रसिद्धा हि मन्त्रत्वमवकल्पते ।

स्वाध्यायकाले तेषाञ्च समान्नातेषु मन्त्रधौः^१” ॥

तस्मादभियुक्तप्रसिद्धाभावादमन्त्रत्वम् । मन्त्रैकवाक्यत्वं त्वप्रयोजकम् । मन्त्रकार्यकरत्वं तु रथघोषेण माहेन्द्रं श्रोत्रमुपाकरोतीति विहिते रथघोषे व्यभिचारि । प्रयोजनन्तु ऊह्यमाने सूर्याय इत्यादि पदे भ्रष्टेऽपि मन्त्रभेषनिमित्तप्रायश्चित्तत्वमस्येव । यतः—

“आह्वतौनामभिव्यक्तिर्या कथं चिन्निरूपिता ।

नासाववयवाधिक्यविनाशेऽपि विनश्यति^२” ॥

तेन तत्र हान्दसप्रयोगादिकमप्युपपद्यत इति सिद्धम् ।

१० चङ्गलक्षणाधिकरणम् ।

तेषामृग्यचार्थवशेन पादव्यवस्था ॥ ३५ ॥

‘अहे बुद्धिथे’त्यादिपूर्वीदाहृतवाक्यार्थोपयोगी मन्त्राणामवान्तर-विभागः चङ्गादिरूपः लक्षणेन व्युत्पाद्यते । यत्र (अर्थवशेन) पाद-व्यवस्था सा चङ्गिति । व्यवस्था च यद्यपि वृत्तलक्षणाधीना तथापि कचिदर्थोऽपि पादेन समाप्यत इति प्रायिकं तत्सूत्रेऽनुदितम् । न तु लक्षणघटकम् ।

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ११४ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ४१८ । अत्र ‘विनाशेषु’ इति वज्रवचनान्तः पाठः ।

११ सामलक्षणाधिकारणम् ।

गौतिषु समाख्या ॥ ३६ ॥

प्रगीतो मन्त्रः सामेति सूत्रार्थः । तत्रापि नागृहीतविशेषण-
न्यायेन 'कवतीषु रथन्तरं गायीत'त्यादिदेशोपपत्तेश्च गौतिरेव
सामेति सप्तमे वक्ष्यते । इह तु मन्त्रविभागमात्रं विवक्षितमिति न
पौनरुक्तम् ।

१२ यजुर्लक्षणाधिकारणम् ।

शेषे यजुःशब्दः ॥ ३७ ॥

चक्षुसामाभ्यां भिन्नं मन्त्रजातं यजुरित्यर्थः ।

१३ निगदानां यजुष्वाधिकारणम् ।

निगदो वा चतुर्थं स्यात् धर्मविशेषात् ॥ ३८ ॥

शेषे यजुः शब्द इत्यस्याच्चेपेण इदमारभ्यते । अपरसम्बोधन-
रूपाः प्रोक्षणीरासादयेत्येवंरूपा मन्त्रा निगदाः । ते किं यजुष्येव
उत भिन्ना इति संशयः ।

व्यपदेशभेदादुपांशु यजुषा उच्चैर्निगदेनेति विरुद्धधर्माध्यासाच्च
भिन्ना इति प्राप्त उच्यते—

नितरां गद्यन्त इति व्युत्पत्त्या यजुष्येव उच्चैस्त्वधर्मयोगान्निगद-
व्यपदेशो ब्राह्मणपरिव्राजकवदुपपद्यते । विरुद्धधर्मोपि सत्येव यजुष्टे
परप्रत्यायनरूपकार्यविरोधेन निगदेषूपांशुत्वाप्राप्तेरर्थवशाच्चोच्चैस्त्वसिद्धेर्न
यजुर्भ्यो भेदमावहति । तस्मात् यजुर्लक्षणयोगात् यजुष्येव निगदाः ।

आच्चेपेष्वपवादेषु प्राप्यां लक्षणकर्मणि ।

प्रयोजनं न वक्तव्यं यच्च कृत्वा प्रवर्त्तते^१ ॥

१ पूर्वस्माद्व्यादसम्बन्धेयं कारिका लेखकप्रमादादन्यस्माद्वा चेतोरवास्या निवेशो जातः ।

१४ एकवाक्यत्वलक्षणाधिकारणम् ।

अर्थैकत्वादेकं वाक्यं साकाङ्क्षं चेद्विभागे स्यात् ॥ ४६ ॥

त्रिधैव मन्त्रा इत्युक्तम् । तत्र चक्षुसामानां भेदो न वक्तव्यः
अथेत्यप्रसिद्धत्वात् । यजुषां तु प्रस्निष्टपठितत्वात् न लक्षणादिना
भेदज्ञानमिति परिमाणलक्षणमुच्यते । यावदेकप्रयोजनं विभागे च
साकाङ्क्षं पदजातं तावद्यागसाधनत्वात् यजुर्वक्तव्यत्वाच्च वाक्यम् ।

अन्यत्तु यजुरन्तरवाक्यान्तरं चेदर्यादुक्तम् । तदुदाहरणं तु
'देवस्य त्वा सवितुः प्रसवे'ति । अत्र हि सर्वाणि पदानि निर्वाप-
प्रकाशनार्थानि विभागे च साकाङ्क्षाणि । यद्यपि 'भगो वां विभजतु
पूषा वां विभजतु' इति सर्वे एकार्थाः विभागप्रकाशकत्वात् ।
तथापि न साकाङ्क्षा इति भिन्नवाक्यत्वम् । अत एव विभागे
विकल्पः । तथा 'स्योनन्ते सदनं कृणोमि घृतस्य धारया सुशेवं कल्प-
यामि । तस्मिन् सौदाम्भते प्रतितिष्ठ ब्रीह्रीणां मेघ सुमनस्यमान'
इति यद्यपि विभागे साकाङ्क्षं तथापि प्रयोजनभेदान्नैकं वाक्यं किन्तु
द्वे—तत्र पूर्वं सदनकरणे नियुज्यते परं पुरोडाशप्रतिष्ठापने ।

१५ वाक्यभेदाधिकारणम् ।

समेषु वाक्यभेदः स्यात् ॥ ४७ ॥

येषामदृश्यमानकर्मसमवेतार्थत्वेन लैङ्गिकविनियोगाभावाद्वाच-
निको विनियोगः परस्परनैराकाङ्क्षश्च स्वरूपतोऽवगम्यते । तत्र किं
यदेकं यजुरिति चिन्त्यते—किं प्राक्दृष्टार्थमन्त्रावधेरेकमन्त्रत्वं उत
यावदेव मिथःसम्बद्धमिषेवेति आयुर्यज्ञेन कल्पतामिति च तावदेकं
यजुः । ऊर्जलेति प्राणो यज्ञेन कल्पतामिति यजुरन्तरमिति ।

तत्र—“अदृष्टार्थत्वेतेषामनुष्ठेयाप्रकाशनात् ।

तच्चैकं तत्र साकाङ्क्षाः सर्व इत्येकवाक्यता^१ ” ॥

अदृष्टं हि लाघवादेकमेव कल्प्यम् । तत्र च संभूयकारित्वात् विभज्यमानाः साकाङ्क्षा एवेत्येकवाक्यता । यद्यपि प्रतीकभेदेना-
नेकत्र विनियोगः दूषेवेति ग्राखां क्षिणन्ति ऊर्जैर्लेत्यनुमाद्रीतिं
तथापि यावद्विनियोगं सकल आवर्त्तिष्यते । आदिप्रतीकेन मध्य-
प्रतीकेन च सर्वस्योभयत्र विनियोगादिति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“यद्यप्येषामदृष्टोऽर्थस्तथापि न तदेकता ।

रूपतो हि निराकाङ्क्षा भिन्नत्वेनावधारिताः ॥

अन्योन्यानादरेणैव प्रार्थयन्ते प्रयोजनम् ।

यथापेक्षमतस्तेषां भिन्नादृष्टप्रकल्पना^२ ॥

यथा विश्वजिदादीनां भेदेन फलकल्पना ।

यथा च समिदादीनामपूर्वं भिन्नमिष्यते ॥

तद्वदत्र न चात्रैषामदृष्टार्थत्वसम्भवः ।

केदनादिप्रकाशने^३ दृष्टार्था हि विधेरमी^४ ” ॥

तेन विधिवशादेषां प्रकाशनार्थत्वे स्थिते अगत्या क्षिण्यतीत्याद्य-
ध्याहार्यम् । तत्रैकेन केदनं प्रकाश्यते अन्येनानुमार्जनमित्यर्थभेदा-
न्मन्त्रभेदः । तथा ‘आयुर्यज्ञेन कल्पता’मित्यादीनामपि स्वरूपतो
निराकाङ्क्षत्वात् ‘कृत्तृवाचयती’ति च वङ्गकृत्तिवचनस्य चोदित-
त्वान्तत्वंपत्त्यर्थमायुरादिविशिष्टकृत्तिभेदप्रकाशनपरत्वादर्थभेदेन मन्त्र-
भेदः । एतेन निर्वापवत् विभागवद्वा अभेदो विकल्पश्च प्रत्युक्तः ।

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ११७ ।

२ प्रकल्पनमिति पाठान्तरम् ।

३ शाखाच्छेदप्रकाशनेति पाठान्तरम् ।

४ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ११७ ।

१६—१७ अनुषङ्गाधिकरणम् ।

अनुषङ्गो वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिः सर्वेषु
तुल्ययोगित्वात् ॥ ४८ ॥

‘या ते अग्नेऽयाशया तनूर्वर्षिष्ठा गङ्गरेष्ठोऽं वचो अपावधीत्त्वेषं
वचो अपावधीत् स्वाहा । याते अग्ने रजाशया याते अग्ने हराशया’
इति श्रूयते । तत्रोत्तरौ मन्त्राबुदाहरणम् । किमनयोर्लौकिकः
शेषोऽध्याहार्यः किम्वा तनूर्वर्षिष्ठेत्याद्यनुषक्तव्यमिति । तत्र—

“ एकत्रैव निबद्धो हि समाम्नायेन वैदिकः ।

शेषोऽन्यत्र न नेतव्यो लौकिकस्त्वनिवन्धनः^१ ” ॥

लौकिको हि यत्र शब्दो यत्र कार्यं तत्र नियुज्यमानो न
विरुध्यते । वैदिकस्तु यदर्थमास्मात्स्तेनैव निबद्धो नान्यत्र नेतुं शक्यः ।
यदि तु रचयितव्यालौकिकात् रचितत्वेन लघुतरमिति वैदिक-
मप्यन्यत्र नीयेत तथापि समाम्नाय बहिर्भावात् लौकिकमेव स्यात् ।
तथा हि—

“ तानेव वैदिकान् मन्त्रान् भारतादिनिवेशितान् ।

स्वाध्यायनियमं हित्वा लोकबुद्ध्या प्रयुञ्जते^२ ” ॥

तस्माद्वैदिकः शेष इति प्राप्तेऽभिद्वन्द्वे—

“ विमुक्त्यापृतौ वेदे लौकिकावसरस्थितिः ।

तद्भाषापरविमोक्तश्च सकलान्वेषणक्षये^३ ” ॥

तत्र—“ अदृष्टः प्रकृतावर्थः प्रत्ययेऽन्विष्यते यतः^४ ।

पदे स्वस्मिन्नलम्बस्तु प्रार्थनीयः पदान्तरे ॥

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ११८ ।

२-३ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ४२६ ।

४ वार्त्तिके अत्र ‘पुन’रिति पाठः ।

स्वस्मिन् वाक्येऽपि न स्याच्चेन्मृग्यो वाक्यान्तरे ततः ।

वाक्यान्तरेऽपि न स्याच्चेन्मृग्यः प्रकरणान्तरे ॥

सर्वत्र च—

सन्निवृत्तो न लब्धश्चेत् विप्रकृष्टोपि वैदिकः ।

स एवावैदिकस्तु स्यात् प्राप्तः सन्निहितो यदा ॥

तदिह रजाशयाहाराशयावाक्ययोः शेषः स्वपदस्ववाक्ययो-
रल^१” अत्राद्यान्तरेऽन्विध्यते । ततश्च—

“यथापेक्षितरूपो हि वाक्यशेषे समर्थिते ।

वेदेन लौकिकः शेषो न मृग्यो निष्प्रमाणकः^२” ॥

सर्वार्थोऽप्ययं “सकृदान्नायमानः सर्वेषामौषिते देशे नाम्नातुं
शक्यत इति एकस्य यथाक्रममाम्नातः । इतराभ्यां अप्याकांचितः
पूर्वत्र परस्ताद्भावितया दृष्टसामर्थ्यः परस्तादेव निवेक्ष्यते । आह च—
प्रतीतिमात्रलाभार्थं तत्रदेशे स पद्यते ।

योग्यत्वात् सन्निवेशस्तु पूर्वमन्त्रवदिष्यते^३” ॥

‘चित्पतिस्त्वा पुनातु । वाक्पतिस्त्वा पुनातु । देवस्त्वा सविता
पुनातु च्छिद्रेण पवित्रेण वसोः सूर्यस्य रश्मिभि’रिति श्रूयते ।

तत्राच्छिद्रेणेत्यादिः शेषः किं पूर्वयोरनुषज्यते उत नेति संशयः ।

तत्र—

“अनन्तरेण सम्बध्य शेषस्येष्टा कृतार्थता ।

शेषिणश्च निराकाङ्क्षाः किं निमित्ताऽनुषङ्गधीः^४” ॥

१ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ४३६-४३७ ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० ११८ ।

३ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ४३७ ।

४ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ४४० ।

इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“अनन्तरस्य वाक्यस्य यदि शेषो भवेदयम् ।

तत एवं भवेदेष त्वाख्यातार्थेन सर्वभाक्^१” ॥

“पुनातु शब्दैकवाक्यतामुपगतो ह्ययमच्छिद्रादिः करणद्वारेण यजमानपावनक्रियाप्रकाशनार्थः । सैव च क्रिया पूर्वाभ्यामपि मन्त्राभ्यां प्रकाश्यते । तदर्थस्य वाक्यशेषः प्रधानवशान्तत्राहृत्यत इत्यनुषङ्गसिद्धिः^२” ।

१८ व्यवेताननुषङ्गाधिकरणम् ।

व्यवायान्नानुषज्येत ॥ ४६ ॥

“प्रत्युदाहरणत्वेन सन्निधेरेवमुच्यते ।

असम्बन्धतिरोधाने वैषम्यान्नानुषज्यते^३” ॥

‘सं ते वायुर्वातेन गच्छतां संयजत्रैरङ्गानि संयज्ञपतिराग्निषे’त्यत्र गच्छतामितिशब्दः संयजत्रैरित्यनेन बद्धवचनान्तेन त्वयोग्यत्वान्न सम्बध्यते । अतो बुद्धिविपरिवृत्तिभङ्गाद्यज्ञपतिना सह योग्यत्वेऽपि नानुषज्यते । अतो वैदिकशेषासम्भवात् गच्छन्ती गच्छतामिति चाध्याहारः ।

अनुसन्धानमात्रमिति के चित् । “प्रयोजनन्तु अनुषङ्गे मन्त्र-
त्वात् प्रायश्चित्तम् । लौकिकत्वे मन्त्रत्व इति । आह च—

“आन्नायमानं ह्यनुषज्यमानमन्तर्गतं मन्त्रनिरूपणायाम् ।

ऊहादिसाम्ये ननु लौकिकानाममन्त्ररूपप्रतिपत्तिसिद्धिः^४” ॥ इति

इति मौमांसाशास्त्रसर्वस्वे द्वितीयाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

१ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ४४० ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १२१ ।

३-४ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ४४२ ।

द्वितीयाध्याये द्वितीयः पादः ।



१ अङ्गापूर्वभेदाधिकारणम् ।

शब्दान्तरे कर्मभेदः कृतानुबन्धत्वात् ॥ १ ॥

“उपोद्वातप्रसक्तानुप्रसक्तादौ गतेऽधुना ।

शब्दान्तरादिभिर्भेदाल्लक्षणार्थोऽभिधीयते” ॥

तत्र शब्दान्तरसहस्रतोत्पत्तिविधिप्रमाणको भेदस्तावन्निरूप्यते ।
ज्योतिष्टोमे श्रूयते । ‘सोमेन यजेत । दाक्षिणानि जुहोति ।
हिरण्यमात्रेयाय ददाति । स्तृणाति स्तौति शंसती’त्यादि । तत्र
किं स्वर्गकामो यजेतेत्यनेन वाक्येन विहितायां भावनायां अव-
च्छेदकत्वेन सर्वे धात्वर्था विधीयते उत प्रतिधात्वर्थं भावनाभेद
इति संशयः ।

तत्र—

“भिन्नासु भावनासु स्यादनेकापूर्वकल्पनम् ।

एककृतृपुपपन्नेऽर्थे नानेकं तत्र कल्प्यते ॥

किञ्च—

भावना प्रत्ययार्थत्वात्तदेकत्वान्न भिद्यते ।

गुणभूता हि धात्वर्था न तां भिन्दुः कथञ्चन” ।

फलापवर्गित्वान्न क्रियाणां फलभेदं विना भेदायोगात् । न
भावना भेदवादिपक्षे भाव्यमपूर्वमाभिद्यते तथा च गौरवम् ।
यदि च धात्वर्थान् प्रति गुणभूता भावना स्यान्न (?) तदा तान्

१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ४४२ ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १२१ ।

प्रत्युपादीयमाना भिद्येतापि । न त्वेतदस्ति । आकाङ्क्षा तस्य क्रिया-
प्रधानत्वात् अतः संहृत्यैव धात्वर्थास्तां विशिष्यन्ति । प्रातिपदिकार्था
इव सुवर्था आरुणिमादय इव क्रयमित्येवं प्राप्तेऽभिधीयते—

प्रकृतिप्रत्यययोः पौर्वापर्यनियमात् । तत्तत्प्रकृतिपरप्रत्ययेन निर-
पेक्षतत्तत्प्रकृत्यर्थानुरक्तभावनाप्रतीतेरवच्छेदकान्तरस्याकाङ्क्षाभावेन
धात्वर्थान्तरविधानायोगात् धात्वर्थभेदेन भावनाभेद इति । तथा
च पर्यायभूतधातुरूपशब्दान्तरबलेन सर्वेषामज्ञानतत्तद्भात्वर्थावच्छिन्न-
भावनारूपकर्मज्ञापकत्वात्पोत्पत्तिविधित्वावगमात् कर्मैक्ये च तद-
नुपपत्तेः । शब्दान्तरस्योत्पत्तिविधित्वज्ञापनेन कर्मभेदोपयोगः ।

उक्तञ्च—

“ धात्वर्थभेदे सर्वत्र विज्ञेयं भावनान्तरम् ।

उत्पत्त्येकानुरक्ता हि नान्येनाप्यनुरज्यते^१ ॥

दृष्टान्तस्तु विषमः तथा हि—

“ निष्पद्येत समस्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यः प्रत्ययो यदि ।

ततः सर्वविशिष्टा स्याद्वन्द्वात्पन्नसुवर्थवत् ॥

यदि वा प्रत्ययः शुद्धः सर्वधातुपृथक्कृतः ।

श्रूयेत क्रयवत् सर्वैर्विशिष्येत स धातुभिः^२ ॥

अग्नीषोमादिर्हि पदश्रुत्या सुवर्थेन सम्बध्यते । आरुण्यादिषु
क्रयेण सह वाक्यांश्च त्रयं (?) एकेन प्रमाणेन युगपत्सम्बन्धः । इह तु
श्रुत्या यागसम्बद्धायां भावनायां यागहोमौ वाक्यप्रकरणाभ्यां
निविशेयाताम् । ते च श्रुतितो दुर्बले न तु ददातीति पदेऽपि
भावना श्रवणात् श्रुतिरेवेति चेत्—न । यागानुरक्तैवेयमित्यत्र श्रुति-

१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ४४६-४४७ ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १२२ ।

व्यापारविरहात् करणांशोपनिपाताच्चास्ति विरोधः । समुच्चये च नैरपेक्ष्यबाधः । तस्मात् धात्वर्थभेदात् भावनाभेद इति सिद्धम् ।

२ समिदाद्यपूर्वभेदाधिकरणम् ।

एकस्यैवं पुनः श्रुतिरविशेषादनर्थकं हि स्यात् ॥ २ ॥

‘समिधो यजति,’ ‘तनूनपातं यजति,’ ‘इडो यजति,’
‘वर्हिर्यजति,’ ‘स्वाहाकारं यजती’ति श्रूयते । तत्र किमेकं कर्म
उत पञ्चेति संशयः ।

एकमिति प्राप्तम् । तथा हि—

“प्रत्ययार्थः समानोपि धातुभेदेन भिद्यते ।

धातोरपि समानत्वे केन भेदोऽवधार्यताम्^१” ॥

न चैवमेकेनैव विधाने वाक्यान्तरानर्थक्यात् । तत्त्वमसीति
नवकृत्वोऽभ्यासवन्तात्यर्थग्रहार्थत्वात् । तनूनपादादिदेवताविधानार्थ-
त्वाद्वा । शाखान्तरीयाग्निहोत्रविधिवदेकस्यैव कर्मणः कदाचित्
केन विधिसम्भवाद्वा । एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

सर्वत्र हि आख्यातप्रत्ययस्य कर्मविधायकत्वमौत्सर्गिकम् । विधे-
यान्तरोपादाने तु गौरवभिया तदनुवादाकाङ्क्षा । तस्याच्च सत्यां
पूर्वकर्मप्रत्यभिज्ञा तां शमयति । यदा तु न पदान्तरोपात्तं विधेयं
तदा कर्मप्रत्यभिज्ञानस्य नानुवादकारणत्वम् । न च प्रकृते विधे-
यान्तरोपादानमस्ति । समिदादिदेवतानां मन्त्रादेव प्राप्तेः । अत
एव तत्प्रत्ययन्यायेन समिदादि नामधेयम् । द्वितीयायां तस्य देवता-
विधायकतायाः सति गत्यन्तरे कल्पनायोगाच्च । समित्पदस्यापि
देवताविधायकत्वे तदवसृद्धे कर्मणि देवतान्तरविधानायोगाच्च ।

तस्मादनन्यपरिधाय(?) पुनः श्रवणरूपाभ्यासेन कर्मोत्पत्तिविधित्वाव-
गमात् । अभ्याससहायेन विधिना कर्मभेदः । तदुक्तम्—

“आख्यातप्रत्ययः पूर्वं विधत्ते कर्मशक्तिः ।

अन्येनाक्षिप्तशक्तिस्तु तदाकाङ्क्षत्यनूदितम्^१” ॥

इति । न च बलीयस्याप्रत्यभिज्ञयैक्यम् । यतः—

“श्रुतेः कर्मान्तरज्ञानं सन्निधेरेककर्मधीः ।

तत्र श्रुतिबलीयस्त्वं जानतां कथमेकता^२” ॥

न चात्र यजिश्रुत्यैकतापि बुद्ध्या रूढेतिवाच्यम् । यतः

“यागोयमिति विज्ञानं यजिश्रुत्योपजन्यते ।

स एवेत्यन्य एवेति व्यापारोऽस्या न विद्यते^३” ॥

न तु सर्वत्र नामपदं गुणविधिपरं नामधेयं वा । तथा च—

संज्ञागुणान्यन्तरेण एव भेदसिद्धेः । काभ्यासो भेद एकः ।

तथा हि—

“गुणो वा नामधेयं वा समिदादिपदं भवेत् ।

ताभ्यामेव च भेदोऽत्र किमभ्यासः करिष्यति^४” ॥

किञ्च—“प्रयुज्यते हि वेदेषु नाख्यातं केवलं कचित् ।

नाम किञ्चित् प्रयुक्तं चेत् तत्र चोक्तं गतिद्वयम्^५” ॥

उच्यते—

नामार्थनिर्णयस्याख्यातनिर्णयाधीनत्वेन तदर्थविचारात् प्राक्
भेदाभेदयोर्ददासौनमेव । नाह्नः आख्यातार्थे हि विधेये ज्ञाने तत
एव भेदसिद्धिः । अनुवाचे तु नैव भेद इति । न चैवं संज्ञागुणयोः
कापि भेदकत्वं न स्यादिति वाच्यम् । आख्यातव्यापाराभाव एव

तयोर्भेदकत्वात् । यथा वैश्वदेव्यामिक्षा वाजिभ्यो वाजिनम्, अथैष ज्योतिरिति । कल्पस्याख्यातस्य कल्पकपारतन्त्र्यात् । ज्योतिरादौ च एतेन सहस्रदक्षिणेन यजेतेत्यस्य गुणान्वयव्यापृतत्वात् । एतेन ऋद्धिकामो यजेतेत्यस्य फलान्वयव्यापृतत्वात् । प्रकृते त्वनन्यपरोधिरिति विशेषः ।

उक्तञ्च—

“प्रायेणाख्यातसम्बन्धि नामेष्टं पारतन्त्र्यभाक् ।

तस्यैव प्रथमं तेन भेदाभेदनिमित्तता^१” ॥ इति

३ आधाराद्याग्नेयादीनामङ्गाङ्गिभावाधिकरणम् ।

प्रकरणं तु पौर्णमास्यां रूपावचनात् ॥ ३ ॥

अभ्यासस्थापवादोऽयम् । ‘यदाग्नेयोऽष्टाकपालोऽमावास्यायां पौर्णमास्यां चाच्युतो भवति तावन्नूतामग्नीषोमावाज्यस्यैव तावुपांशु पौर्णमास्यां यजन् ताभ्यामेतमग्नीषोमीयमेकादशकपालं पौर्णमासे प्रायश्चद्वैन्द्रं दध्यमावास्यायां ऐन्द्रं पयोऽमावस्याया’मिति काल-सम्बन्धानि श्रूयन्ते । तथा ‘समिधो यजति’ ‘आज्यभागौ यजती’-त्यादीनि अकालसंयुक्तानि । तेषां सन्निधौ ‘य एवं विद्वान् पौर्णमासीं यजते’ ‘य एवं विद्वानमावास्यां यजत’ इति वाक्यद्वयं श्रूयते । तथा ‘दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां स्वर्गकामो यजेते’ति फलं श्रुतम् ।

(To be continued.)

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held on the 27th March, 1931, in the Wheeler Senate House, Patna, the President of the Society, His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., presiding.

1. On the motion of Mr. D. N. Sen the following were elected officers and members of the Council for the year 1931-32:—

President—His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson,
K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James,
M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Secretary—Mr. J. L. Hill, M.A.

Joint Secretary—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Treasurer—Mr. Sham Bahadur, Barrister-at-Law.

Librarian—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Editorial Board:—

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, Editor.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., PH.D., Associate Editor.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer, and Librarian, who are ex-officio members):—

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus, M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. P. C. Manuk, Barrister-at-Law.

Rai Bahadur Ram Gopal Singh Chawdhary, M.A., B.L.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., PH.D.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D.LITT., I.E.S.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

Mr. H. R. Batheja, M.A.

Mr. D. N. Sen, M.A.

Mr. H. Lambert, M.A.

2. Mr. Sham Bahadur, Hon. Treasurer, presented the annual statement of accounts for 1930-31, which was taken as read.

3. The Vice-President, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James reviewed the work of the Society during the past year.

4. His Excellency, the President, introduced Dr. Radha Krishnam, Regius Professor of Philosophy in the University of Calcutta, who delivered a brilliant address on the subject :—

“ Ancient Idealism and Modern Science.”

5. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal proposed a vote of thanks to the chair.

J. L. HILL,
Honorary Secretary.

Principal Contents of Oriental Journals.

Journal Asiatique. Tome CCXVI, No. 1, Janvier-Mars, 1930.

Weill, Raymond. Les Achéens d'Asie mineure et les problèmes de l'arrivée achéenne sur la Méditerranée au II^e millénaire.

Dumézil, Georges. La préhistoire indo-iranienne des castes.

Mohammed ben Abd El-Jalil. Šakwā-l-ġarīb 'ani l-'awṭān 'ilā 'ulamā' l-buldān de 'Ayn al-Qudāt al-Hamaḡānī.

Tome CCXVI, No. 2, Avril-Juin, 1930.

Mohammed ben Abd El-Jalil. Šakwā-l-ġarīb 'ani l-'awṭān 'ilā 'ulamā' l-baldān de 'Ayn al-Qudāt al-Hamaḡānī (suite et fin).

Haguenauer, M.-C. La danse rituelle dans la cérémonie du Chín-kosaī.

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. January, 1931.

Thompson, R. C. Assyrian Prescriptions for Diseases of the Ears.

Wolfenden, S. N. On the Tibetan Transcriptions of Si-Hia Words.

Wesendonk, O. G. von. The Kālavāda and the Zervanite System.

Robinson, A. E. The Mahmal of the Moslem Pilgrimage.

Guest, A. R. Further Arabic Inscriptions on Textiles (IV).

Acta Orientalia. Vol. IX, Pars II, III, 1931.

Obermiller, E. The Sublime Science of the Great Vehicle to Salvation, being a Manual of Buddhist Monism.

Archiv Orientalní. Vol. II, No. 3, December, 1930.

Wesselski, A. Überlieferungen aus der Zeit Mohammeds, des Propheten.

Kraelitz-Griefenhorst F. Studien zur Lautlehre der kasantatarischen Sprache, I, Teil.

Djāwā. 10^e Jaargang No. 4 En 5, October, 1930.

Dr. I. J. Brugmans. Hollandsch-Inlandsch onderwijs.

Dr. Poerbatjaraka. Er-langgha.

Dr. K. C. Crucq. De Loemadjangsche ruiterbeeldjes en de paarden op de reliefs van Jeh Poeloe.

Oudheidkundig Verslag. (1929-1930.)

Dr. F. D. K. Bosch. De Beteekenis Der Reliefs Van De Derde En Vierde Gaanderij Van Baraboed. oer.

Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen. Oktober, 1930.

Nordenskiöld, E. Modifications in Indian Culture through Inventions and Loans.

A. B.-S.

Transliteration of the Devanagari Alphabet adopted in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society from 1925.

Devanāgarī.	Roman.	Devanāgarī.	Roman.
अ	a	त	t
आ	ā	थ	th
इ	i	द	d
ई	ī	ध	dh
उ	u	न	n
ऊ	ū	प	p
ऋ	r̥ or rī	फ	ph
ॠ	r̄ or rī	ब	b
लृ	l̥	भ	bh
ॡ	l̄	म	m
ए	e	य	y
ऐ	ai	र	r
ओ	o	ल	l
औ	au	व	v
क	k	श	s̄
ख	kh	ष	s̄ or sh
ग	g	स	s
घ	gh	ह	h
ङ	ṅ	ळ	l̥
च	ch	˙ (Anusvāra)	m̄
छ	chh	˘ (Anunāsika)	m̄
ज	j	: (Visarga)	h̄
झ	jh	× (Jihvāmūliya)	h̄
ञ	ñ	) (Upadhmāniya)	h̄
ट	ṭ	ˆ (Avagraha)	ˆ
ठ	ṭh	Udātta	—
ड	ḍ	Svarita	ˆ
ढ	ḍh	Anudātta	˘
ण	ṇ		

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY ON 31st DECEMBER, 1930.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
1	Foucher, Monsieur A ..	1919	Professor, University of Paris, Paris.
2	Frazer, Sir James G., D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D.	1916	Trinity College, Cambridge, England.
3	Gait, Sir E. A., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., PH.D., I.C.S. (Retd.)	1920	The Croft, Park Hill, Ealing, London.
4	Grierson, Sir George, K.C.I.E., PH.D., D.Litt., I.C.S. (Retd.)	1916	Rath Farnham, Camberley, Surrey, England.
5	Haddon, Alfred C., M.A., SC.D., F.R.S.	1916	3, Cranmer Road, Cambridge.
6	Jacobi, Dr. Hermann ..	1925	Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn, Bonn, Germany.
7	Jolly, Prof. J. ..	1925	Professor of Comparative Philology, Wurzburg.
8	Konow, Dr. Sten ..	1920	Ethnographic Museum, Oslo, Norway.
9	Levi, M. Sylvain ..	1919	Professor of Sanskrit, University of Strasbourg, Strasbourg.
10	Oldham, C. E. A. W., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.)	1926	21, Courtfield Road, London, S. W. 7.
11	Sastri, Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Haraprasad, M.A., C.I.E.	1928	26, Pataldanga Street, Calcutta.
12	Thomas, F. W., M.A., Hon. PH.D., F.R.S.	1919	Boden Professor of Sanskrit, University of Oxford.
13	Walsh, E. H. C., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.)	1919	C/o Messrs. H. S. King and Co., 9, Pall Mall, London, S. W.

LIFE MEMBERS.

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
1	Das, Mr. P. R., Bar.-at-Law	1918	Patna.
2	Deo, Raja Dharnidhar Indra	1917	Feudatory Chief of Bonai State, P.O., Bonaigarh (Orissa).
3	Deo, Raja Narayana Prasad	1929	Ruling Chief of Baudh State.
4	Dharmapala, The Rev. Anagarika.	1918	4-A, College Square, Calcutta.
5	Jalan, Rai Bahadur Radhakrishna.	1918	Patna City.
6	Maharaja Bahadur Guru Mahadeva Asram Prasad Sahi.	1920	Hathwa (Saran).
7	Prasad, Mr. Ajit, M.A., LL.B.	1928	Advocate, Lahore.
8	Raja R. N. Bhanja Deo ..	1918	Kanika (Orissa).
9	Shah, Mr. Hiralal Amritlal	1918	Princess Street, Champai Buildings, 2nd floor, Bombay.
10	Shahi, Lieut. Madhaveswarendra.	1924	Manjha, District Saran.
11	Singh, Raja Raghunandan Prasad.	1924	Monghyr.
12	Singh, Rai Bahadur Harihar Prasad.	1916	Arrah.
13	Singh, Raja Radhikaraman Prasad, M.A.	1916	Surajpura (Shahabad).
14	Singh, Maharaja Bahadur Keshava Prasad.	1916	Dumraon (Shahabad).
15	Sinha, Mr. Mahendra Prasad	1928	Assistant Settlement Officer, Cuttack.

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
A			
1	Acharya, P., B.Sc. ..	1928	Senior Archaeological Scholar, Mayurbhanj State.
2	Ahmad, Hafiz Shamsuddin, M.A.	1927	Patna College, Patna.
3	Aiyangar, R. S. Dr. S. Krishnaswami, M.A., PH.D.	1916	1, East Wheldon Street, Mylapore, Madras.
4	Aiyangar, R. B. K. V. Rangaswami.	1915	Maharaja's College, Trivandrum, Travancore.
5	Armour, Prof. J. S., M.A. ..	1926	G.B.B. College, Muzaffarpur.
B			
6	Batheja, Prof. H. R., M.A., I.E.S.	1920	Patna College, Patna.
7	Bhandarkar, Dr. D. R. ..	1924	35, Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta.
8	Bhattacharya, Benoytosh	1924	Director, Oriental Institute, Kothi Buildings, Baroda.
9	Bhattacharya, Prof. Tarapada, M.A.	1927	B.N. College, Patna.
10	Bhide, H. B.	1918	Dewanpur Road, Navapark, Bhawanagar.
11	Bodding, Rev. P. O. ..	1918	Mohulpahari, Santal Parganas.
12	Bose, Phanindra Nath ..	1928	Nalanda College, Bihar Sharif.
C			
13	Carr, Paul Roland ..	1928	3923, Packard Street, Long Island City, N.Y., U.S.A.
14	Chakladar, Haran Chandra, M.A.	1916	28-4, Sri Mohan Lane, Kali-ghat, Calcutta.
15	Chaudhuri, G. K. ..	1928	Ballipur P.O., Darbhanga.
16	Chaudhuri, Dr. Tarapada, M.A., B.L., PH.D.	1927	Patna College, Patna.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(continued).

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
17	Christian, H. D. ..	1920	Sundargarh, via Jharsuguda, B.N. Ry.
18	Coomaraswamy, Dr. Anand K. D	1923	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.
19	Das, Kali Prasad ..	1929	Barh, District Patna.
20	Das, Kasinath, M.A. ..	..	Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.
21	Das, Madhusudan, B.A., B.L.	1918	Bhubanpur, P.O. Nimapara, Puri.
22	Das, U. K.	1918	Srinath Mills, 10, Srinath Das Lane, Calcutta.
23	Datta, Kalikinkar, M.A. ..	..	Post-Graduate Scholar, Rani-ghat Hostel, Patna.
24	Dayal, Shiveshwar, M.A., B.L.	1920	Vakil, Patna High Court.
25	Deo, Maharaja Sir Bir Mitrodaya Singh Bahadur, K.C.I.E.	1920	The Palace, Sonapur.
26	Deo, Tekait Nripendra Narayan Singh.	1928	Seraikela State, Singhbhum.
27	Deshpande, R. S. G. K. ..	1927	Bishramdham, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
28	Dhruva, A. B., M.A. ..	..	Principal, Hindu University, Benares.
29	Diskalkar, D. B., M.A. .. E Nil F	1920	Curator, Museum of Archaeology, Muttra.
30	Fawcus, G. E., M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.	1916	Director of Public Instruction, Patna.
31	Filgate, T. R., C.I.E. ..	1915	c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, London, S.W. 1.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(continued).

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
	G		
32	Ghosh, Adhar Chandra, B.Sc.	1927	Assistant Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.
33	Ghosh, Rai Sahib Manoranjan, M.A.	1918	Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.
34	Godbole, Y. A., I.C.S. ..	1920	General Manager, Banaili Raj, Bhagalpur.
35	Gupta, Shiva Prasad ..	1918	Nagva House, Benares City.
	H		
36	Heras, Rev. H., S.J., M.A. ..	1927	St. Xavier's College, Bombay.
37	Hill, J. L., M.A. (Oxon) ..	1930	Professor, Patna College.
38	Hoeck, Right Rev. L. Van, S.J.	1921	Bishop of Ranchi.
39	Hussain, Saiyid Muham-mad, M.L.C.	1924	Dariapur, P.O. Bankipur, Patna.
	I		
40	Imam, Nawab Shamsul Ulema Saiyid Imdad.	1915	Neora, Patna.
	J		
41	Jagadeb, Sri Sri Sri Gopinath Harichandan, Raja Bahadur, M.R.A.S., M.B.-D.M.	1924	P.O. Tekkali, Ganjam.
42	Jagadeb, Sri Sri Sri Lakshminarayana Harichandan, Raja Bahadur.	1929	Ditto.
43	James, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W., I.C.S.	1923	High Court, Patna.
44	Jaruhar, Rameshwar Prasad	1925	Kadamkuan, Patna.
45	Jayaswal, K. P., M.A., Bar-at-Law.	1915	Advocate, Patna High Court.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(continued).

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
46	Jha, Lakshmikant, B.L. ..	1925	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
47	Jinjal, Srinarayan Lal, B.A.	1928	Patna College, Patna.
K			
48	Khan, K.B. Sarfaraz Hussain	1916	Khwajekalan, Patna City.
49	Khan Bahadur, Syd Md. Ismail	1928	Patna City.
50	Khanna, Vinayak Lal ..	1924	Hindi Library, 3, Nandlal Malik's 2nd Lane, Calcutta.
51	Khuda Bakhsh, S. ..	1920	Superintendent of Police, Daltonganj.
52	Kimura, R.	1920	22, Wellesley 2nd Lane, Calcutta.
53	Kuraishi, Muhammad Hamid, B.A.	1923	Assistant Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.
L			
54	Lall, Rai Bahadur Hira ..	1918	Retired Deputy Commissioner, Katni, C.P.
55	Lall, Rai Sahib Bihari ..	1820	Prime Minister, Chhuikadan State, Via Dongargarh, C.P.
56	Lall, Raja P. C. ..	1924	Raja of Nazarganj, Purnea City.
57	Lambert, H., M.A., I.E.S. ..	1920	Patna.
58	Law, Bimalacharan ..	1921	43, Kailash Bose Street, Calcutta.
59	Law, Dr. Narendra Nath, M.A., B.L., PH.D.	1924	96, Amherst Street, Calcutta.
M			
60	Mackenzie, W. ..	1916	Superintendent, Government Printing, Gulzarbagh, Patna.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(continued).

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
61	Macpherson, Hon'ble Justice Mr. T. S., C.I.E., I.C.S.	1916	Patna.
62	McPherson, Sir H., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.)	1915	c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., Ltd., 54, Parliament Street, London, S.W. 1.
63	Mahapatra, Chaudhuri Bhagvat Prasad Samantari.	1924	P.O. Bhadrak, Balasore.
64	Mahashaya Rai Bahadur Harendra Narayan Ray.	1915	Lakshannath, Balasore.
65	Mahatha, Rai Bahadur Krishna Deva Narayan.	1920	Muzaffarpur.
66	Majumdar, Dr. R. C. ..	1920	Dacca University, Dacca.
67	Majumdar, Bimanbehari ..	1927	B.N. College, Patna.
68	Malaviya, Pandit Balagovinda.	1924	Patna City.
69	Manuk, P. C., Bar-at-Law	1920	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
70	Mehta, N. C., I.C.S. ..	1927	Azamgarh.
71	Metropolitan Chaplain ..	1927	The Palace, Bishop's House, 51, Chowringhee, Calcutta.
72	Miller, Sir T. Dawson, Kt.	1919	11, King's Bench Walk Temple, E.C., London.
73	Mishra, Pandit Janardan, M.A.	1927	B.N. College, Patna.
74	Mitra, K. P., M.A., B.L. ..	1920	D.J. College, Monghyr.
75	Mukerjee, Dr. Radhakumud, M.A., Ph.D.	1917	Lucknow University, Lucknow.
76	Mukerji, Prof. A. ..	1929	10, Bol. Guozdnikovsky, Apt. 202X, Moscow.
N			
77	Nahar, Puranchand, M.A., B.L.	1917	1/8, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(continued).

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
78	Noor, The Hon'ble Justice K. B. Khwaja Muham- mad.	1915	High Court, Patna.
	O		
	Nil.		
	P		
79	Pandeya, Sahadeva Narayan, M.A.	1925	S.I. Schools, Madhepura, Bhagalpur.
80	Pantulu, J. Ramayya, B.A., B.L.	1915	Mukteswaram, Tottarmundi P. O., Godavari District.
81	Pantulu Garu Srinivas Rao, M.A., L.T., M.B.R.Y.	1928	Principal, Hindu College, Masulipatam.
82	Patnaik, Sudhakar ..	1921	Sub-Deputy Collector, Cut- tack.
83	Peppe, A. T.	1915	Manager, Chota Nagpur Raj, Ranchi.
84	Perier, Most Rev. F. J., S.J.	1915	Archbishop of Calcutta, 32, Park Street, Calcutta.
85	Petter, A. B.	1915	Subdivisional Officer, Samastipur.
86	Prasad, Biswanath, M.A. ..	1928	c/o Babu Tribeni Prashad, B.L., Vakil, Chapra.
87	Prasad, Hon'ble Justice Sir Jwala, K.T.	1916	High Court, Patna.
88	Prasad, Kamta ..	1930	Professor of Physics, Science College.
89	Prasad, Krishnadeva, M.A., B.L.	1929	Langertoli, Patna.
90	Prasad, Mahabir, B.L. ..	1926	Pleader, Chapra.
91	Prasad, Nageswar, M.A., B.L.	1928	Vakil, Patna.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(continued).

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
92	Prasad, Surya Prasad Mahajan.	1918	Manulal Library, Gaya.
	Q		
	Nil.		
	R		
93	Ramdas, G., B.A. ..	1924	Headmaster, Board High School, Jeypur, Vizagapatam.
94	Ranganathan, S. R. ..	1927	Librarian, Madras University, Madras.
95	Ratnakar, Jagannath Das. .	1928	Shivalaya Ghat, Benares.
96	Ray, Rai Bahadur Chuni Lal	1915	Patna.
97	Ray, Rai Bahadur S. C., M.A., B.L., M.L.C.	1915	Ranchi.
98	Richards, F. J. ..	1924	6, Lexham Gardens, London, W. 8.
99	Rohatgi, Binayakrishna ..	1925	Dhaulpura Kothi, Begampur, Patna City.
100	Ross, Hon'ble Mr. Justice R. L.	1917	Patna.
	S		
101	Sabanis, R. V. ..	1925	Librarian, Bombay University, Bombay.
102	Sahay, Shyamnandan, B.A.	1928	Sahay Bhavan, Muzaffarpur.
103	Saheb, Bhubanesvara Singh	1930	Kamalalaya, Muzaffarpur.
104	Sarkar, B. N., B.A., C.E. ..	1926	Ghoramara P.O., District Rajshahi, Bengal.
105	Sarkar, Ganpati ..	1926	69, Beliaghatta Road, Calcutta.
106	Sarkar, Jadunath, M.A., I.E.S. (Retd.), C.I.E.	1915	Sarkaravas, Darjeeling.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(continued).

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
107	Sarkar, Dr. Subimal C. ..	1930	Professor of History, Patna College.
108	Sarma, Srikanta ..	1930	Zilla School, Monghyr.
109	Sen, B. C., I.C.S. (Retd.) ..	1915	c/o R. C. Sen, Esq., Electrical Engineer, Dhanbad.
110	Sen, D. N., M.A., I.E.S. (Retd.).	1916	Principal, B.N. College, Patna.
111	Seppings, E. H. L. ..	1916	57/E, Lower Kemmendine Road, P.O. Kemmendine, Rangoon.
112	Sham Bahadur ..	1928	Bar.-at-Law, Patna.
113	Shastri, Dr. A. Banerji, M.A., PH.D.	1923	Patna College, Patna.
114	Shastri, Dr. Harichand, D.LITT., I.E.S.	1918	Ditto.
115	Shastri, I. D. Durgadatti ..	1920	Principal, Sanskrit College, Muzaffarpur.
116	Shastri, Prof. Gokulchand	1928	Sri-Chandra College, Khatmandu, Bagbazar, Nepal.
117	Shaw, Parmanand ..	1926	Daldary Bazar, Dinapore Cantt.
118	Singh, Rai Brajabihari Saran, M.A., B.L.	1915	Asst. Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Patna.
119	Singh, Raja Harihar Prasad Narayan.	1916	Amawan, District Patna.
120	Singh, Raja Bahadur Kirtyanand.	1915	Banaili, Purnea.
121	Singh, Rai Rajendralal Bariha Bahadur.	1916	Barsambar Padampur, Sambalpur.
122	Singh, Chaudhuri, Rai Bahadur Ramgopal.	1915	Chaudhuri Tola, P.O. Mahendru, Patna.
123	Singh, R. B. Ramranavijaya	1924	K.V. Press, Patna.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(continued).

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
124	Singh, Sarangadhar, M.A., B.L.	1925	K.V. Press, Patna.
125	Sinha, Mahendrakishore, B.A., B.L.	1926	Taluka Madhole, Dist. Nandol, Hyderabad, Deccan.
126	Sinha, Parasnath, B.A., LL.B.	1930	Bharati Publishers, Chowhatta, Patna.
127	Sinha, S., Bar.-at-Law ..	1915	Patna.
128	Sullivan, the Rt. Rev. Dr. S. J.	1929	Lord Bishop, Patna.
129	Surya Narayan, B.L. ..	1924	Translator, High Court, Patna.
130	Svarup, Rai Bahadur Bishun	1920	Mahalla Maithan, Agra.
131	Syed Muhammad ..	1924	Makhaniakuan, P.O. Bankipur, Patna.
T			
132	Tagore, K. N., B.A. ..	1926	5-1, Baranashi Ghosh Street, Calcutta.
133	Taraifdar, Rev. S. K. ..	1915	Principal, C.M.S. High School, Bhagalpur.
134	Taraporewala, Y. J. ..	1930	Professor of History, Patna College.
135	Terrell, The Hon'ble Sir Courtney, Kt.	1928	Chief Justice, High Court, Patna.
136	Tripathi, Devadatta ..	1916	Patna College, Patna.
137	Tripathi, Pt. Narayana ..	1930	Judicial Department, Secretariat, Patna.
138	Trivedi, Rao Bahadur V. G., LL.B.	1929	Watson Museum, Rajkot.
U			
139	Urdhwaseshi, W. G., M.A....	1925	52, Krishnapura, Indore, C.I.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(concluded).

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
	V		
140	Varma, S. P.	1930	Barrister-at-Law, Patna.
141	Vidyalankar, Jaya Chandra	1929	Hindi Vidyapitha, P.O. Dighaghat, Patna.
142	Vogel, Dr. J., PH.D. ..	1920	Noordeindsplein, 40, Leiden, Holland.

Account Rules of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

*(Approved by the Government of Bihar and Orissa, Ministry of
Education letter No. 52582, dated 14-11-1929.)*

1. The annual accounts shall be prepared under the direction of the Honorary Treasurer. For this purpose a classified monthly account showing progressive receipts and expenditure under different heads shall be prepared every month from the details of cash book ; and after the close of the financial year the annual account shall be compiled from the monthly account. These monthly accounts shall be reported to the Council at intervals of not more than three months.

2. In the month of July in each year, the Honorary Treasurer shall present a statement of the income and expenditure in the preceding financial year, and shall draw the attention of the Council to such matters in connection therewith as seem deserving of notice. An estimate of the income and expenditure with details of the latter under each head for the next financial year shall be prepared and laid before the Council in the month of July of each year. Such budget estimates shall make provision for fulfilling the liabilities and for effectually carrying out the objects of the Society. The Council shall consider the estimates so submitted to it, and shall sanction the same either unaltered or subject to such alteration as shall be deemed fit.

3. The Council may, at any time during the year for which an estimate has been sanctioned, cause a supplementary estimate to be prepared and submitted to it. Every such supplementary estimate shall be considered and sanctioned by the Council in the same manner as if it were an original estimate. The Honorary Secretary is authorised to incur emergent expenditure in excess of the budget provision sanction for any one head provided that such expenditure is reported for the sanction of the Council at its next meeting and provided that

equivalent savings are anticipated under other heads of the budget.

4. For all money received by the Society, a receipt shall be granted to the payee by the Honorary Treasurer. The total amount received shall be written in words both on the receipt itself and on the counterfoil, the latter need only be initialled by the officer who signs the receipt. The forms shall be bound in books of 100 forms each and shall bear printed serial numbers. The Honorary Treasurer shall keep the stock of the receipt books in his personal custody and no fresh book shall be used until the used up one has been returned to him. All the receipts and issues of these forms shall be accounted for through a stock book to be maintained in the office.

5. All amounts so realised shall be paid into the Society's current account (in the name of the Honorary Treasurer) with the Imperial Bank of India, Patna Branch.

6. The Honorary Treasurer shall cause to be maintained a cash book in a form approved by the Council in which shall be entered as soon as the transactions occur, all receipts and payments with necessary details. The cash book shall be closed every month and a memorandum recorded reconciling the balance with that shown in the Bank pass-book. The Honorary Treasurer shall cause the latter to be made up at the end of every month; and he shall examine it to see that all the transactions have been duly entered therein. The payment of vouchers and sub-vouchers, paid out of the imprest shall be carefully preserved for production at the time of audit.

7. After payment, every voucher and sub-voucher shall be stamped with the word "paid" and "cancelled" respectively.

8. All bills presented for payment shall be checked by the accountant and passed for payment by the Honorary Secretary (or in the absence, the Honorary Joint Secretary) within the limits of the sanctioned budget estimates for the year. The Honorary Treasurer is authorised to incur expenditure on the purchase of articles not exceeding Rs. 20 in value.

9. The permanent advance in the hands of the Honorary Treasurer shall not exceed Rs. 100. This imprest shall be

recouped from time to time by the presentation of a bill supported by payees' receipts. An account of the expenditure out of the permanent advance shall be kept in a register in form VIII prescribed for municipalities in the province.

10. All claims shall be discharged either by payment from the imprest held by the Honorary Treasurer or by cheques drawn upon the Society's banking accounts in favour of the actual payees.

11. With the concurrence of the Vice-President the Honorary Treasurer is empowered from time to time to place any available balance in the Society's funds on deposit receipt in a local bank crediting the interest so accruing under the appropriate head.

12. Payment of travelling allowance and halting allowance to the servants of the Society shall be regulated by the rules in force in this respect for corresponding class of Government servants and in no case a departure shall be made except with the sanction of the Council which shall record reasons for the same.

13. An account of the sales of Journals shall be maintained in the following form :—

S. No.	Date.	Particulars of Journals supplied.	Reference to stock book page No.	To whom supplied.	Amount due.	Amount realised.	Date.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

14. The grant of leave and acting allowance to the servants of the Society shall be regulated by the rules laid down in the Bihar and Orissa Service Code.

15. The accounts of the Society shall be audited once in each year by the Examiner of Local Accounts, Bihar and Orissa.

Provident Fund Rules of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

(As approved by the local Government vide No. 1894 E, dated 1-5-1931, Ministry of Education.)

1. A Provident Fund to be called the "Bihar and Orissa Research Society Provident Fund" shall be established from the first day of August, 1930, for the benefit of the Officers of the Society.

2. (a) Contribution to the fund will be optional in the case of officers appointed prior to the date of the institution of the fund and compulsory only in the case of those appointed after that date.

(b) Only officers holding appointments, the terms of which require them to give the whole of their time to the work of the Society, shall be entitled to become subscribers to this fund.

(c) Any officer joining the fund shall be required to sign a certificate that he accepts the rules given below :—

3. The subscription to the fund shall be $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on the salary of the depositor. Voluntary contribution in excess of the limit (i.e., $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on the salary of the depositor) shall not be admissible. It will be calculated on complete rupees, fractions of a rupee being neglected. Such subscription shall be deducted month by month from the salary of each depositor by the Honorary Treasurer and the amount deducted shall be paid into the Society Provident Fund to the credit of the depositor. The term salary in these rules does not include any acting or other allowances granted if any. An officer on leave on full pay shall continue to pay his contribution to the fund. An officer suspended from duty shall be required to continue to contribute at his usual rate if he receives pay or allowances for the period of suspension.

4. At the end of each month a sum equal to the aggregate amount subscribed to the fund during each month shall be contributed to the fund by the Society, and, subject to the condition contained in the proviso to this rule, such portion of that

amount so contributed as shall be equal to the amount deposited by each subscriber during the month for which contribution was made shall be placed to the credit of the depositor.

Provided that no officer of the Society, who shall, in the opinion of the Council, be guilty of dishonesty or other gross misconduct shall be entitled to the benefit of, or to receive any part or share in, any amount any time contributed by the Society to the fund on his account or the accumulated interests or profits thereof; and the Society shall be entitled to recover from the amount contributed by it to the fund on account of any officer and the accumulated interest or profits thereof a sum equal to the amount of any loss or damage at any time sustained by the Society by reason of his dishonesty or negligence.

Provided further that no officer shall be entitled to receive any part or share in any sum contributed by the Society and the accumulated interest or profits thereof unless he has been in the service of the Society for at least twelve months and has been permitted by the Council to resign his appointment.

5. The fund shall be managed by means of the post office savings bank system, a separate account being opened by the post office for each contributor. Interest will be allowed on the deposits at the rate from time to time allowed for the deposits in the post office savings bank. The officer's contribution together with that of the Society shall be deposited in the post office savings bank nearest the Society's offices. The money shall be sent by the Hon. Treasurer and a certificate signed by him, that the contribution due in respect of the pay for any month has been paid, shall be attached to the next monthly bill. The Hon. Treasurer shall send with the money to the post office savings bank the different pass-books concerned and a statement in the following form:—

Name of the institution.....

Month of.....

Account number as in the pass-book.	Name of subscriber.	Monthly pay of subscriber.	His contribution.	Society's Contribution.	Amount of advance re-funded.	Total.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
		TOTAL	..			

The money received in the post office shall be credited to the different accounts, in accordance with the entries in the statement; and the postmaster, after satisfying himself that this has been done and that the amount of the deposit has been correctly entered in each pass-book, shall sign the statement, stamp it with the post office date stamp, and return it with the pass-books to the Hon. Treasurer. The latter shall be required to compare the entries made in the pass-book with the entries in the statement to see that the former are correct.

6. Should a contributor so desire, the whole or any part of the balance at the credit of his account may be invested in post office cash certificates. The application form for purchase of the certificate will be signed by the officer on whose behalf the investment is made and also by the Hon. Treasurer in his official capacity as the manager of the provident fund. The cash certificate will be issued in their joint names and will be discharged only on both parties signing the application for discharge. Any certificate so purchased shall be deposited with the Hon. Treasurer of the Society. The transfer of these certificates, or of their cash value, to the contributor will be subject to the same conditions as the withdrawal of deposits from the savings bank account.

7. Deposits shall be permissible at any time so that if, owing to the temporary absence of a depositor or for any other cause, the contributions of one or more individuals cannot be

deposited at the same time as other contributions, they can be deposited singly or collectively at a later date, a separate list being sent along with the pass-books in the manner described.

8. Contributors to the fund, on whose behalf accounts are opened under the provisions of this scheme, shall not be deprived of their right to open ordinary private accounts in the post office savings bank.

9. The savings bank account shall be closed at the time the depositor retires or for other legitimate reasons withdraws his deposits. The savings bank pass-book shall, after closure, be delivered to the Hon. Treasurer of the Society. An application to close an account or to withdraw any advance sanctioned shall be supported by the sanction of the Vice-President.

10. The Hon. Treasurer of the Society shall be responsible for the safe custody of the pass-books and for the stamped statements received back from the post office. He shall also keep a register showing any advances made, and the sums recovered on account of them.

11. Subject to the provisions of the proviso to Rule 4 of these rules a depositor shall be entitled upon quitting the service of the Society to draw out and receive the whole amount standing to his credit in the fund. But when the pecuniary circumstances of a depositor are such that the indulgence is absolutely necessary, a temporary advance or loan, not ordinarily exceeding three months' pay may be allowed from the sum at his credit with the sanction of the Council. The following may be recognized as legitimate occasions for such advances or loans :—

- (a) To pay expenses incurred in connection with the illness of a subscriber or of a member of the family ;
- (b) to pay for the passage of any member of a subscriber's family coming from beyond the seas to join him or requiring to make a journey beyond the sea from some urgent cause ;
- (c) to pay expenses in connection with marriages, funerals, or ceremonies which by the religion of the subscriber it is incumbent upon him to perform and in connection with which it is obligatory that expenditure should be incurred.

Note.—Advances, though not confined rigidly to the objects laid down in clauses (a) to (c) above, will be made with due regard to the principles contained in those clauses and regulated with regard to the amount of subscription lying to the credit of the applicant.

When one or more advances have already been granted to a depositor a subsequent advance shall not be granted to him, except for strong reasons to be recorded in writing by the Council, until at least twelve months have elapsed since the complete repayment of the last advance taken.

Advances will be recovered at the discretion of the sanctioning authority in not less than twelve instalments or more than twenty-four. A subscriber may, however, at his option, make repayment in less than twelve instalments or may repay two or more instalments at the same time. Recoveries will be made monthly, commencing from the first payment of a full month's salary after the advance is granted, but no recovery will be made from an officer while he is on leave of any kind. The instalments will be paid by compulsory deduction from salary and will be in addition to the usual subscriptions. No interest shall be recovered on advances.

12. Every depositor must register in the books of the fund the name of the person to whom he desires, in the event of his death or his becoming insane, the amount of the deposit to be paid.

13. The byelaws, etc., should be made with Government sanction.

JOURNAL

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[PART IV.]

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—Śakastan, the Country of the Sakas. Its Possession by the Ancient Persians.

By Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt., Ph.D., LL.D.

The name of Śakastan, on the frontiers of Hindustan, the country inhabited by the Śakas, whose defeat at the hands of an Indian king has given us our Śaka era, is originally Persian. When written in Pahlavi, it can be read as Śakastān or Sagastān or Seistān. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, in his learned and interesting article (Jour. Behar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XVI, Parts III and IV, pp. 227 ff.), entitled "Problems of Śaka-Sātavāhana History", while noticing Dr. Sten Konow's conclusion on Śaka history, says: "I believe with Prof. Thomas that the Śakas had been in Śakastān long before 160 B.C. and they certainly existed there in the Persian period". The object of this paper is to present, in brief, a few notes to show, that Śakastān was under the sway and influence of the ancient Iranians for a long time anterior to 160 B.C.

Śakastān, or the Śakas, are not directly mentioned in the

(1) Reference in the
Avesta.

Avesta, but, a mountain *Ushidarena* is mentioned as the seat of Zoroaster's later revelations.¹ In the Yaçna where

¹ Hormazd Yasht 28; Jamyad Yt. 2.

mountains are invoked in general, this mountain is specially mentioned.¹ The Avesta does not say where it was situated, but the Pahlavi books help us in fixing its situation.

The Sirouzâ Yasht (s. 26) associates the Ushidarena mountain (gairīm Ushidaranem) with the Yazata (angel) Āshtād (Arshtāt). The Pahlavi Dādistān-i-Dini associates mountain *Aushdashtār* with the Yazata *Āstad*.² So, we find that the Pahlavi *Aushdashtār* is the same as the Avesta Ushidarena. Again, the meaning of both the names is the same. *Ushidarēna* literally means "holder (*darēna* दादण) of intelligence (*ushi* Pahl. *aušh* Pers. *Hush* هوش). The Pahlavi name *Aushdāstār* also has the same meaning. Now, the Pahlavi Bundeshesh (Ch. XII, 15) places this mountain under its name *Aushdāshtār* in Sagastān (Śakastān Kuf Hūsh-dāshtār pavan Sagastān."³ Thus, we see that the very mountain, associated with the sacred musings of Zoroaster, was in Śakastān and the ancient Iranians were in possession of it.

Sir Aurel Stein identifies this Ushidarena mountain with the modern Kuh-i Khwaja.⁴ He goes further and says, that the great Rustam, the national hero of ancient Iran, was, latterly, in the Buddhist times, raised to the dignity of a Bodhisattva.⁵

¹ Yaçna I 14; II 14; III 16; IV 19; vide XXII 19, XXV 7; Sirouza Yasht 26. Vide my Dictionary of Avestaic Proper names, p. 44.

² T. D. Anklesaria's Text, Ques. 39, p. 57, Chap. XXX, 2. S.B.E., Vol. XVIII, p. 62. Vide Gujarati translation by Tehmuras D. Anklesaria with my Introduction, p. 54. Here, the Translation gives the Avesta name as Garoish Ushidarēna.

³ Vide my Gujarati Translation and Translation of the Bundeshesh, pp. 40-41; S.B.E., Vol. V, pp. 37-38; Justi's Bundeshesh, Text, p. 23, l. 8.

⁴ Inner Most Asia II, pp. 92-3.

⁵ Vide his article "A Persian Bodhisattva" in the Memorial Volume in honour of Prof. Geiger (Studia Indo-Iranica Ehrengabe für Wilhelm Geiger (1931), pp. 266 ff. Vide the article, "Recent Explorations by the French Mission in Afghanistan" by M. J. B. Barthous in the Annual Biography of Indian Archaeology (1930), p. 6. Vide my Gujarati Article in the Hindi Graphic of October, 1931.

Coming to the Achaemenian times, we find Saka mentioned by Darius (d. 485 B.C.) in his Behistun Inscription,¹ as one of the countries which had come under his authority.

(2) Śakastān in the Cuneiform Inscription of Darius. Darius says: "Imā dahyāva tyā manā patiyāiša; washnā A'uramazdāha adamshām khshāyathia āham"² i.e., "These are the countries which came to me. By the will of Ahura Mazd, I am king of them". He then names the countries, one by one, and Saka is one of them.

The position of Saka in the list of his countries, as given by Darius in his Inscription, is next to Gandara, the country near the Indus. So, there seems to be no doubt that it is Śakastān or Seistān, the country of the Śakas, that is meant.

In the ancient ruins excavated by the French Archæological Mission at Haddah near Jalalabad about 340 stupas, out of the original 1,000, have been excavated, and about 3,000 statues and statuettes also are excavated. Some of the pilasters there are said to present "Achaemenian reminiscences". This shows that Śakastān was under the influence of the Achaemenians.³

Coming to Pahlavi books, the Dinkard (Bk. VII, Ch. IV, 31-35)⁴ refers to one of the ministrations of Zoroaster as occurring in the land of Śakastān. This is a reflex of what we saw in the Avesta, that there, a mountain in Śakastān is referred to as the place of Zoroaster's sacred musings.

The following Pahlavi books also refer to Sagastan:—

- (a) Bundelesh (Ch. XII 9, 15; XIII 16; XX 17, 29; XXII 5; XXIV 28).

¹ (a) Jour. Royal Asiatic Society (Vol. X, Part I. The Persian Cuneiform Inscription at Behistun, by Major Rawlinson. Transcript, p. I, l. 16. Translation Col. I, par. 6, p. XXVII. (b) Spiegel's Die Altpersischen Keilinschriften (1881), pp. 4-5. (c) Tolman's Guide to Old Persian Inscriptions, Transliteration, p. 55; Translation, p. 118.

² Tolman. Transliteration, p. 54.

³ Vide the above article entitled "Recent Explorations by the French Mission in Afghanistan", in the Annual Biography of Indian Archæology (1930).

⁴ S.B.E., XLVII, p. 57.

(b) Zadsparam (Chap. VII 7, 9).

(c) Bahman Yasht, Chap. III 19.

They refer to Śakastān as belonging to Persia from olden times. One may, perhaps, say that these Pahlavi books are of later times. But, we must remember, that, though written in later times, they rest on older authorities. For example, the Bundelesh commences the beginnings of many of its chapters as "Imallûnêt pavan din", i.e., it is said in books of religion.

We find from the Persian Nāmehs, like the Shāh-nāmeḥ and Barzo-nāmeḥ, that Rustam, the above
 (4) Persian Books. referred to national hero of Iran, is spoken of in contempt as a Saki or Sagi, i.e., one belonging to Sagastan. The word 'sag' in Persian means a dog. So, playing, as it were, a pun upon the word *sak* as *sag* (dog), Rustam is jeered at, as a *sak* or a *sag* (dog) by his enemies. This shows that Rustam who is associated with the history of the Kaiyanians belonged to Seistan; and so, Śakastān belonged to the Iranians from early times.

II.—A Contemporary Picture of the Mughal Court in 1743 A.D.

By Jadunath Sarkar.

INTRODUCTION.

The invasion of Nādir Shāh (1739) dealt a shattering blow at the imperial Government of Delhi, which had been really rotten at the core for several years past, though its outward semblance of power and dignity had hitherto deceived the world. It is true that Nādir Shāh before his departure from India restored the Emperor Muhammad Shāh to his throne (metaphorically and not literally, as he took the Peacock Throne away); but he could not infuse life into a dead and worn-out political institution. No attempt was made by king or noble to restore vigour and purity to the public services, to enforce order in the realm, or to promote the wealth and happiness of the people, after the terrible havoc of the late foreign invasion. Matters grew even worse than before under the fatuous policy of the Emperor and the Wazir to shut their eyes to every unpleasant reality and to let matters drift. This state of things is indignantly described in a contemporary history, but in general terms. Muhammad Shafi' Tehrāni (pen-name Wārid), whose youth had been nurtured in the dignified and strenuous reign of Āurangzib, writes in the bitterness of his soul about the times of Muhammad Shāh,—

“For some years past it has been the practice of the Imperial Court that whenever the officers of the Deccan or of Gujrat and Malwa reported any Maratha incursion to the Emperor, His Majesty, with a view to soothing his heart afflicted by such sad news, either visited the gardens—to look at the newly planted and leafless trees—or rode out to the plains to hunt; while the grand wazir, ‘Itimād-ud-daulah Qamr-ud-din Khān, went to assuage his feelings by gazing at the lotuses in some pools, situated four leagues from Delhi, where he would spend a month or more in tents, enjoying pleasure or hunting fish in the rivers and deer in the plains. At such times Emperor and Wazir alike lived in total forgetfulness of the business

of the administration, the collection of the revenue, and the needs of the army. No chief, no man, thinks of guarding the realm and protecting the people, while these disturbances daily grow greater." [*Mirāt-i-Wāridāt*, text, pp. 117-118.]

A most graphic illustration of this condition of the Imperial Government is furnished by the news-letters of the Delhi Court in 1743, of which 19 sheets have survived in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris (E. Blochet's *Catalogue des manuscrits Persans*, tome i, MS. No. 613, Suppl. 313,—

اخبارات دربار معلی) They contain 36 days' occurrences from 20th April to 29th May, 1743, with no record for four of the days (22nd and 23rd April and 8th and 9th May). We here get a vivid picture of the Court and character of Muhammad Shāh—his childish love of flowers and fruits, his absorbing fondness for animal combats and amusements, his utter indifference to public business. Like king, like minister. The grand wazir, Qamr-ud-din Khān 'Itimād-ud-daulah, was a good-natured drunkard whose only policy was never to contradict his master, but to humour him in every matter and helplessly let things go their own way all over the empire. [*Ashub*, ii. 422.]

These news-letters also contain very useful details, with exact dates, of Raghuji Bhonslé's invasion of Bengal and Bihar, the arrival of the Peshwa Bālāji Rāo in Bengal at the Emperor's invitation to drive Raghuji out, and the occurrences at Patna (including a big fire),—though we miss the coming of Safdar Jang, the Nawāb of Oudh, to Patna (c. 7 Dec. 1742—c. 14 Jan. 1743),—which last event caused the consternation among the people of the city so graphically described by the eye-witness Ghulam Husain Tabatabai in his *Siyar-ul-mutākhharin*, [Pers. text, printed ed. of 1833, ii. 127-129.]

NEWS-LETTERS OF THE IMPERIAL COURT.

Year 25 of the reign of Muhammad Shāh.

[Up to the end of April, my translation is full; thereafter only the important entries have been translated here.]

20th April, 1743 (*old style*).

One and a half hours after sunrise, the Emperor came to the Hall of Select Audience; 'Umdat-ul-mulk [Āmir Khān],

Āsad-yār Khān, 'Itimād-ud-daulah and the Mir Ātish had their audience. After discussion (*javāb-sawāl*) [with them] His Majesty went on foot to the window [of morning salute], looked at a *mast* elephant sent by Sher Jang, talked with Firuz Kh., and at four hours after dawn retired to the *harem*. The nobles sat down in the anteroom (*pesh-khānah*), conversed among themselves and then went away.

Hādi 'Ali Kh. was ordered to newly construct (*i.e.*, repair?) the base of the window of Āsad-burj and to tie up there one other elephant, as His Majesty would to-morrow inspect the food of the elephants.

Murtaza Kh. presented one cup (*katora*) of silvered copper (*mis-i-sufaid*) and Āsad-yār Kh. four lotus flowers. His Majesty bestowed a bunch (*duna*¹) of roses on the Wazir-ul-mulk.

In the afternoon the men who had come for audience (*mujrāiān*) were dismissed. One *mast* elephant sent by Sher Jang was present below the *jharoka* (window); His Majesty ordered that Hādi 'Ali Kh. should send the officers (of his department) to the base of the *jharoka*, as he would inspect [it] the next day.

It was learnt from the news-letter (*navishta-i-harkārah*) of Bengal ending with 8th March, 1743, that Mahābat Jang [Alivardi Kh.] was in the fort [of Murshidabad] when he learnt that Raghuji [Bhonslé] was present in the district of Rāmgarh and that all the inhabitants of Murshidabad were removing their household goods and families to all sides in fear of [the coming of] the enemy. Mahābat Jang, with 25,000 cavalry and 40,000 foot musketeers (*barqāndāz*), was ready heart and soul to fight the enemy and would not show the least remissness in chastising the enemy so long as a breath remained in his body. The envoy of Bālāji Rāo [the Peshwa] had arrived near Mahābat Jang and would depart for his own master in a day or two.

Hakim 'Alavi Kh. had started with the elephants and other things [of Bengal] for the Imperial Court. It was now reported

¹ *Duna* is a basket made of large leaves for holding flowers, etc., and not exactly a bunch.

that, in view of [the presence of] the enemy, he was probably intending to cross the Ganges and take the route *viâ* Gorakhpur.

21st April, 1743.

One and a half hours after dawn, His Majesty came to the Select Audience mounted on a portable throne; Āsad-yār Kh., Sādāt Kh., and Ishāq Kh. had their audience. Two and a half hours after dawn he entered the *harem*. From the *jharoka* of Āsad-burj His Majesty beheld a wrestling match between an elephant named "Pādishāh 'Ināyet" presented by the Mir Ātish and the elephant of Sher Jang. They fought well; Pādishāh 'Ināyet defeated the elephant of Sher Jang. After looking at it, he retired [to the harem] at 3½ hours from the morning. He said that the elephant of Sher Jang was approved and should be kept in the [imperial] elephant stables. One *mohar* was granted as a reward to the elephant-driver in the service of Sher Jang and two *mohars* to the officers of the imperial elephant department.

Wajih Kh. begged for one quire (*dastah*) of Zirābādi paper for writing five *surahs* [of the Qurān] and medicinal prayers (*ādi'ya*). The Emperor ordered S'ad-ud-din Kh. to give it from the library department. In the afternoon the men who sought audience were sent away.

One deer hunted and presented by Qāim Jang and two baskets of flowers sent by Wazir-ul-mulk were received.

Sādāt Kh. came; through the medium of the Paymaster he applied for making his bow to the Presence and sent in a written petition. After it had been submitted to the Emperor, he bestowed on the Khan one *duna* of cucumber (*khirā*) and mangoes and one tray of the Emperor's own food.

24th April, 1743.

One and a half hours after daybreak, His Majesty came to the Select Audience. The physicians, Āsad-ud-daulah, the Mir Atish, 'Itimād-ul-mulk,¹ Āhmad Kh., Qāim Jang, and afterwards 'Itimād-ud-daulah and others, presented themselves. After

¹ Should be *I'mād-ul-mulk*.

conversation, the Emperor went on foot to the *jharoka* and looked at a tiger kept in a cage and an elephant presented by Qizilbāsh Kh. Five hours after dawn he entered the harem.

Md. Ghaus presented a copy of the Qurān on the occasion of his interview, through 'Itimād-ud-daulah. The Emperor took him by the hand. Qāim Jang presented seven *mohars* on the occasion of his interview and said that Ziaullah had a horse which was used to fighting with elephants, and that there were also bears which wrestled well. The Emperor ordered them to be brought before him.

Hādī 'Ali Kh. presented a spoon of jasper (*yasham*), and Fakhr-ud-daulah and Rājah Beni Bahādur each some *ketaki* flowers.

Jānis Kh. presented five *mohars* on the occasion of the commencement of His Majesty's birth-month. He was ordered to remain standing at his own place (*pāia*) [at Court].

His Majesty ordered the Physician Royal to go and treat S'ad-ud-din Kh., wife's brother of Āsaf-ud-daulah.

In the afternoon, at six hours of the day His Majesty came on foot to the *jharoka*, looked at an elephant presented by Qizilbāsh Kh., saw the effect of fire-wheels and rockets discharged [round it], talked with Hādī 'Ali Kh., and retired to the harem.

Hādī 'Ali Kh. had presented five pigeons, one of which was approved. A robe of honour consisting of three pieces was bestowed on Md. Mahdī 'Ali, the superintendent of the elephants of Sher Jang, as a favour for the presentation of the elephant.

25th April, 1743.

One hour after sunrise His Majesty came to the Select Audience. The physicians, Āsad-ud-daulah, Hari Kishan, Qāim Jang, and 'Itimād-ud-daulah with his sons were presented. After inspecting, at the foot of the *jharoka*, the elephants and other animals, he retired to the harem at six hours of the day.

Raushan 'Ali, the crack rider (*chabuk sawār*), displayed before His Majesty 30 horses and 12 deer sent by Mahābat Jang, the Governor of Bengal, and presented one *mohar* on his own behalf. He was given a robe of three pieces.

Md. Murād Kh. was sent to the shrine of Hazrat Qutb-ud-

din with Rs. 200 for supplying cooked food to the *darvishes* [there] for the Emperor's health.

Qāim Jang presented one *ketaki* flower and Ishāq Kh. three of the same and two or three *siwti* flowers. Some of the *siwti* flowers were bestowed on 'Itimād-ud-daulah.

Jugal Kishor reported that on 28th March¹ Mahābat Jang, after interview with Bālāji Rāo, had marched out towards Katwa for the purpose of punishing Raghuji Bhonslé, while Raghuji had gone towards Birbhum.

Qāim Jang brought before the Emperor a leopard (*chita*), a horse and an elephant that used to fight together, also three pairs of bears, one goat, one ram, and one wild boar, after wrapping them in tiger skin, and made them fight the elephant.

The Wazir and other [nobles] were presented.

Khush-hāl Chand placed before His Majesty one sword, seven bows, nine *thāns* of European cloth, one turban, and one horse, presented by Md. Ghaus, the successor at the shrine of Hazrat Bahā-ud-din Zakariā of Multān.

Some pairs of wild bears sent by Qāim Jang arrived; they were ordered to be brought to the foot of the *jharoka*.

26th April, 1743.

One hour after daybreak, His Majesty came to the Select Audience. 'Itimād-ud-daulah, Āsad-ud-daulah, and others were presented. After conversation...the Emperor retired to the harem.

A chart of the lunar eclipse drawn up by the astronomers of the *jantri* (Observatory at Delhi?) of Rājadhirāj [Sawāi Jay Singh] showing that it would occur in the first part of that night, was placed before the Emperor by Khāwind Kh.

Ishāq Kh. presented two *ketaki* flowers and a water-melon; the latter was bestowed on the Wazir. The petition of the sons of Jamāl Kh. deceased for *jāgir* was placed before the Emperor

¹ The text has *sezdaham Safar* [=28th March], which is clearly a copyist's error for *Shanzdaham Safar* [=31st March], the latter being the date of the interview according to the Bengal Factory Records. *Siwti*,—white rose, *Rosa glandulifera*.

by the Wazir. *Parwānahs* for the jāgirs were ordered to be given to the heirs.

In the afternoon the courtiers were sent away. From the news-letter of *Bengal* ending with 9th April it was learnt that—when Mahābat Jang, after marching from the neighbourhood of Āmāniganj, had reached the stage of Chauki Mānkara, at the distance of five *kos*, he received the news that Bālāji Rāo [had reached] the bank of the Bhāgirathī, five *kos* from the army of Mahābat Jang by successive marches, [therefore Mahābat Jang sent] Ghulām Mustafa, his *jamā'dār*, and Gangā-dhar Rāo and Amrit Rāo the envoy of Bālāji to Pilāji Jādon, the commander of the vanguard of Bālāji Rāo; so that Pilāji Jādon came and saw Mahābat Jang; they talked for two hours and oaths and assurances were exchanged, after which Pilāji took leave and departed. Mahābat Jang marched on and encamped at Lāwda, at a distance of three *kos*, from which the encampment of Bālāji Rāo was three *kos* distant. Mahābat Jang erected tents midway and went to these tents for the interview. From the other side, Bālāji Rāo started with Pilā Jādon, Malhār Holkar, and other officers and 40,000 troopers. When [he] arrived near Dāudpur, Mahābat Jang sent Ghulām Mustafa Kh. in advance [to welcome], and rode out from the tents. Arriving opposite each other, they dismounted from their elephants, embraced, and sat down together in the tent. After conversation, Mahābat Jang sent away the Rāo, presenting him with four elephants, two buffaloes, and five horses.

27th April, 1743.

Two hours after daybreak the Emperor came to the Select Audience. S'ad-ud-din Kh., Taqi Kh., 'Itimād-ud-daulah, and his sons were presented. After talking he left for the harem at three hours of the day.

Himāyet-ullah Kh., son of Dil-dilir Kh. deceased, presented one *mohar*, through Roz-āfzun Kh., on the occasion of his interview.

Hayāt Kh.,....Rs. 2,324....laid before the Emperor¹....

¹ The text is confused here.

roses from the garden of Furhat-āfzā; they were entrusted to Roz-āfzun Kh.

The Emperor said, "The *āhadis* complain against the Paymaster and demand the appointment of some other Paymaster. But it is impossible. They ought to go to Sādāt Kh., if not, other [soldiers] would be engaged in their places, because other bodies [of troops] may make similar complaints against the *dāroghas*.... As ordered by me they ought to go to Sādāt Kh."

In the afternoon Rājah Khush-hāl Chand had audience. [The other] people who had come for interview were sent away.

Khwājah Maqbul, the deputy of Hāfiz Kh., was honoured with a robe of three pieces as a favour for the construction of the cistern, pigeon-house (*kābak*) and other things for the pigeons near the porch (*deorhi*) of the Āsad-burj.

The following things sent by Roz-āfzun Kh., on the occasion of the lunar eclipse, were ordered to be distributed in charity [*tasadduq*]*—*two discs of gold and silver, three water-fowl, one *mohar*, four pieces of used apparel from the Emperor's wardrobe, one horse, one cow with its calf, ghee and oil, and other things.

One basket of flowers sent by the Wazir was received.

28th April, 1743.

Two and a half hours after dawn, the Emperor came to the Select Audience Hall. Āhmad Kh., 'Ali Zāmān, Qāim Jang, and Āsad-yār Kh. were presented. After conversation, he left for the harem at four hours of the day.

Ā'zam Kh. presented two *mohars* (at his interview), Ishāq Kh. two *ketaki* flowers and a *duna* of *phālsa* [*Grewsia Asiatica*], and Rājah Kishan Nārāyan a *duna* of *āluchah* [small plum].

Rāo Kesho Rāo showed a sheet reporting that Mahābat Jang, in company with Bālāji Rāo, was pursuing Raghuji Bhonslé.

Qāim Jang presented a petition and 7 falcons (*bāz*), 13 hawks (*jurrah*), 2 *gadasur* (?), 3 rams, and 4 elephant tusks sent by Rāja Hari Singh, the Zamindār of Toli at the foot of the hills. The animals were entrusted [to him] to be trained (*taiār*). [Toli, 30 miles n.n.e. of Hardwar.]

A letter and baskets of flowers were received from the Wazir.

In the afternoon, the people who had come for interview were sent away. A basket of vegetables sent by Ishāq Kh. was presented, and one tray of the Emperor's own food was bestowed on the Kh.

It was learnt from the news-letter of the province of *Oudh* dated 6th April,—Ābul Mansur Kh. was staying at Faizābād; having appointed Idrāk Kh. *jamā'dār* for pressing the payment of the revenue due from the Zamindar of Utraula, he had sent letters to the *tābinān* (contingent) of the *faujdār* urging the realization of the money. The son of Rāi Jagat Nārāyan, the brother of Rajah Lachhmi Nārāyan, who had gone to Balāmau for marriage, had been at this time presented by Safdar Jang with four pieces of cloth, and with three pieces for each of his three companions. He had also appointed 'Abdullah and Mir Lutfullah his own friends (*mu'izzān*) as *faujdār* of fort Rohtās and given to each of them four pieces of cloth.

29th April.

Half an hour after dawn the Emperor started in a portable throne to visit the Ānguri garden. 'Itimād-ud-daulah, 'Imād-ul-mulk, Sa'd-ud-din Kh. and Āsad-ud-daulah had interview; after conversation [with them], the Emperor entered the garden and, going through it, returned, entering the *harem* at four hours of the day.

Md. Āsa'd Kh. and Md. Āmjad Kh., the sons of the late Āhmad Quli Kh., each presented one *mohar* through Mahmud Kh. on the occasion of their interview. A robe of three pieces was bestowed on each and they were ordered to stand in their proper places. Ishāq Kh. presented two *ketaki* flowers and one fish sent by Bahroz Kh. The fish was bestowed on Hushmand Kh.

Rājah Jugal Kishor presented two deer—out of the twelve sent by his master of which ten had died on the way—and made his bow.

Rāo Mahādeo Pandit, the agent of Bālāji Rāo, on the occasion of his audience offered five *mohars* which had arrived after

some days. A letter from Bālāji Rāo was submitted through the Wazir, stating that—he had met Mahābat Jang and the two had marched in concert for punishing Raghuji, and many of the captains accompanying Raghuji had separated from him and fought among themselves, [many] Marathas had been drowned in the river Ajay [MS. reads *در دریای اجانب هراش*] and that Bālāji Rāo and Mahābat Jang were pursuing.

In the afternoon, the men who had come for audience were sent away. Two trays of consecrated biscuits (*kāk*) of the 'urs of the shrine of Qutb Sāhib, sent by Mir Kh. the *mutawali*, were presented. Two baskets of flowers sent by the Wazir were received.

30th April.

Two hours after dawn the Emperor came to the Select Audience Hall. I'timād-ud-daulah, I'mād-ul-mulk, and Sa'd-ud-din Kh. interviewed him; after some talk he left for the *harem*.

Qāim Jang presented one *ketaki* flower, four black cuckoos (*Cuculus*), one each of *mania*, parrot, *shyām*, *hir*, *jal* and *pilak*, and two *surkh*¹. These were entrusted [to]. He asked for orders about the two deer out of those arrived from Bengal. The Emperor ordered them to be given to Na'mat-ullah Kh. Qāim Kh. reported that he had some wild partridges (*kabak*). These were ordered to be brought to the Presence.

I'mād-ul-mulk was ordered to summon the *āhadis* and reason with them.

Ishāq Kh. presented two *ketaki* flowers and one bunch (*duna*) of *sioti* flowers.

In the afternoon, the men who had come for audience were sent away. One tray of pudding and musk-melons (*sarda*), sent by the collector of the market (*karōra-i-ganj*), and one

¹ *Mania*, little birds (L. *Fringilla amandava*). *Shyāmā*, a small singing bird with black plumage. *Hir* or *hirāman*, a kind of parroquet. *Jal*, probably *jalpachchhi* or water fowl. *Pilak*, a pretty little bird called the oriole or mango-bird. *Surkh* or *surkh-āb*, a species of lark, or a species of the bird *Anas Casarca*.

basket of water-melons (*kharbuza*) sent by Khāwind Kh., were presented.

From the letter sent by the *harkārah* of the province of *Bihar*, dated 5th April, it was learnt that Zulfan [Faiyāz] 'Ali Kh., the *naib* of the city, was in the citadel of the fort [of Patna] and urged Bhojrāj, the *peshkārah*, to pay expenses to and quickly send away the men who were to reinforce Isma'il Beg, the *'āmil* of parganah Sarisā¹. A letter was received from Haibat Jang [Zain-ud-din Āhmad Kh.] to engage one hundred Europeans, Dutch and others, and send them, so that their descriptive rolls may be drawn up. A letter was received from Isma'il Beg, *'āmil* of parganah Sarisā, to the *naib* of the province reporting the tumult raised by the rebel Zamindars of Chikwāra; after reading it he sent it to Haibat Jang. One hundred and ten troopers and 500 *barqāndāz* were appointed to punish them. 'Ali Kabir Kh., with one elephant and two *jhālar-dār pālki*s presented by the Emperor, reached Patna on 27th March, and took a pass under the seal of Haibat Jang excusing him from the *rāhdāri* tax. Bhojrāj, the *peshkārah* of the *naib* of the *nāzim*, had gone to Masih-ullah Kh., the *divān* of the province, who gave him three pieces of cloth at his leave-taking.

1st May, 1743.

Two hours after dawn the Emperor went to visit the garden of Firishtah-ābād. . . . Travelling by way of the Ānguri bāgh and the *reti* of the river, he arrived at the garden of Ja'far Kh. at four and a half hours of the day, travelled through it, and entered the Firishtah-ābād garden, visited it and returned at six hours of the day [to the garden of Ja'far Kh.]; at seven hours he entered the *harem*.

Hayāt Kh. presented an European pen of jasper studded with gems and two *munhnāl* [mouth pieces of the *huqqa* tube] of plain crystal.

2nd May.

It was learnt from the news-letter of *Kashmir*, dated 19th March,—Ābul Barkāt Kh. had gone to Shālamār on a visit;

¹ *Saris*, 16 miles south of Dehri on Sone.

he pressed the peshkārs for the *hundis* of the Hazur, so that the bankers (kuthidārs) produced *hundis* for Rs. 10,000 and promised to pay Rs. 10,000 more in a few days. Sharf-ud-din Md. Kh., the nāib Bakhshi of the province, pressed for the equipment of the *mansabdārs*, saying "the *mansabdārs* do not keep with themselves the proper supply of horses and arms, but by fraud get the *tashiha* (verification certificate) signed by the *āmin dārogha* and *mushrif*. Although, thanks to the fortune of the Emperor and the admirable efforts of Ābul Barkāt Kh., the enemy in the hill country have been punished, yet if, God forbid it! Your Highness has occasion for war and the *mansabdārs* at the time of need have no horse or arms ready, it would be a cause of disgrace. Especially, conducting the administration of the kingdom according to the regulations, urge the office of the bakhshi [to make them] come taking the horses and arms with themselves."

3rd May.

4th May.

The Emperor came to the foot of the *jharoka* and looked at the preparation of lamps for the illumination.

Rāo Kesho Rāo reported the news of the army of Bālāji Rāo up to 1st April, thus:—Bālāji, with Pilāji Jādon, Malhār Holkar, Rānoji Sindhia and other generals, marched on 31st March from a distance of five kos from Maqsudābād after interviewing Mahābat Jang. Zain-ud-din Āhmad Kh. and Mustafa Kh., sent by Mahābat Jang, had come to Bālāji Rāo for discussion. Bālāji had sent them back to Mahābat Jang, along with Amrit Rāo, his confidential agent.

5th May.

The Emperor came on foot to the *jharoka* and looked at the dancing and singing of the beggars (*du'ā-goyān*).

6th May.

The Emperor came on foot to the *jharoka* and witnessed the mimicry of the buffoons (*bhānd*).

7th May.

Nobles offer their presents at the beginning of the fortieth year of the Emperor's life.

The following things were distributed as propitiatory alms (*tasadduq*) as recommended by the astrologer [royal] Har Sahāy:—one mohar, one picture, one rice of gold and one disc of silver weighing 16 tolaḥs, 400 *tanga*, one hundred beads of a rosary, one *shāl*, two *bāfta thāns*, red cloth, one brass bowl, 2 pitchers of yellow oil (= *ghee*), seven *man* of grain, one *ser* of dried grapes and sugar-candy each, and a quarter *ser* of red sandal-wood.

10th May.

From the letter of the *harkārah* of the province of *Bihār* ending 11th April, it was learnt that—

Faiyāz 'Ali Kh., the *nāib* of the *subah* was in the fort; he received a letter from Zain-ud-din Āḥmad Kh., stating that at that time Mahābat Jang was marching from Katwa towards Pachet in pursuit of Raghuji.

Bālāji Rāo was leading the vanguard, and he [*i.e.*, Zainud-din Āḥmad] had been sent off to Patna with a strong force and was day and night advancing by the Murshidabad road. The *nāib* should write urging the Zamindars of the districts of Makha, Main¹ [مكه و مين], etc., to be on their guard lest Raghuji in his flight should come in the direction of Gayā and that district. The *nāib* had accordingly sent letters to this purport to various places.

Patna letter of 7th April reports that, one *prahar* from the dawn, all at once a most severe devastation began; from *mahalla* Gorath to *mahalla* Sehuli, for a distance of one *kos*, the flames rose high; so that thousands of the houses of the citizens and thousands of animals and men, women and children as well as household property, were burnt and reduced to ashes.

¹ *Main* is probably *Moy* in Rennell's *Bengal Atlas*, sheet 2, the country immediately south-west of Gidhor. For *Makah* I suggest *Gumah*, modern Gomoh; گومه و می.

11th May.

Three hours after dawn the Emperor came to the Select Audience Hall, and after conversation with the nobles retired to the *harem*. The nobles remained in the Audience Hall, while the Emperor from the window of the Rang-mahal witnessed the combat of a pair of *ārna* (wild buffalo) and took his meal. Then a tigress sent by the Wazir was let loose in the *bāwar* (arena enclosed with nets); the buffalo caught the tigress on its horns and flung it down on the ground; then the elephants which the Emperor used to ride were made to charge the tigress. The Emperor after witnessing this show, entered the harem at five hours of the day. It was reported from *Bengal* under dates 16th and 17th April that—‘Alivardi Kh. was at Katwa, Bālāji Rāo whom he had given *conge* had gone by way of Birbhūm, gained victories, and moved towards Gayā. Raghuji had again come to Medinipur and sent his agent to the Nāzim of Bengal demanding payment of the money of his *chauth*; the two parties were discussing the matter. The camp of Mahābat Jang was set up in that direction. After this affair had been decided, the revenue ¹ [of Bengal will be] despatched.

12th May.

Āskar Rāo, the *harkārah* of the *chakla* of *Gwalior* reported news dated 29th April thus: The little fort of Kaliāni, belonging to Hamir-dev Jat, zamindar of Bijhaur, was very strong. Up to this time no *faujdār*, by reason of the abundance of the forces and *material* of the enemy, had taken any step to punish this rebel. But Haqir Kh., *faujdār*, after nine days' fight had singly delivered an assault and slain the foolish wretches, the rest of the garrison had fled away. The *faujdār* had established his own outpost in this conquered fort. This affair had become the cause of terror to all other rebels in that region.

13th May.

Khiyālī Rām, son of Bābu Rāi, presented a *duna* of *āluchaḥ* [small plum].

¹ MS. illegible and partly damaged here.

14th May.

[1st Rabi'-us-sāni] 26th regnal year begins. From the letter of the *harkārah* with the army of *Āsaf Jāh*, dated 15th March, it was learnt that—

Āsaf Jāh had marched out of Arcot on 4th March towards the fort of Trichinopoly and on 14th March arrived near Tapāl-garh,¹ eight *kos* from that fort. If Murār Ghorparé, the Maratha general, who was in the fort, should come to see the Nizam and surrender the fort, so much the better; otherwise, he would lay siege to it and fight. He had bestowed a robe of honour and horse on Dharmrāj, the zamindār of Tirupati, and sent him back to his estate.

15th May.

Four nobles presented *mohars* on the occasion of the Emperor's riding on horseback after some months.

16th May.

It was learnt from the letter of the *harkārah* of the province of *Bihar*, dated [blank] Rabi'-ul-āwwal, that Faiyāz 'Ali Kh. was in the citadel of the fort. He had sent Rs. 1,700 to Haibat Jang in response to his demand. It was learnt from couriers that Haibat Jang, after taking leave of Mahābat Jang, had reached Sakrigali on 14th April. The nāib of the city had appointed Ālnawās Beg Kh. and others with 100 troopers for escorting Dr. 'Alavi Kh.—who was coming from Murshidābād with the elephants by way of sarkār Purnia—to go wherever the Dr. might be and bring him to Patna in safety.

17th May.

The Mir Ātish and Malik Hirā were ordered to remove the Emperor's own horses from the tents of the stables to the rooms of the mansion of Dārā Shukoh and the garden of Firishtah-ābād and keep them there, because there was a great fear of fire breaking out.

Rājah Jugal Kishor presented a letter from Mahābat Jang, stating that on 18th April Bālāji Rāo took leave of Mahābat

¹ There is a *Taga-garh* in this region, but too far off.

Jang for his home and that Raghu had moved towards the Deccan.

18th May.

The Mir Ātish submitted a list about the salary of the men of the artillery department of which the sixth month [of arrears] had commenced. After reading it the Emperor entrusted it [to ?].

Rāo Kesho Rāo, the *harkārah* of the army of Āsaf Jāh, reported under date 31st March, that—

Āsaf Jāh had reached Trichinopoly from Arcot by regular marches and established his trenches round the fort. In this fort, Murār on behalf of Fath Singh the Bhāi of Rājah Sāhu, with 2,000 troopers and 4,000 infantry was ready for fight; he held abundance of artillery *material* and provisions, and was discharging cannon from the fort on the men in the trenches. The trenches had reached close to the fort, which would be soon conquered.

19th May.

20th May.

It was learnt from the letter of the *harkārah* of the province of Bihar dated 21st April, that—

A letter from Haibat Jang to Bābar 'Ali¹ has been received, stating that he would reach Sarāi Rāni, 10 *kos* from Patna on 2nd May; [Bābar 'Ali] should send Chetrām jamā'dār, as he would go to the town of Bihār in order to make a pilgrimage to the holy men. The aforesaid man was sent. Hakim 'Alavi Kh., with five carts loaded with [the treasure] sent by Mahābat Jang and Saif Kh., the faujdar of the subah of Purnia, had taken leave of the nāib-i-subah, and after crossing the Ganges had started for the Presence. 'Ali Quli Kh., the 'āmil of Tirhut, had reached the city (*balda*) and after meeting the nāib of the city had gone to Haibat Jang as called. Mir Haidar 'Ali, the *kotwāl* of the city, and Āminchand, merchant, and other inhabitants of the city had gone to see Haibat Jang.

The *naib-i-subah* had got the news that Bālāji had on 15th April taken leave of Hisām-ud-daulah ['Alivardi] and was com-

¹ Probably a slip for *Faiyāz* 'Ali.

ing by way of Birbhum to Gayā to perform the customary religious rites.

21st May.

22nd May.

Kesho Rāo, *harkārah* of the subah of *Haidarābād*, under date 1st April, reported that—

Nur-ud-din Kh., the *nāib-i-subah*, had engaged in the pursuit of Trimbak Hari and Tukā Pāndhré [?] two Maratha generals—who had been roving in the districts of Koilkonda and Medak at a distance of ten *kos* from the city, displayed great activity, and after fight with arrows and bullets and the slaying and wounding of men on both sides, he had expelled them from the subah. The Maratha generals had gone to the kingdom of Bijapur.

23rd May.

The royal physician reported that Dr. 'Alavi Kh. may have arrived at Āllahābād. The Emperor ordered him to verify it.

24th May.

Rāi Kishan Nārāyan laid before the Emperor one *duna* of *āluchah* and seven boxes of *āluchah* sent by Saif-ud-daulah.

'Itimād-ud-daulah reported that Hādi 'Ali Kh. and other imperial astronomers had last night come to him, according to order, along with Pedro Firingi, Md. Dāud, Sundar, and Murli-dhar, astronomers, and Dayārām Kahār [? Kothāri] of Rājah Jay Singh, who had come from Jaipur with a telescope and other apparatus which show the true positions of the stars; so that, the Wazir and the astronomers had looked at the stars and the moon, and the positions of the stars were found to be as they had said, and not in accordance with the manner laid down [in the books ? *بقسمی کہ ارشاد شد*]. The imperial astronomer also entered into the discussion.

In the letter of the *harkārah* of the province of *Oudh* dated 22nd April, it was reported that—

Ābul Mansur Kh. was at Faizābād; he had sent Md. Muhasan, *risālādār*, to reinforce 'Ali Rustam Kh., the faujdār of Khairābād. It was reported that 'Ali Rustam Kh. and the *risālādār* had attacked the Banjāras.....who had raided the

villages of Khairābād on the further side of the river Ghāgra ; they had killed some men and one general of the enemy, and the rest had fled away ; three or four men in the Muslim army had been slain and wounded, and the plundered property had been seized.

The *nāib-i-subah* intended to cross the river. And Taqi نواحی [?], after settling the district of Sultānpur, came with some *jamā'dārs* and saw Safdar Jang and laid before him the gold and silver coins [recovered ?]. Safdar Jang praised him.

Pedro Firingi, the astronomer of Rājah Jay Singh, interviewed and presented one *mohar*. The Emperor said that first the Wazir should look at the stars through the telescope sent by Rājah Jay Singh and report to the Emperor, and thereafter if His Majesty was so inclined he would look at the stars. Therefore, the astronomers of the Rājādhirāj and those of the Emperor went to the Wazir with Khush-hāl Chand.

25th May.

26th May.

It was learnt from the news-letter of the province of *Oudh* dated 23rd April, that—

Safdar Jang had given robes to Fath 'Ali Kh. the *dārogha* of *Dāgh* and *tashiha*, Rājah Bhank (?) the *dārogha* of the artillery, and Kh. Md., the envoy of Sher Jang ; he had sent five pieces of cloth and some jewels to each of Sami'ullah Kh., the *faujdar* of Banswāra, and Sayyid Sulaimān Kh., the *faujdār* of the *mahāls* of the royal road. Rāi Hari Prasād, the *mutasaddi* of *khānagi*, had been presented with four pieces of cloth on the occasion of the death of his son. Mir 'Atāullah, the *wakil* of Jaykishan, and Prān Nāth, the envoy of 'Umdat-ul-mulk, and Dayārām, the *wakil* of the Rājādhirāj, Vankāji and Bābu Pandit, the *wakils* of Rājah Sāhu and Raghuji, had come for discussion. The *wakil* of Saif-ud-daulah had arrived [there] with some *chintz* cloth and *pashmina*.

27th May.

28th May.

From the news-letter of *Bengal* dated 27th April, it was learnt that—

Mahābat Jang, by successive marches from Dignagar¹, had arrived at Katwa on 24th April, and was halting to get news about the enemy. He was making entrenchments on all three sides of the inhabited portion (*ābādi*) of Katwa up to the river Ajay. The news was brought to him that Raghuji with 'Ali Qarāwwal, Bhāskar and other generals had reached the further side of the territory of Mānbhum and Sānūijhūm سانوي جهوم in the jungle of Silāghāti on the skirt of the hill (*dāman-i-koh*)—which extended from Medinipur to the west and south up to a distance of 30 *kos*,—and alighted in the direction of Sambalpur; that Bālāji Rāo with Malhārji Holkar and Pilāji Jādon, had arrived near Pachet by successive marches, and advancing 8 *kos* from that place had dismounted.

Jānaki Rām, the *peshkāṛ* of Mahābat Jang, and Amrit Rāo, the son of Bālāji Rāo's diwān, had reached Murshidabad and seen Shahāmat Jang, so that Nawāzish Muhammad Kh. Bahadur Shahāmat Jang presented one elephant, one horse, and three pieces of cloth to Amrit Rāo, the son of Bālāji Rāo's diwān, and three pieces of cloth and one horse to Narsingh Rāo, the *wakīl* of Bālāji Rāo.

29th May.

¹ Dignagar, 32 miles south-west of Katwa.

III.—The Effects on the Aborigines of Chōṭā-Nāgpur of their Contact with Western Civilisation.

By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L.,
M.L.C.

Culture-contact, though not the sole nor even the main factor in cultural evolution, is yet a potent element in the process of cultural advance. Contact with Western Civilisation has considerably contributed to the cultural development of the aborigines of Chōṭā-Nāgpur, though it has complicated their social conditions to some extent and has not been altogether free from certain undesirable influences.

In order to form a proper estimate of the effects of the contact of the aborigines of Chōṭā-Nāgpur with Western culture it is necessary to begin with a short history of their social, religious, intellectual and economic condition before they first came in contact with the people of the West towards the beginning of the last century.

I. Chōṭā-Nāgpur and its People prior to British occupation.

The aboriginal population of the Chōṭā-Nāgpur plateau comprises three main tribes, *viz.*, the Austric-speaking Mūṇḍās and their kinsmen the Khārīās, and the Dravidian-speaking Orāons. The Mūṇḍā-group also includes a few small minor tribes, such as the Birhōrs, the Kōrwās and the Asūrs and Birjiās. The principal tribes, *viz.*, the Khārīās and the Mūṇḍās have been settled agriculturists probably ever since they entered Chōṭā-Nāgpur centuries ago, and so they are recognised as the Bhūiṇhārs and Khūñtkāṭṭidārs or the original reclaimers of the parts of the plateau that they respectively occupy. They have been for centuries accustomed to the regular use of the plough and plough-cattle and the practice of terrace cultivation. Of the minor tribes mentioned above, the Birhōrs and the Kōrwās, have been till now mostly nomads living chiefly on roots and tubers gathered with the help of digging-sticks and occasionally

on the precarious spoils of the chase, and the Asūrs or Āgoriās and Brijīās who used and still use to smelt iron in a primitive fashion and, here and there, have taken to a sort of shifting agriculture.

The three principal tribes, with their comparatively higher cultures, lived, as they do at present, in permanent houses, made and used certain rude wooden furniture and even certain metal ornaments and better food and better clothing than their fellow-tribes. The latter still roam about in the jungles for the greater part of the year and construct temporary leaf-shelters to protect themselves from the rain and the wind and have very little clothing and still less ornaments.

The religion of the Chōṭā-Nāgpur tribes was a crude system of spiritism or animism which, in the case of the more primitive tribes, partook more of the nature of a vague animatism in which the soul or spirit is hardly discriminated from the body or the object it inhabits; and a strong belief in 'magic' and witchcraft was common to all the tribes. Hindu influence which began slowly to penetrate into the plateau from the Sixteenth or the Seventeenth century affected the religious ideas of the aboriginal population to some extent.

The social, socio-political and intellectual progress of these tribes kept pace with their respective economic condition. The Mūṇḍās, the Khāriās and the Orāoṇis had well-organised villages with their secular and sacerdotal headmen and staffs of village servants and judicial and administrative committees of village-elders known as Panches. They went further and confederated several villages together into socio-political groups known as *Pārḥās*. These *Pārḥās* had their own staff of office-bearers and their own *Pārḥā*-Panches who acted as higher courts of appeal. The more primitive tribes,—though they, too, like their more advanced neighbours, were organised in patriarchal totemistic clans,—had to wander in small bands in search of their daily food. This necessarily consumed all their energies and left them little leisure or energy for social and political progress.

It is not necessary for our present discussion to trace the origin and history of these and other tribes before they entered Chōṭā-Nāgpur and to enquire whether those arts of civilisation,

such as agriculture, village organisation, Pārḥā organisation and so forth, which they have long possessed, were evolved by themselves or were acquired by them through contact with the Aryan or other communities with whom they might have come in contact in their former homes.

The three larger and comparatively more advanced tribes had, as I have said, long settled down into agricultural village communities. Each village brotherhood was a proprietary body owning all the lands inside the village boundaries. For purposes of mutual support these village communities, as I have said, came to confederate themselves into groups called Pārḥās; and each Pārḥā group acknowledged an administrative head known as the Mānki and a social head known as the *Karīāhā* besides subordinate office-bearers under them.

As the uniform traditions of these tribes indicate and the traditions of the Mahārājā's family suggest, in course of time, an uncommonly gifted and ambitious leader secured precedence over the other Pārḥā-heads, acquired the authority of a Chief and the title of King or Rājā.¹ This new king (whose descendant is now the Mahārājā of Chōṭā-Nāgpur), although receiving "aids" or tributes from the different village communities was a "leader" of the people and not "owner of the land" and did not in the beginning think of making any claim to the position of "landlord" until, in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries, his successors came in occasional contact with the outside world,—with some Hindu kings beyond their borders and with the Musalman Emperors and Generals. These latter, from time to time, compelled the Jhārkhaṇḍa (now Chōṭā-

¹ Mr. G. K. Webster, then Manager of the Chōṭā-Nāgpur Estate, in his Report to Government dated the 8th April, 1875, wrote of the origin of the Rāj family—"Notwithstanding their alleged divine origin, there is small question that they were Mūṇḍās or aborigines. The tradition allows that Phani Mukut Ray was taken charge of by a Mūṇḍā Rājā and chosen as Mahārājā, as he showed qualities which were more than mortal. There is still a yearly festival held at Sutiāmba, at which the descendants of the Mūṇḍā family set up their umbrella, and until this is securely planted it is not allowable for the Mahārājā's umbrella to be unfurled." *Agrarian Report of the Ranchi District, Vol. II, pp. 33-4.*

Nāgpur) Rājās to pay tribute, and thus effected a change in the spirit of their regal dreams.

The Rājā gradually became Hinduised, and, from the latter half of the Seventeenth century, began to introduce Hindu Āmlās (officers) and Brāhman priests from outside and made assignments to them of his own customary right to the aids or "supplies" from a number of aboriginal village communities. These alien assignees made unceasing efforts to acquire real rights in the villages by breaking down their communal nature. At length they succeeded in reducing in many villages the body of aboriginal peasant-proprietors to the position of tenants or Raiyats. The beginnings of landlordism were thus for the first time introduced into the country. The Rājā, now transformed into an orthodox Hindu and Nāgbānśi potentate, or rather his grantees (jāgirdārs), started and vigorously carried on a ceaseless campaign against the ancient village communities, and, in many parts of the country, attained more or less complete success. At times, the original village communities were driven to rebellion. Such were the successive risings of the Mūṇḍās in the years 1789, 1797, 1807, 1812 and 1819-1820. But still more aliens were brought in by the Nāgbānśi Rājās, and the aboriginals were more or less overpowered into some sort of submission, and, finally, about 1820, a swarm of Hindu and Mahomedan mercantile adventurers from Upper India and Bihār were introduced as lessees (ṭhikādārs) over the heads of some Mūṇḍā village-proprietors. Thus goaded to desperation, almost the entire aboriginal population of the district rose up in arms against the alien "landlords" in 1831-32. It was then that the attention of the British authorities, stationed in those days at Sherghāṭi (now in the Gayā district) far away from the Chōṭā-Nāgpur plateau, was seriously attracted to the miserable plight of the aboriginals.

With the introduction of a more direct system of administration in 1834, British officers first began to take an active part in the administration of the country. It was then that for the first time the aborigines of the Chōṭā-Nāgpur plateau began to come in contact with Western ideas and Western methods of administration,—executive, legislative and judicial. Some years

later, a further contact with Western civilisation was established when Christian missions and missionaries appeared in Chōṭā-Nāgpur.

Thus, the two main channels through which Western cultural influences reached the native population of Chōṭā-Nāgpur are, first, the channel of British administration and British officials, and, secondly, the channel of European Christian missions and missionaries. I shall now proceed to discuss separately the effect of each of these principal agencies of Western cultural influences upon the indigenous civilisation of the country.

II. *Effects of British Administration on the Native Population of Chōṭā-Nāgpur.*

As we have seen, the nomadic forest tribes of Chōṭā-Nāgpur, such as the Birhōrs and the Kōṛwās, lived, as they still do, mainly, if not wholly, on forest produce and on the spoils of the chase. With the opening up of the country by roads and railways under British rule and the gradual deforestation of the country and ever-increasing restrictions on the use of the forests, these forest tribes are slowly but surely dying out, partly from famine and partly from loss of interest in life. No attempts have been made by setting apart reservations for them or by inducing them by grants of lands or otherwise to take to agriculture, or by appointing special officers, as has been done in certain parts of Australia for example, to look after their welfare and protect them from ultimate extinction. Each decennial Census shows their population as steadily dwindling down, and it will not be long before those tribes will be extinct, with the exception of the very small proportion of them who as "Dihi-Kōṛwās" and "Thānia Birhōrs" have settled down as cultivators of land. These tribes have hardly come in contact with Western civilisation at all, and the effects of British rule in the land has so far proved unintentionally harmful to them.

As for the more numerous and well-organised tribes, they too have, since the advent of British rule, suffered a good deal through the introduction of English ideas of land-lordism and through the ignorance of earlier British officials of

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Tribes.

the origin and history of land-holding in Chôṭā-Nāgpur and the habits and customs, language and mentality of these aborigines, and through their earlier policy of *laissez faire*. In spite of all this, however, the effects of British rule upon them and of contact with Western civilisation, have proved beneficial to them in several ways. I shall confine myself to these principal tribes,—the Mūṇḍās, the Khāriās and the Orāons,—who are essentially agriculturists and whose economic welfare depends mainly on a suitable agrarian policy. As the economic history of these tribes is really the agrarian history of the country they inhabit, it will be necessary here to enter in some detail into that history. The salient points in that history I shall present, as far as possible, in the words of the British administrators themselves.

Although Chôṭā-Nāgpur nominally came under British rule with the grant of the Dewani of Bengal, Bihār and Orissā in 1765, it was not until the thirties of the Nineteenth century that the British Government actively interfered with the internal administration of the country or even stationed any British officer, civil or military, in the Chôṭā-Nāgpur plateau. It was first included, in the year 1780, within the Rāmgarh Collectorate. Until then, the plateau, or what is now the Rānchi District and the Lātēhār Subdivision of the Palāmau District, only used to receive an annual visit from the British Magistrate of Rāmgarh who had his headquarters alternately at Chātrā and Sherghaty, both places being over a hundred miles distant from the Chôṭā-Nāgpur plateau.

The first available report of such annual official visits is that of Magistrate Cuthbert, bearing date the 21st April, 1827. He wrote:—"The pergunnah of Chota Nāgpur is about 95 miles long and 80 broad, and is bounded on the North by the pergunnah of Ramghurh, to the south by Gangpur in Singhbhum, to the east by the Zillah of Jungalmahals and to the west by Soorgooja. A large portion of the Pergunnah is uncultivated and its aspect Hilly and Jungle, but there are parts highly productive and well peopled.

The Rāmgarh Collectorate Period [1780-1833].

Collector Cuthbert's Report (1827).

"It would be foreign to my purpose ... were I to enter into a detailed account of the petty wars, internecine commotions, murders and disturbances which have agitated this Perganah even to a late period....

"The Jagirdars (with few exceptions), have always been considered a turbulent description of people, and their dependants although depressed by them do whatever they desire from the mere habit of obedience which they have been taught to consider due to their immediate superiors and are frequently excited by them to plunder their neighbours. Many complaints were made to me against this class of people during my stay even on their Estates, and had I been able to remain longer, in all probability the number would have increased, as people were shy at first in coming forward, and it was only after residence of some days at a place, that they venture to complain. The greater number of complaints do not prove groundless and one Jagirdar in particular was convicted of a series of oppressions. The half-deserted villages which I so frequently met with evinced to my mind the oppressive conduct of these people as landholders."²

As the scanty materials furnished by such reports of hasty annual visits do not afford an adequate view of the country and its history prior to any real contact with Western civilisation and the influence of effective British rule, I shall quote extracts from a few later and comparatively more exhaustive official reports.

Dr. Davidson's Report (1839).	The history and agrarian condition of the aboriginal population of the plateau, prior to the establishment of the "South Western Frontier Agency" in 1834, when an officer desig-
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nated as "Agent to the Governor General of India" was first appointed and stationed at what is now the town of Ranchi with a Principal Assistant stationed at a place called Lohardaga, 47 miles west of Ranchi, is thus set forth by Dr. Davidson,

² *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of London*, Vol. VIII, pp. 407-416; *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. VII, pp. 1-34.

the then Principal Assistant to the Governor General's Agent in charge of the Lohardaga (Ranchi) District, in a report dated the 27th August, 1839 :—"The great mass of the population of Nagpur (Chotanagpur) known by Europeans under the names of Coles (Kols), consists of Mundas, Kharias and Oraons. The uniform tradition states that the Mundas originally cleared the country and brought it into cultivation. There was no Rajah of the whole country, which was divided into Parhas or batches from 15 to 20 villages each under a Rajah. It is impossible now to say what these Rajahs received from their subjects, most probably only assistance in war and *Salami* (presents) at festivals. Finding, I suppose, this system of managing the country by means of so many Rajahs did not answer, the Mūndās elected the ancestors of the present Palkot family³ to be Rajah of the whole country, since when 62 Rajahs of that family are stated to have sat on the *Gaddi*. The Rajah's family and friends pretend they were Rajputs at the time of the election, but there can be no doubt that their ancestor was a Mūndā, and the family prospering, they managed by force to get married into the Rajput families of Pachete and Singhbhoom, and eventually into others, and now pass for as good Rajputs as any in India.

"The remains of the former system of the Cole (Kol) Rajahs are still visible... They have still their Parhas and nominal Rajahs... The custom in those remote days was that whoever cleared the land became the owner of the same, free of rent, only in return rendering to the head of the villages such services as the common good required....

"To enable the Palkot Rajahs to keep the peace and carry on the wars in which they were constantly involved, a certain rent from each village (or rather group of villages) came gradually to be paid, but the right of property of the head Mundas of the villages appear to have been long recognised.

"On the Palkot (Rajah's) family becoming Hindoos and regularly marrying into the neighbouring Hindoo families, it became a great object with them to induce other Hindoos to

³ Since removed from village Palkot to village Rāntū, and known as the family of the Mahārājāh of Chōṭā-Nāgpur.

settle in (Chota-)Nagpur. The only mode of doing so, in their power, was to grant villages, by which means all the *suds* or foreign proprietors in (Chota-)Nagpur have been established. Baraiks, Rajputs, Brahmins, Routias, etc., are all foreigners brought in by the Palkot family as a sort of military force to enable them to support themselves against the neighbouring Rajahs, and also to control the Coles (Kols)....

"In all the various changes of rulers in India, no Government seems to have interfered with the internal management of (Chota-)Nagpur until our own times.... No attempt was ever made to interfere with the police or administration of justice, which was left entirely to the Rajah. The consequence was that only those of the original heads of the villages, who were strong enough to inspire fear such as those in Sonpur, etc., were able to keep their villages; the others were entirely dispossessed and replaced by the *Suds* (alien Hindus) or their villages resumed by their Rajah himself."⁴

In 1834 a system of Zamindary Police and court of Justice were established in Chotanagpur. But these too did not help the aborigines. In the same report of 1839 Dr. Davidson wrote, "In point of fact there was no regular police or administration of justice in (Chota-)Nagpur till the present Agency was established in 1834; that they (the Kols) are frequently imposed on by their landholders is not for want of comprehension, but that they have been so long completely left to their mercies, and so entirely deprived of any protection from them, that it is difficult for them to make up their minds to resist."⁵

"It often happened that the unfortunate Kol, who with difficulty made his way to the far off station, found the tables turned on him when he got there. A posse of witnesses in the pay of the opposite party were already on the spot, prepared to prove 'that he had not only no rights to the lands, but was a turbulent rebel besides'."

Dr. Davidson, in his report already referred to, wrote,—

⁴ Letter No. 247, dated 27th August, 1839, to the Governor General's Agent. *Vide The Mundas and Their Country*, by S. C. Roy (1912), pp.191-93.

⁵ *Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government*, No. XX, Chota Nagpore, p. 14.

"A reference to a regular suit is not at all applicable to a Cole, and, if so ordered, in nine out of ten cases the powerful zamindars will thereby be able to defeat the poor Bhooinhars." In that report Dr. Davidson showed, to quote the words of Bengal Government Resolution, dated the 25th November, 1880, that "the Kols were continually being deprived of their lands through the oppression and machinations of the Jaghirdars and thikadars, and that the facilities already afforded them for getting justice were not sufficient." With regard to the ordinary ryots or unprivileged cultivators, Dr. Davidson noted in the same report,—“The *theekadar* or owner of the village has no right whatever by the established custom of Nagpur (Chōṭā Nāgpur) to take a higher rent from the cultivators of the Rajhas than they have been in the custom of paying..... The contrary to this is often done, and from ignorance or timidity submitted to by the ryots but every unprejudiced person allows it is contrary to justice and the custom of the country.”⁶

Another report gives the following graphic account of the unfortunate situation,—“From this time the fight between the two races, the Hindus and the aborigines in Chutia Nagpur took another form, that of calling in the aid of the Police and the courts of law, an arena on which the Hindus soon became the masters of the field; for the police were chiefly men of Behar, the same province the Zamindars had originally come from and, in the courts their own language, Hindi, was spoken, besides their having more intellectual power and pecuniary means than the Kols. The latter, almost accustomed already to the position of a down-trodden and half-enslaved race, received a severe shock from the mighty grip of the English militia and lay prostrate at the feet of their Zamindars and Thikadars.”

Colonel Dalton who was Commissioner of Chōṭā Nāgpur from 1857 to 1871, on a review of the facts, had to write in 1871 that “it was after the Kol rebellion of 1831-32, and during the administration of the South-Western Agency that the greatest disturbance of peasant proprietary tenure occurred.”⁷

⁶ *Chota-Nagpur Agrarian Reports*. Part II, p. 6.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

Thus the change in the method and centre of administration, though an administrative improvement, far from checking the expropriation and economic degradation of the indigenous population, did in fact facilitate and hasten it. It was next to impossible to administer effectively an area of about 12,500 square miles of country, full of hills and jungles, from a single centre. And so the Rājā (now Mahārājā) of Chōṭā-Nāgpur and particularly his Jāgirdārs and Thikādārs went on merrily with their campaign of self-aggrandisement at the expense of the aborigines of the country; and 'landlords' of various degrees were created by the Mahārājā and placed over the heads of the aboriginal peasant proprietors.

The South-Western Frontier Agency Period [1834-1854].

Ricketts' Report (1854).

In 1853-54, when Mr. (afterwards Sir Henry) Ricketts, then a Member of the Board of Revenue for the Lower Provinces (Bengal, Bihar and Orissa) came on a tour of inspection to Chōṭā-Nāgpur, he found that, "In Chotanagpur the *Bhooi* (Bhūiñhārs or the descendants of aboriginal founders of villages) has land which exists in every village, have been exposed to the rapacity of the middlemen, aliens who are hated by the people, and who to obtain these lands, spare no species of force or fraud;—.. against these our courts do not afford any facile remedy, and the day may not be distant when the people, goaded beyond endurance, may take the law into their own hands." His report continues, "To protect these under-tenures is therefore not only as a duty important, but it is also essential to the permanent tranquillity of the country. ... But it cannot be concealed that it must be a hopeless contest between a middleman of any degree and a Zamindar in charge of the Police. However carefully his rights have been ascertained and recorded, if the Zamindar Daroga is resolved he shall go, he must go; his ruin may be effected in a hundred ways, and if he resists, *will* be effected, though the officer-in-charge of the District be his friend. ... It is said to be useless to examine the files with a view to ascertain whether there have been any contests between the alien Thicadars and the indigenous tenantry inasmuch as the tenantry, seeing that

the contest was hopeless, have for the most part yielded the field without a struggle; that the class of indigenous village Zamin-dars is gradually, or rather quickly, disappearing in that character, though still existing as discontented ryots brooding over their wrongs." He adds, "With alien farmers, alien Omlah, and alien subordinates in all Departments over them, doubtless the Kols must have much to endure." Mr. Ricketts accordingly recommended that "the Governor General's Agent be directed to select, at random, a small purganah of Chotanagpur and to direct his assistant to ascertain by careful enquiry, what has become of the original village-holders of every village in that perganah....whether they are still in possession, if not, when they were dispossessed, and what has become of them.... Ultimate measures must depend on the result of the investigation." ⁸

Commissionership Period (1854-1931).	The investigation, thus recommended, was indefinitely postponed. But shortly after his visit to Chōṭā-Nāgpur, in 1854, the form of administration was changed and the South-
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Western Frontier Agency was replaced by a Commissionership for the Chōṭā-Nāgpur Division, and regular Civil, Criminal and Revenue courts were established. Although in the beginning a simple set of rules was formulated for the guidance of Courts, gradually, however, one after another, the laws and enactments in force in Bengal, Bihār and Orissā and suited to the more advanced people of those regions came to be introduced in backward Chōṭā-Nāgpur to the further disadvantage and discomfiture of the aboriginal population. Although a partial survey and records of one class of lands, namely Bhūiñhāri, were made in 1869-80, they only touched the fringe of the trouble. Though it checked one form of aggression it opened or rather widened the door to other forms of invasion of the ancient rights of the aboriginal holders of lands and villages. The investigation into the condition of the aboriginal village-holders and the preparation of the complete record-of-rights was not undertaken until more than

⁸ *Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government*, No. XX, Chota Nagpore, pp. 14-15.

twenty years later. And, in the meantime, through inadequate knowledge of the British officials and their Indian subordinates, of the history of land-holding in the District, and the inappropriate application of the principles of English law and ideas of landlordism to a country where the history of land-holding has been altogether different, incalculable mischief was done to the rights of the aboriginal peasant proprietors. And thus from their former position of joint holders of villages (though holders of the plough as well) they were gradually reduced to the position of mere holders of the plough and hewers of wood and carriers of burdens for the alien usurpers of their former rights.

The fundamental mistake committed by the British authorities was to assume that the relationship of the Mahārājā of Chōṭā Nagpur with the aboriginal village communes was one of feudalism, that the headmen of these communes were "vassals" and "tenants" who held their villages as "fiefs" from the Mahārājā, and that the Mahārājā was the absolute owner of the soil. The real facts are, however, quite the other way. The Mahārājā and his Jāgirdārs never had nor have an absolute right to the villages. The ancestor of the Mahārājā, as all official reports agree in finding, was elected by the aboriginal village communes (who themselves continued to remain as the real owners of the soil) to be their paramount "leader," "war-lord" and not "land-lord", who derived his rights, limited as they then were, from them and not *vice versa*. Occasionally some British official, like Colonel Dalton, who had lived long in the District had a glimmering of this truth. And Sir Andrew Fraser, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, who paid several official visits to the District and made special enquiries, remarked in the *Quinquennial Report of the Administration of Bengal* (1903-08), "In Chotanagpur the landlord is not the absolute owner of the land".

Although the attacks on the old communal nature of the

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a Complicated Administrative and Judicial System.

villages and of the proprietary rights of the aboriginal village-communes appear to have commenced from before the beginning of the British occupation of the country, it was greatly facilitated by the uncertainty and the

lack of control of the earlier years of British rule, and, not less so by the ignorance and apathy of the courts and some administrative officers of Government from the beginning up till recently, and in many cases up till the present, as also by the existing administrative and judicial and legislative system which are not at all suited to the aboriginal tracts of India. Now and then a sympathetic officer, like Dr. Davidson or Colonel Dalton, with long residence and experience in the District realised to some extent the real situation and felt for the wrongs done to the aboriginal land-holders. But the majority of the earlier officials (such as Gordon, Robinson, Taylor, Renny, Mangles and others) who either had no time to study the agrarian history and peculiar agrarian customs of the country or paid no particular attention to them and, in a few cases, perhaps had no sympathy with the unfortunate aboriginals, lent a ready ear to the representations of the landlords who alone could have easy access to them. British feudal ideas of landlordism also prevented most officials from probing into the root of the trouble.

The frequent risings of the aboriginals were represented to the officials by the landlords and other interested people as the work of turbulent *dacoits* (robbers and brigands) and *chūhārs* (lawless rowdies). When one reads of such scurrilous accusations (not unknown even at the present day) against the aboriginal tenants of Choṭā Nāgpur, one is reminded of the French sarcasm "*cest un méchant animal. Il se défend quand on l'attaque*". ("This is a wicked animal. It defends itself when it is attacked.") All this misled the officials; and the pendulum of official sympathy in the past unfortunately swung more often to the landlord's side than to that of the aboriginal tenant. And the landlords' campaign against tenants' rights went on swimmingly.

It is not the Civil Courts alone that unintentionally and ignorantly helped the landlords in destroying the Khūñtkāṭṭi rights of the village-owning aboriginal communes. As we read in the Ranchi Settlement Report of 1902-1912, the "Revenue courts of the District were equally, if not more,

The Breaking-down of Peasant-proprietary rights through official ignorance of Local History and Local Customs.

to blame.”⁹ The same report tells us that the Manager of the Encumbered Estates Department of Government was a great sinner in this respect. It goes on to say, “The Khuntkatti status of the various khuntkattidars in the extensive states of Jaria was broken when Lieutenant Colonel Evans Gordon was the Deputy Commissioner”⁹ (1892–96), and that “the example of the Encumbered Estates management must have been a powerful incentive to other landlords.”⁹ And the foolish greed of some of the Mūṇḍā headmen of the villages who sought to pose as landlords themselves in their individual right also helped in breaking some Khūṇṭkāṭṭi tenancies. Thus, what with this and what with that, by the time the Settlement operations commenced in the year 1902, much of the old communal (Khūṇṭkāṭṭi) rights were lost. At length, in 1899, a serious rising of the discontented Mūṇḍās which had to be suppressed by calling in the aid of the Military, opened the eyes of the British Government to the gravity of the situation, and Sir Andrew Fraser, the then Lieutenant Governor of the Province, ordered the preparation of a Record of Rights of the District.

Accordingly, a Survey and Settlement of the District was undertaken in 1902 and completed in 1910 with a view to find out what remnants of their ancient rights the aborigines had yet succeeded in retaining so that these might be protected from further spoliation. And in the Quinquennial Report of the Administration of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa (1903–08) we read, “At his first visit to Ranchi in September 1905 Sir Andrew Fraser made special enquiries regarding the progress of the Settlement and the working of the laws above mentioned

<p>Related Govern- ment Measures to save the Remnants of Tenants' Rights.</p>	<p>(tenancy laws) and found that <i>through the ignorance of the courts aided by the apathy of the local officials</i> until more recent years, immense injustice has been</p>
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done to the Mundas by the agency of the law. The feeling created in the minds of many of them was one of great bitterness against the Government, whose failure to interfere on their behalf they had not been able to understand. The experience gained in the Settlement (now in progress) made it clear that

⁹ *Ranchi Settlement Report* (1902–10), pages 81 and 83.

the local Tenancy Act failed in various important respects to take due account of the rights enjoyed by the aboriginal tenants". Even at this day it cannot be said that the administrative and the judicial systems in force are suited to the people or that the Tenancy Law is adequate.

Col. Davies, Judicial Commissioner of Chotanagpur, in his judgment, dated the 20th September, 1873, in Regular Appeal No. 56 of that year, writes,—“An experience of very many years in this district enables me to assert with confidence that the whole of Perganah Siri, a jungle tract, was formerly held by the simple Munda Kols under Khuntkatti tenure at fixed rents, that portion of the Perganah now held by the Government still retains its old status; but in the portion held in Jagir by the Lals (junior branches of the Maharaja's family), many of the old Khuntkattidars have been gradually deprived of their rights and have become mere cultivating ryots. In the Mankipattis of the Perganah Sonepur, which is in the immediate neighbourhood of Siri, the headmen continue to preserve their former status.”

The extent of the expropriation of the former aboriginal peasant proprietors of the Chōṭā Nāgpur plateau may be estimated from the fact that when the preparation of the Record of Rights of the Rānchi District was at length completed in 1910, it was revealed that out of a total area of 3,614 square miles of cultivated lands in the Rānchi District, most of which was originally reclaimed by the aboriginal cultivators and owned by them as Khūṅṭkāṭṭi or Bhūiṅhāri proprietors, only 188 square miles were left as Mūṇḍari Khūṅṭkāṭṭi, 14 square miles as other Khūṅṭkāṭṭi lands and 203 sq. miles as Bhūiṅhāri lands. Thus, only about one-ninth of the cultivated lands of the District were left as the *dejecta membra* of the original proprietary rights of the aboriginal reclaimers of the soil and founders of villages. And even this much could hardly have been saved but for this beneficent, though much-belated measure of the British Government and the sympathetic care and painstaking investigations of a few British officials and a few of their Indian Assistants as well as the moral, and in some cases, financial support of the Christian missionaries who began to

work in the District since 1845, and with whose influence on the people I shall deal in the next section.

To sum up what I have set forth above. The earlier period of British administration had some unforeseen and unfortunate effects on the land-system of Chōṭā-Nāgpūr. In the first place, it unintentionally and unwittingly helped the transformation of communal ownership of villages of the aboriginal village-communities into individual ownership mostly of non-aboriginal and alien proprietors and, under them, individual cultivating tenancies held by aboriginal and non-aboriginal tenants. In the second place, the British system of administration of justice, too, has unintentionally produced certain deplorable effects on the moral character of the aborigines. This complicated system of law and legal procedure, which is admirably suited to advanced Districts and peoples, was naturally not comprehended by the simple aborigines and was not suited to their level of culture. Although the judges and magistrates were inspired with a desire to do justice, very few of them were, and still are, conversant with the languages, customs and mentality of the people. And thus this complicated system of administration of justice has tended to impair the natural truthfulness and honesty of the people in many cases. By repeated painful experience the people have found that under the complicated and cumbrous Procedure Codes and a too technical Law of Evidence which are now in force and which are beyond their comprehension, their native straightforwardness and veracity is no match for the chicanery and falsehood and the many subtle tricks employed against them by many of their adversaries. And "law-touts" and other petty-fogging "advisers" are not wanting to induce them to adopt the ways of their adversaries. Such advice unhappily they now not unoften follow, though rather clumsily. But, as is inevitable, the expensive system of litigation through one court after another—Courts of Original Jurisdiction, Courts of First Appeal and Courts of Second Appeal,—is ruinous for the poor aboriginal, who, in most cases, cannot fight up to the last, and even those who can, only find themselves in the end utterly ruined through the expenses and

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of an unsuitable judicial system.

trouble of securing ultimate victory. In this way the complicated British-Indian system of administration of justice has more often than not helped in ruining the aborigines economically and in degrading them morally.

The British system of law and administration has further tended to impair the social solidarity of the tribes and has weakened the authority of the social heads or Panches and the respect they formerly commanded. Until recently, when Government orders validating tribal customary law regarding succession and inheritance were promulgated, the Courts often disregarded the custom against inheritance by daughters and applied to them a Succession Act quite inconsistent with the fundamental social structure and ideas of kinship of the tribes. Until recently when rules against alienation of ancestral lands were promulgated by Government, the ancient tribal custom against such alienation was utterly disregarded, and through such alienation, alien Hindus and Mahomedans were admitted to the villages resulting in the further disintegration of the old village community. The recent restrictions against alienation have come so late, and the people have been now so long accustomed to such transfers, that a large section of the people now feel these restrictions irksome and no longer needed, and subterfuges are often resorted to in order to evade them.

It is a relief to turn from these sad effects of a complicated system of administration upon the native population of Chôṭā-Nāgpūr to the brighter side of British rule in the country and its beneficent effects on primitive native civilisation. The Criminal Law introduced by the British rule has, on the whole, had a decidedly beneficent effect on the tribes, although, in its administration, due regard is not always paid to old customs and ideas and the characteristic mentality of the people. Under the influence of British law such objectionable practices as trial by ordeal, witchcraft and persecution of supposed witches are gradually losing their hold on the people. For the loss of their rights in the lands of their forefathers, the aboriginal population have been to some extent compensated by certain undoubted benefits. Such are the spread amongst them of education,

The Good Effects
of British Rule.

literary and scientific as well as technical, which is opening up new avenues for employment;—the opening up of communications, which has brought them into contact with the outside world and thus put them in the way of getting a wider outlook on life;—and the opening of hospitals and dispensaries for men and women and veterinary hospitals for cattle—which are slowly but surely weakening their age-long faith in superstitious methods of treatment of diseases by medicinemen, sorcerers, witch-finders and ghost-doctors. And last but not the least, the recent introduction of Co-operative Credit Societies is calculated to save them to some extent from the hands of usurious money-lenders, and to train them in habits of thrift and co-operation.

But as yet the bulk of the aborigines have not been able to reconcile themselves to the loss of their status of owners of the soil and their degradation from the position of holders of villages to mere holders of the plough.

It is interesting to note the different reactions produced upon the different mentalities of the three principal tribes respectively by the failure of their efforts to prevent their expropriation and the spoliation of their cherished rights, one after another, by the new class of landlords placed over their heads by the Mahārājā whose ancestor had been elected by their own ancestors to be their chosen *leader* and not *lord and master*.

There is something in the atmosphere of India which makes its people—of every caste and tribe—turn to religion in times of distress. And the acute agrarian discontent of the aborigines of Chōṭā-Nāgpūr at the spoliation of their ancient rights from which no earthly power could protect them took the form of religious reforms. The faith in the old gods was shaken. In the case of the stubborn and proud tribe of the Mūṇḍās the reform took the form of a militant monotheistic creed propagated by a young Mūṇḍā named Birsā. This young man, styled by his followers as Birsā Bhagwān or Birsā the God incarnate, promised a kingdom of Heaven in Chōṭā-Nāgpūr by expelling the Dikūs (non-aboriginal landlords) if not the Sāhebs (the Europeans or the Britishers) as well. Instead of merely preaching devotion

to God and purity in morals and habits, Birsā foolishly led his more foolish followers to attack the local Police Stations and fight the forces of the British Government of whose strength they had no idea. And he ended his life while in custody in the Ranchi Jail, and a large number of his followers were tried and either hanged, or transported, or imprisoned.

The discontent and disappointment of the naturally joyous and peace-loving tribe of Orāons also took the form of a religious movement, known as the *Tānā Bhagat* movement: but, in their case, it was a religion which though monotheistic, was not of the aggressive type of the Birsāite religion, although some of the misguided followers of the new faith did in the beginning commit some excesses. It seeks through *Bhakti* or devotion, as they understand it, and hymns and prayers in their own way, and through purity of life and action, to draw down the blessings of God and raise their degraded social and economic position; and an extreme section of them cast aside their ploughs and gave up their lands in despair and took to singing hymns to God and to their cattle (whom they tend with devotion) in the hope that they would somehow rescue their votaries from their trouble.

The Khāriās, who are neither as sullen and haughty by nature as the Mūṇḍās nor so joyous and sociable as the Orāons, but are a sober and cheerful, and, on the whole, quite a nice and agreeable people, took a more matter-of-fact view of things. They sought to adapt themselves as best as they might to the changed conditions under which they had to live. A section of them crossed over to the neighbouring Feudatory States of Gangpur and Jāshpur where large tracts of unoccupied land were available for cultivation. And when the Christian missionaries appeared in the country, a large number of Khāriās still left in the Ranchi District and, later, many of those who had migrated to the States, along with a larger number of Mūṇḍās and Orāons, turned to the Christian faith, as others still continue to do. This they did, in most cases, in the hope of securing relief from their agrarian troubles and the oppressions and exactions of their landlords and usurious money-lenders, and, in a few cases, of securing protection from the attentions

of evil spirits or from persecutions from their tribe-fellows on account of suspicion of witch-craft. In fact, it was their agrarian troubles which prepared the ground for the Christian Missions. I shall now proceed to discuss the influence of the missionaries on the aborigines.

III. Influence of the European Christian Missionaries on the Aborigines.

The second and more effective vehicle of Western influence on the culture of the Chōtā-Nāgpūr tribes has been, as I said, the European Christian Missions and Missionaries.

The first Christian Mission to work among the aborigines of Chōtā-Nāgpūr was the German Evangelical Lutheran Mission, otherwise known as Gossner's Mission from Berlin. It estab-

The German Evangelical Mission.

lished its headquarters at Ranchi in 1845. It was in June, 1850, that the first converts, four in number, were secured. These were all Orāons; and within a few years the number of aboriginal converts began to increase rapidly. It was their expectation of securing redress of their agrarian grievances with the powerful help of European Missionaries that appears to have attracted most, if not all, the earlier converts to the Christian Church. It would be unfair to the Missionaries to say, as is

The Agrarian troubles of the Aborigines—the Missionary's opportunity.

sometimes said, that they made converts through inducements of securing them their lost rights in lands and other worldly advantages. The truth seems to be that these tribes were at the time when the German Mission appeared, and again when the Catholic Mission first came, in a tumultuous and distracted mood of mind in which any port in the storm was welcome to them. And, in their perplexity, they turned for protection and relief to the White missionaries and the religion of their White rulers, which these missionaries preached.

In a report dated the 15th March, 1859, Senior Assistant

The immediate effects of Christianisation.

Commissioner Captain Davies wrote,—
“With Christianity has naturally come an appreciation of their rights as original clearers of the soil, which right in many

instances they have asserted and established. This, independent of other causes which induce the higher castes of natives to view with displeasure the spread of Christianity, caused great alarm amongst the landlords and farmers, who were not slow to use against these converts every means of persecution they could safely venture on, but with no other effect than the spread of conversion."¹⁰

It was not so much an *appreciation* of their rights which Christianity taught them, for most aboriginals had always fully *appreciated* their rights, much of which they were so long powerless to protect, but it was a more resolute spirit and greater moral courage that they gained from their conversion to Christianity and contact with European Missionaries. Thus Commissioner Dalton, the Ethnologist, in his letter dated the 25th March, 1859, forwarding to Government the report of Captain Davies from which I have just quoted, wrote,—“It has been commonly remarked that when matters came to issue between the ‘simple Cole’ (Kol) and Zamindar or foreign farmer, the Cole had no chance, and indeed he appeared to think so himself, for he seldom sought redress, but the Coles who embraced Christianity imbibed more independent notions, and in several cases successfully asserted their rights. From this the belief unfortunately spread through the District that when Coles go to courts as Christians they are more uniformly successful than those are who have not changed their religion. Mainly in consequence of this impression they suffered much persecution from their landlords during the absence of the authorities after the Mutiny (Sepoy Mutiny of 1857), and were almost all plundered. On the restoration of order they obtained through the Relief Fund a considerable sum to meet their pressing needs, and this was considered as another clear indication of their being a class highly favoured by the authorities. The result of this has been a great accession of nominal Christianity. A reasonable desire to be reinstated in Bhooeharry lands actuated some, a dishonest wish to become one of this favoured family of Bhooehars seized others. The next step was to profess Christianity, and going up to Ranchi to the mission to assert their rights and defy their

¹⁰ *Chota Nagpur Agrarian Reports*, Part II, page 3.

landlords. Right or wrong, the demands that were made by the latter were resolutely opposed. Affrays took place and blood was shed".¹¹

Some apologists of the landlords suggest that, if the Chōṭā-Nāgpur aborigines had not been taken in hand by the Christian Missionaries, Chōṭā-Nāgpur would remain in peace. But such hypothetical peace would indeed be of the nature indicated in Tacitus' description—" *Desertum faciunt, pacem vocant*". (" They make the place a desert,—they call it peace.")

In 1869, there was a split among the German Missionaries, one section of whom invited the S.P.G. The Anglican Mission. (Anglican) Mission to Rānchi and joined it with a number of converts. And these two Missions went on making converts in the Rānchi District up till 1883, when a Catholic Mission station was first opened at Dōṛandā near Rānchi.

Soon after the Catholic Mission began to work in the District, there were phenomenal mass conversions to Christianity. The Catholic Fathers wisely permitted their converts to retain as much of their tribal customs, feasts and festivals as did not militate against the Christian creed, and they took a keen and zealous interest in the material welfare of their converts. And this was the secret of their phenomenal success. In this new form of Christianity, the risk of loss of their zest and enjoyment of life was greatly minimised. In place of their old gods and spirits which had proved powerless to protect their rights, it presented an All-powerful Deity like their own Singbonga and Dharmes, and a Son of Man and God who gave up his life to save mankind from their trouble, and a number of Saints, male and female, who were wholly beneficent and attractive. In place of their tribal Jātrā dances and processions, the new religion provided imposing processions with picturesque flags, and gorgeously dressed priests carrying ornamental candle-stands and lights and beautiful images of their Saints. And in addition to all this, the Catholic priests were White men like their rulers, and, like the other White Missionaries, were affable and easy of

¹¹ *Chota Nagpur Agrarian Reports*, Part II, p. 1.

approach and, to their thinking, more full of the milk of human kindness than the average White official, and ready to give them all possible help in their contests against those whom they always regarded as their oppressors and spoliators.

Although the Missions gave every possible help to their converts in their just contests in the Courts against the aggressions of the landlords on their lands and their various unauthorised exactions of *abwabs* or illegal cesses and *begar* or forced labour, the Christian aborigines in many cases were defeated in law-suits. Owing partly to the complicated system of administration of justice which they could not comprehend, and partly to their simplicity and ignorance which placed them at a great disadvantage in the Courts particularly against adversaries most of whom did not scruple to employ any unfair means to secure victory, and partly, too, through the ignorance of the Courts of the languages of the aborigines, their ways of thought and expression, and the history of landholding in the District, it has in most cases been extremely difficult for the aborigines to secure their just claims. And thus in spite of the solicitude of most British officials to do justice to them, and the moral and in many cases financial support of the missionaries, the aboriginal Christians could not always successfully resist the encroachments of the Zamindars or secure restitution of the rights of which they had been dispossessed.

But their great moral gain from their new religion lies in the restoration of confidence in themselves as men capable of being what other men have become and of being able to do what other men have done. The Christian converts got rid of the abject feeling of their own worthlessness or helplessness, which had come over the aborigines through long years of oppression and defeat, and in its stead, they now imbibed a feeling of renewed self-confidence and a spirit of independence and self-help which are of great value in life. Well-nigh two centuries of oppression had bowed their backs and made most of them grovel at the feet of their oppressors in supine helplessness. Now once more they felt an accession of new strength and could summon courage to stand up for their rights.

The Moral Effect of
Conversion.

I have dwelt at some length on the agrarian history of these tribes as affected by British rule and Christian influence, because the economic, social and religious life of these agricultural tribes centre round their lands and landed rights. Without pursuing further the sad history of their agrarian troubles and grievances, which though now rendered much less acute by Governmental measures, still continue to some extent, I shall now proceed to enumerate briefly the influence of the European Christian missions on their civilisation in other ways.

The most important effect of the Christian missions on these tribes is the enormous improvement in education. Primary education has made a phenomenal progress among the Christian aborigines, who now send a much larger proportion of their children to school than the Hindus not only of Chôṭā-Nāgpur but of the more advanced Districts of Bihār. This will be borne out by the following comparative statistics giving the proportionate percentage of children actually at school to children of school-going age.

	Boys at school	Girls at school	Boys and girls at school
Bihar and Orissa	.. 40%	4.6%	22.30%
Chôṭā-Nāgpur	.. 38.99%	4.9%	27.53%
Rānchi District	.. 47.30%	9.4%	28.30%
Rānchi Catholic Mission	.. 69.00%	21.0%	45.00%

In secondary education, University Education and technical education, too, the aboriginals are making steady progress. Most aboriginal Christian parents are keen about the education of their children including girls whom the earlier generation of Christians were reluctant to send for schooling. But now-a-days many Christian parents are known to stint themselves a good deal to enable them to pay the necessary school-fees and other expenses at school and college for their children.

There has, on the whole, been a marked improvement in the general level of culture. Even after they leave school and college some keep up the habit of reading, if not much general literature at any rate a lot of religious literature, besides Mission magazines and news-sheets and general newspapers.

Aboriginal Christian students of the missions have their own Students' Associations run by themselves in which besides

discussing general principles of good living, such as the value of temperance, self-help, hygienic rules of living, they urge their fellows to join together in working for their social and economic betterment.

The elders among the aborigines have also been co-operating with the younger men in Aboriginal Improvement Societies or *Sabhās* in discussing ways and means for the social and economic uplift of the aborigines, as a whole, and adopting and carrying on such measures as they consider suitable and feasible. In one or two such associations, recently started, many non-Christian aborigines are found working side by side with their Christian tribe-fellows; and this has led to some increase of a quasi-national feeling which, however, remains more tribal than national. The aborigines, as a whole, still appear at heart to regard Chōṭā-Nāgpur, not India, as their motherland.

In the work of the economic, social and educational uplift of the aboriginal converts, the three Christian Missions follow much the same lines. The Catholic Mission, though the latest in the field, is the best organised and has the largest number of converts in Chōṭā-Nāgpur (2,68,300 as against about only 99,000 of the German Lutheran Mission and 24,500 of the Anglican Mission). It exercises the greatest measure of influence on the life and culture of their converts. Some are of opinion, however, that the strict discipline which they enforce on their converts tends to suppress, to some extent, their liberty of thought and action. However that may be, as we possess fuller reports of the philanthropic and other activities of that mission which are on a more extensive scale than in the other Missions, I shall briefly refer to the social welfare work carried on in the Catholic Mission as typical of the activities of the different Christian Missions of Chōṭā-Nāgpur. These all work, more or less, on the same lines, and have had considerable influence on the life and culture of the Christian aborigines directly and some indirect influence on the non-Christian aborigines as well.

The educational and social uplift work of the Catholic Mission is carried on through some seven hundred primary and vernacular schools for boys and girls and nine Middle English Schools in the District and a central High School at the head-

quarters station at Rānchi and another in course of development at Simdega, a central Co-operative Stores at Rānchi, and a Co-operative Credit Society with its headquarters at Rānchi and nearly 1,500 branches in different villages of the District, and rice banks distributed in a large number of villages. The educational work is under the supervision of a senior expert Belgian Missionary with the designation of the "Director-General of Education", and the Credit Societies and other social welfare organisations under another specially qualified Belgian Father designated "The Director-General of Social Works". These officers frequent the various mission stations in the District and discuss matters with the Fathers in charge, advise them, and co-ordinate their efforts. Much of the actual educational work is carried on by aboriginal masters themselves with one or more Jesuit Fathers as Head Masters in the several central schools. Though the Director-General of Social Works is the President of the Co-operative Credit Society, the whole of the actual managing staff, like all the share-holders, are aboriginals. "Mutual Help" Societies have been established in a number of villages with a view to collect and maintain common village funds by way of insurance against times of unforeseen and special needs with which individual families may be occasionally faced.

These Co-operative Societies and Grain Banks and Mutual Help Societies, under the fostering care and guidance of capable European Missionaries have engendered habits of thrift and co-operation, hitherto unknown, among the aboriginal converts. In the year 1930, as much as Rs. 1,13,081 was deposited in these Co-operative Credit Societies by aboriginal Catholic converts out of their scanty savings. Out of the net profits of the Societies a decent sum of three thousand rupees or more is voted every year to the Poor Boys' Education Fund for help to deserving Catholic students to prosecute their studies. These students are required to repay the money, without interest, to this Fund by very small instalments after they are settled in life.

Influence on Charac- ter.	It is cheering to find how through the influence of these three Missions, the proverbial improvidence of the aboriginals is being replaced by a spirit of thrift and mutual help and
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co-operation. Drunkenness which is a besetting vice of the aborigines, is discouraged by all the Missionaries; and Christian aborigines are now generally less addicted to strong drink, although the town-dwelling aborigine is far more prone to drunkenness than the village-dwellers, and the older generation of Christian aborigines generally indulge as freely in rice-beer as their non-Christian fellows.

Under the influence of the several European Missions, the old village Panchayāts and the Pārḥā Panchāyats in Christian areas have been remodelled. The Christian villagers now elect the most capable or respectable men among themselves to the village Panchāyat or council of village elders. And a group of villages periodically elect members for the group-Panchayāt. Amongst the Christian Mūṇḍās of the Anglican and German Churches of certain areas (Khūṇṭi, Torpā, Karrā and Basiā thānās) where the non-Christian Mūṇḍās do not cut off their Christian tribe-fellows from commensality and social (though not marital) relations, the old Pārḥā-Panchāyats have not been superseded by church organisations of group Panchāyats.

All these Panchāyats do a lot of useful work in settling minor disputes and exercising social discipline. Matters which cannot be satisfactorily solved by the village Panchāyats are referred to the group Panchāyats. Besides trying and punishing cases of sexual misconduct and certain other transgressions of social laws, these Panchāyats discuss and decide such questions of general and social welfare as the reduction and regulation of marriage expenses. These are perfectly autonomous institutions with which the Missionaries do not ordinarily concern themselves, except that the Catholic Mission requires that the decisions of the Panchāyats should be submitted to the Missionary in charge of the station who can veto its decisions if they go against any recognised religious principles.

I have referred above to the Sabhās or associations of the aborigines. Each Catholic missionary circle has its own Sabhā, all the office-bearers of which are aborigines. The function of these Sabhās is to discuss and form opinion on social and economic questions conducive to the welfare of the people, and to propagate their opinions and ideas by lectures and talks and

thereby form public opinion in the community, which may ultimately lead to social and economic reform. Different Sabhās sometimes meet together to interchange ideas.

These Sabhās, like the Panchāyats and the meetings and deliberations of the Co-operative Societies, in which aboriginal members are required to decide on matters of importance to them, are calculated to foster a feeling of responsibility in every individual member. Decisions are not left, as before, to the elders only. These decisions are guided by old customary laws in so far as they are considered applicable and are not in conflict with Christian ideas and principles. In these and other ways the influence of Western Christian Missions have distinctly raised the level of culture amongst the aborigines of Chōṭā-Nāgpur. There has been an improvement in taste, in cleanliness

Improvement in
Taste, Cleanliness,
Dress, etc.

in their houses and surroundings and in their persons and clothes, and in other matters. Women have given up the use of excessive metal ornaments. The heavy brass bangles, and anklets, and thick rows upon rows of necklaces, metal toe-rings and finger-rings used by non-Christian aboriginal women, have been replaced among their Christian sisters by light bangles and a few light beads only. Christian young men, as a rule, give up all the ornaments worn by non-Christian lads, although a very few of the more illiterate Christian village youths keep up a necklace or two for occasional wear.

The tribal dances at the village Ākhrās in which young men and women dance together has been practically abolished in the Lutheran and Anglican Churches under the idea that they are conducive to profligacy. The

Modified Conser-
vation of some Inno-
cent Tribal Customs.

Catholic Mission allows tribal dances under certain restrictions designed to avoid the risk of immorality. Thus, village Ākhrās have been abolished in purely Catholic villages, and, in dances at night, only the girls of the same village are permitted to dance together, and one of the village Panches has to be present to give the signal for the termination of the dance for the night. Non-Christian religious dances such as the Karam and Sarhūl dances are not permitted. Tribal dances with songs composed

by Christian masters are permitted at weddings and at Christian religious festivals. In the other Missions, too, such dances are now coming in again, with similar restrictions. In a few villages a sort of Bachelors' Dormitory for Christian young men is being revived but without the rules and objectionable rites which once crept into the non-Christian institutions, but which are now fast falling into disuse among non-Christians as well.

The time-honoured custom of clan-exogamy has not been interfered with. And as much of the old tribal customs at birth, marriage and death as are not inconsistent with Christian doctrines has been allowed to remain. Thus, by retaining as much of the old social atmosphere as Christian doctrines permit and also by creating some new interests, the old zest in life is sought to be kept up. Besides their old tribal games, a few European games are now practised. The game of hockey is now played with great avidity and skill in many aboriginal villages and in the towns and constitutes a wholesome means of using up superfluous energy.

The earlier Christian Missions in the beginning banned all non-Christian feasts and festivals. But the Catholic Mission not only permitted but discreetly encouraged all tribal customs that did not go against the principles of Christianity. Thus, the rice-sowing festival and the festival of first fruits (rice) have not been abolished, but only sacrifices formerly made on these occasions to the old spirits have been replaced by prayers at Church, and offerings of rice are brought to the Church to be blessed by the priest and taken home for the feast. Whereas many Catholic converts take back part or whole of the paddy blessed by the priest for sowing in the fields, the Protestants regard it as a heathen superstition and discountenance it. The rice or paddy brought to the Church on these occasions is, in the Lutheran Churches, taken into the church fund, as thanks-offerings meant for the church and the rest is taken home as "blessed" rice for sowing or for the feast of eating the first fruits (*nawākhāni*) as the case may be. On the occasion of occupying a new house, the priest is called to bless the house, and a feast is arranged, if possible. In the Anglican Mission, too, some Christian aborigines come to church for prayer before

sowing, and for thanksgiving at harvest and on occupying a new house.

Thus the good effects, on these primitive tribes, of Western Missionary influence have been, on the whole, to develop their intellect by education, to give them a wider outlook on life and a higher standard of living and a higher ideal of culture, and generally to raise them in the social scale, to liberate them from the old tribal taboos on such useful occupations as weaving, pottery-making, and smith's work, to create new interests, open out new avenues of employment and usefulness, and to increase their sense of responsibility and self-respect both as individuals and as a race.

Indirect Influence of Christianity on Non- Christian Aborigines.	Christian influence, as I have said, has indirectly affected even the non-Christian aborigines in some respects. A desire for improving their material condition through education and remedying their social evils has been stimulated among non-Christian aboriginals by the example of their Christian fellows. Associations and societies of their own have been started by non-Christian aborigines to discuss ways and means and to raise funds and adopt other measures to improve the economic and social condition of their communities. The old faith in spirits has been considerably shaken and the religious reform movements that are now and again started amongst them appear also to have been stimulated partly by contact with Christian ideas.
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Such in brief are the good effects of the contact of the aborigines of Chōṭā-Nāgpur with Western Christian Missions and Missionaries. The Catholic Mission has on its staff the largest number of European Missionaries (viz., 77 European priests and 49 European sisters) in Chōṭā-Nāgpur, practically all of whom are employed in Mission work among the aborigines. Many of them live the lives of hermits of the type that appeals most to the Indian imagination, and devote themselves heart and soul to the social, economic as well as spiritual uplift of their converts, identify themselves wholly with them and their country, and thus they appear to have the greatest influence and also control over the life and character of their

converts. The Lutheran mission has now become an autonomous Church and has only 2 or 3 German Missionaries working under a Church Council of Indians. In the Anglican Mission, too, the number of European missionaries working amongst the aborigines is very small. But an Anglican Missionary like the Right Reverend Archdeacon Whitley, who has identified himself completely with his aboriginal Christians and leads the same life of absolute self-sacrifice and devotion as Hindu saints and the best Catholic Fathers, exerts as great an influence on the life of his congregation as the most devoted Catholic Father. And the same might perhaps be said of the late Rev. Dr. Notrott of the Lutheran Church. Such men exert a wholesome influence not only on their own Christian aborigines but also on the non-Christians with whom they freely mix.

The picture I have so far drawn of the Western Missions and Missionaries must have struck the reader as all light and no shade. As a matter of fact, this bright picture, like all

bright pictures, has also its shadows. The first thing that one misses in many Christian converts is their native simplicity, the free and easy deportment and love of Nature characteristic of the Chōṭā-Nāgpur aboriginals. A certain amount of complexity and artificiality, part of which would indeed appear to be unavoidable, has been introduced into their life. Their young people appear to lack, to some extent, the old exuberance of spirits and enjoyment of life. In place of natural flowers their young women now deck their hair with gay ribbons; in place of their old home-spun *sāris* embroidered with patterns of flowers and leaves in coloured thread, many of their women dress themselves in slim white or coloured *sāris* of either Indian or foreign mill manufacture, particularly on Sundays and feast days, and jackets and blouses and chemises of European style.

Although most Christian missionaries in Chōṭā-Nāgpur have from the beginning discouraged the adoption and imitation of Western dress and habits by their converts and sought to prevent an artificial development which would be necessarily superficial, yet it cannot be said that they have always succeeded. On the other hand, the imitation of Western

customs such as the adoption of foreign names like "Stephen" and "Robert," "David" and "Nathaniel," the adoption of the Western method of saluting by handshakes in supersession of the graceful tribal salutations (Jōhār), the growing habit of wearing half pants and shirts, even at home, are calculated to induce, at least in the subliminal or unconscious mind of the aboriginal converts, a feeling of their affiliation with the *sāhebs* (Europeans) and superiority to or at any rate severance from their unconverted tribe-fellows and other Indians. The old plain living of the aborigines has been given up by some aboriginal Christian converts who seek to imitate the European mode of life, food and clothing, although as yet this is generally regarded with disfavour by the generality of their fellows who are content with adopting only coats and shirts and half pants or thin *dhoties* of mill manufacture in place of the old home-spun. Among the poorer converts in the interior of the District, the use of cloth of hand-loom manufacture has not yet been given up.

On the whole, the Chōṭā-Nāgpur aborigines may be said to have remained, so far, outside the direct influence of the material civilisation of the West, and of Western habits, ideas and methods. I have already referred to the drunken habits of some of the native Christians living in the towns. In fact, the aboriginal Christians appear to be very easily demoralised when they take to urban life. Some half-educated Christians living in the towns have been notorious for their intemperence, improvidence and other vices from which non-Christian aboriginals even of the towns are comparatively free. These perhaps come all the more prominently to our notice because better things are expected or promised of the converts.

Although the missionaries have been anxious to see their converts remain and develop in their old atmosphere in so far as it is consistent with development on Christian lines, their success in this respect has not been quite satisfactory. Some old customs have been proscribed and abandoned, but unfortunately not replaced by better substitutes, and, as a consequence, new vices have sometimes appeared.

Again, large sections of aboriginal Christians appear to

have consciously or unconsciously developed a superiority complex and have practically cut themselves off from the life and society of their non-Christian tribe-fellows. What is worse still, these aboriginal converts not only isolate themselves from their tribe-fellows, but, further, the converts of one denomination isolate themselves from those of another, thus hindering the growth of tribal, not to speak of national, solidarity. The great Christian principle of "Love thy neighbour as thyself" appears to have been modified in its application by many Chōṭā-Nāgpur Christians as meaning, "Love thy neighbour of thy own Church as thyself or rather next to thyself and thine own."

The denominational Christian Panchāyats which have replaced the old village Panchāyats are not an unmixed good, for they tend to destroy the old tribal solidarity. Fortunately, the younger educated men are alive to this danger, and the influence of such societies as the Chōṭā-Nāgpur Improvement Society and the Chōṭā-Nāgpuri Students' Association which bring together Mūṇḍās, Orāons and Khāriās, Christian as well as non-Christian, has led to some increase of a quasi-national feeling, which, however, still remain more tribal and provincial than national. The Chōṭā-Nāgpuris still regard Chōṭā-Nāgpur, not India, as their motherland.

Now that the Lutheran Church in Chōṭā-Nāgpur has become autonomous and is being successfully run by aboriginal Christians themselves, and the other Churches in Chōṭā-Nāgpur may before long attain autonomy,

The Future of Christianity in Chota Nagpur.

it may be reasonably expected that Christian character and Christian religion in Chōṭā-Nāgpur will in time slough off its foreign garb and will develop more and more on Indian lines, and form part of the great Indian religion of *Jñān-Bhakti-Karma*—true knowledge, true devotion and right action,—which is the essence of real Christianity as well as of real Hinduism. And there are good grounds to expect that the aboriginals, as a whole, will turn their attention to conserving the good features of their own tribal culture and character, and gradually assimilate the best that is in Christianity and Hinduism, and, with

their minds sharpened and ideas broadened by Western education,—the great gift of the British government and the Western Christian Missions,—work out a distinctive culture of their own.

As for British Officials, they can hardly be said to have exerted any great personal influence on the life and character of the aborigines. Owing to the characteristic reserve of Britishers, and, in some cases, perhaps owing to pressure of work or other reasons, very few officials, particularly in these days of motor traffic, mix freely and intimately with them. Such men as Commissioner Dalton and Deputy Commissioner Streatfield or Settlement Officers Lister and Sifton (now Sir James Sifton) are exceptions rather than the rule. As for the Westerners with whom the aboriginal labourers from Chôṭā-Nāgpur come in contact in the tea-gardens of Assam and the Duars or in industrial centres like Jamshedpur and Jheria, many of them have not been of the type that may influence the aborigines for their good, and the influence of a few of them has been positively deleterious.

To sum up : The effect of the contact of the aborigines of Chôṭā-Nāgpur with the Western Christian Missions has been to infuse new hopes in them and give them a better appreciation of their rights as men and as tenants, a somewhat wider outlook on life, and to enable them to improve socially, economically and intellectually. The life of the converts or some sections of them, however, have become more complex and artificial and somewhat out of touch with their non-Christian tribe-fellows. There is an unfortunate tendency to develop a superiority complex. The introduction of new economic, intellectual and religious interests by the Missions has provided a compensating stimulus to make up in part for the loss of the old zest and enjoyment of life. The educational institutions, hospitals and roads opened by the British Government have considerably helped the cultural progress of the aborigines and made up to some extent for the disintegration of the primitive aboriginal village communes and their irreparable loss of rights in land due to the ignorance, if not apathy, of early British administrators and the mistaken appli-

cation of British ideas of landholding to the country to this day. The various philanthropic activities of the Missions have, as we have seen, considerably furthered the cultural progress of the people. It is the elevating influence of the personal character and self-sacrificing work of some of the Western Missionaries who have lived and worked in Chôṭā-Nāgpur with selfless devotion that has most affected the aborigine's character and his culture, and helped and is still helping him forward on the path of cultural advancement.

Contact with the more complicated culture of the West, in spite of certain disintegrating and contaminating influences, has undoubtedly given a tremendous impetus to the intellectual and social advancement of the principal aboriginal tribes of the Chôṭā-Nāgpur plateau.

With the help of the educational facilities and new avenues of employment provided by the British Government and the philanthropic and educational work, including the training in new arts and crafts, undertaken by the Western Christian Missions, and the moral influence of some of the European Christian missionaries on their life and character, the Orāons, Mūṇḍās and Khārīās of Chôṭā-Nāgpur are now freeing themselves from the fetters of ignorance, economic degradation, moral despair and weakness of will, engendered by two centuries of oppression and repression by many of their landlords and money-lenders and culpable neglect by their more civilized fellow-Indians. They are now emerging from their century-long social and economic serfdom, and advancing, not, as of old, with the violence of revolution foredoomed to failure but with the slow orderly progress which marks a natural evolution.

English education which is, under present conditions in India, an indispensable condition of an intellectual equipment, will enable the aborigines to hold their own in the competitive struggle of the modern world. We now find every year scores of aboriginal young men and even a few girls from Government English schools and colleges and the Mission High schools successfully entering the lists of competition in our Universities with their Hindu and Mahomedan compeers. We see, year after year, a few of them securing responsible posts in various

departments of Government. We find some of them discharging public duties as members of District Boards and Municipal Boards and Union Boards, and in some other honorary capacities. All this has contributed materially to a sense of national or rather tribal self-respect. And young educated leaders are appearing amongst them, eager to help forward their people in the path of progress, although as yet their number is infinitesimally small and they have to contend against numerous odds in their attempts to help forward their people in the onward path of progress.

Through the removal by the British Government of some of the inequitable handicaps to progress and inequalities of opportunities under which he so long laboured, the aborigine's lot and prospects in life have been considerably brightened.

So long the aboriginal "Kol" (as he is contemptuously called by his Hindu and Mahomedan neighbours), while comparing his lot with that of the "*Diku*" (as the aboriginal, in his turn, calls his Hindu and Mahomedan neighbours) had to lament his lot, by adapting the words of the poet Thomas Hood to his own case :—

“ What different lots our stars ordain !
 The *Diku* to be hailed and wooed as a lord,
 And the *Kol* to be shunned as a leper !
 One to the world's wine, honey and corn,
 The other like Colchester native born
 To its vinegar only and pepper ! ”

But now, thanks to the direct and indirect influence of the Christian Missions and the educational facilities provided by the British Government, the educated aborigines, with a wider outlook on life and brighter prospects before them, may well sing with Walt Whitman's *Pioneers*,—

“ All the past ills we leave behind,
 We debouch upon a newer mightier world.
 Fresh and strong the world we seize,
 Pioneers ! O Pioneers ! ”

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I.—Further Notes on the Kolarian Belief About the Neolithic Celts.

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, Esq., M.A., B.L.

In my paper entitled: "A Note on the Kolarian Belief about the Neolithic Celts," which was read before the Section of Anthropology of the Eighteenth Session of the Indian Science Congress held at Nagpur in January, 1931, I have stated therein that, during my three months' stay at Ranchi from 20th January to 15th April, 1930, I saw in the collection of Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy, a neolithic celt (or stone-hammer of the New Stone Age) which had been dug up from an *Asura* grave in village Gora in the Khunti Subdivision of the Ranchi District. I have further stated therein that, as the result of my study thereof, I have arrived at the following conclusions:—

1. This Neolithic Celt is called *Ther-diri* or "Thunder-stone" by the Kolarian peoples of Chota-Nagpur.
2. As this celt was made by men of the Neolithic Age or New Stone Age, it must be from 15,000 to 25,000 years old.
3. The Kolarian peoples believe that these celts were hurled down upon the earth by gods or semi-divine personages like Rāma or Lakshmana.
4. They further believe that these celts are fraught with divine afflatus and that, if they are placed by the side of parturient women, these latter will have easy and speedy delivery.

Since writing the aforementioned paper, I have come to know that the Mongoloid tribes living in the hills of Assam also call these Neolithic Celts "*Thunder-Stones*". For instance, the Nāgā tribes living in the Nāgā Hills of Assam also call these stones "*Thunderbolts*", as will appear from Prof. Henry Balfour's article on the same subject in *Folklore* for June, 1929. In this paper, he has described three celts from the Nāgā Hills.

Two of these are slightly tinged and ground all over, and each is mounted with a canework-loop for suspension; the third is a ground celt of very hard pale-grey stone, with a reddish tinge, perhaps due to iron infiltration, which appears to have caused the celt to be regarded as a "live" thunderbolt and consequently, a source of danger to its possessor. Some of the Nāgā tribes regard these stone-celts as luck-bringing, whereas the Lohtā Nāgās will not touch them.

Curiously enough, the Ao Nāgās living in the same hills, instead of looking upon these stones as luck-bringers, believe the same to raise thunderstorms and cause houses to be struck by lightning. This is evident from Prof. Henry Balfour's article entitled: "*Concerning Thunderbolts*" in *Folklore* for March, 1930. In this paper he has described "an interesting instance of a ground stone celt (Thunder-stone) regarded by the Ao Nāgās of Village Tangratsu in the Nāgā Hills as still dangerous and capable of causing disaster instead of averting it. The Ao Nāgā, who had found it, kept it presumably for luck, but, contrary to expectations, during the first year of possession the owner's field-house was blown down, and in 1928, his house was struck by lightning. This destructive activity of the "thunderbolt" was considered to be due to a curious reddish streak running across the celt and regarded as indicating the lightning itself." The celt was sent by Dr. J. H. Hutton to the Pitt Rivers Museum of Anthropology (appertaining to the University of Oxford) and, curiously enough, during the "November gale of 1928, a large portion of the Museum roof was blown off!" Mr. Balfour gives another instance of faith in the mysterious potency of an Indian "Thunderbolt" as follows:—"It was mentioned to me by Dr. J. H. Hutton, who, in spite of several attempts, has failed to acquire it from its owner, an elderly Nāgā of intemperate habits, who sets great store upon the celt. On the day following an orgy of drinking, he sits licking his "thunderbolt" in full reliance upon its peculiar efficiency for cooling his burning tongue."

These neolithic celts or Thunder-stones are not only useful for procuring easy and speedy delivery for parturient women, but are also used as remedies for other diseases.

The well-known Indian anthropologist Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, who has thoroughly studied and described the prehistoric stone-implements found in the Ranchi District in The Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society for March, 1916, says:—

Medicinal virtues are generally attributed to these “thunder-stones” or “thunder-bolts” by many people in the Ranchi District as elsewhere in India and in many other parts of the globe. In cases of headache, difficult urination, rheumatic or other pain in any part of the body, and in affections of the lungs, water with which one of these lightning-stones has been rubbed over another flat stone, is applied to the affected part. Perforated rock-crystal beads dug out in the fields or found in ancient cinerary urns are valued as a cure for certain kinds of fever. They are popularly called “Rāti-Jārā” (lit., night-fever) stones and are believed to be particularly effective in fevers in which the attacks begin at night time.

II.—Purāṇa Coin and the Date of the Mānava-dharma-Śāstra.

The *purāṇa* coin is unknown to the Pali Buddhist Canon and to Kautilya. We get it for the first time in the Mānava-dharma-śāstra. We find it current in the time of the Divyāvādāna (p. 353) where 500 *purāṇas* are contrasted with one *Kārshāpaṇa*.¹ It seems that the name *purāṇa* ("old") would have come in use when a *new* style of coinage came into vogue. Coins with royal names were introduced in Magadha and the Mid-Country under the Śuṅgas. The new system gave the old punch-marked coins the name or description "*purāṇa*". It seems the expression as denoting a coin (*Kārshāpaṇa*) came into use after 300 B.C. and before the first century A.C., very likely in the Śuṅga time.²

Its absence earlier and in the Kautilya (which does not know either the Mānava-dharma-śāstra or the *purāṇa*) indicates indirectly the time of the Mānava-dharma-śāstra.

K. P. J.

¹ XXVI, p. 353 : pañchabhiḥ purāṇaśataiḥ parichārayate | . . pañcha-purāṇaśatāni notsaḥate dātum | na . . kārshāpaṇenāpi prayojanam, . .

² The *purāṇa* coin is mentioned in an (unpublished) inscription of Huvishka's time (28th yr.) at Mathurā (Girdharpur pillar, Muttra Museum).

III.—Kumārāmātya.

Mr. De (J.B.O.R.S., XVII, 198) has rightly objected to the interpretation of the term *Kumārāmātya* in the Hindol Plate as offered by its editor (*ante* XVI, 81).

We get light on this official term from Bhāsa (*Pratiṣṭhā-Yaugandharāyaṇa*, II). When Śālaṅkāyana, Minister to King Pradyota Mahāsena, having captured King Udayana of Kauśāmbī, brings him to one of the gates of Ujjayinī and the news is announced to the Mahāsena, the latter orders the Chamberlain : ‘Gachha, Bharatarohakaṁ brūhi “Kumāra-vidhi-*viśiṣṭeṇa* satkāreṇa.....*praveśyatām Amātyaḥ*’ (ed. 1912, p. 33)’.’ ‘Go and tell Bharatarohaka to receive the Minister with the honours due to a (royal) prince.’ Bharatarohaka was the Prime Minister of Ujjayinī. The King is here conferring an honour and a dignity on the minister Śālaṅkāyana whose title had been simply *tatrabhavān Amātyaḥ* (p. 30) for the distinguished act of capturing Udayana, ‘son of Śātānika, grandson of Sahasrānika, the Vatsa king’ whose ‘Bhārata pedigree goes back right into the Veda’.¹ It was the honour and dignity of *Kumāra*, that is, although not of royal blood, by virtue of the royal decree the *Amātya* was titled *Kumāra* and became entitled to the status of a real prince of the blood in court etiquette. He is distinguished from the real princes by being called *Kumārāmātya* : ‘the Prince the Minister’.

This seems to be the real significance of the *Kumārāmātya* title of the inscriptions. Though not a prince by birth, the grantee was made a titled prince.

K. P. J.

¹ प्रकाशराजर्षिनामधेयो वेदाक्षरसमवायप्रविष्टो भारती वंशः (p. 34).

IV.—An exact date in the reign of Aśoka.

We have to thank a French Scholar for pointing out the data for an exact date in the Aśokan Chronology. It is now established that Aśoka's reign-period fell between 274 B.C. and 234 [or 232] B.C. The late Dr. V. Smith gave the date as 272 B.C.-232 B.C., basing it on Chandragupta's accession date as 323 B.C. The date which I calculated worked to be higher by two years. (*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1915.) Vincent Smith, before his death added after his proposed date " (possibly a year or two years earlier) "—*Early History of India*, 1924, p. 206. In that period 274 B.C. [or 272 B.C.]—234 [or 232] B.C., we can get a definite date for one event.

It is well known that Aśoka re-distributed the remains of the Buddha all over India erecting numerous stūpas over them.

The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang records the religious tradition which he heard in India (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, p. 91) that the relics were deposited throughout the empire on one and the same day at a given hour. The appointed time was at or after midday when the face of the Sun darkened (which the Buddhist monks in later ages attributed to a miracle of Upagupta, Aśoka's teacher). M. Robert Fazy, writing in the July-September, 1930, issue of the *Journal Asiatique* (pp. 135-136) rightly regards this as the description of a solar eclipse.

T. R. Von Oppolzer who in his *Kanon der Finsternisse* calculates dates of solar eclipses for over thirty centuries (1207 B.C. to 2161 A.D.), gives the 4th May, 248 B.C., as the date on which a total solar eclipse took place. It was visible in the valley of the Ganges after the midday (3-4 P.M.) (*J.A.*, p. 136).

The Emperor Aśoka undertook a pilgrimage of the Buddhist sites led by Upagupta. The date for this has been calculated by Vincent Smith to have been 249 B.C. If his date is short by two years, it is to be taken as 251 B.C. It seems that the erection of these stūpas was undertaken after his pilgrimage.

It seems quite safe to adopt 248 B.C. as the exact year for the re-distribution of the Buddha's remains by Aśoka.

K. P. J.

V.—Additional Notes on the Sobhaneśwar Inscription of Śrī Vaidyanātha.

Since after the publication of the above article of mine in the March issue of the Research Journal some alterations in the reading have been suggested to me by Sjt. Radhakrushna Basu, M.A., of Cuttack and I must admit here that at some places his reading is certainly an improvement over mine. I take this opportunity to express my indebtedness to him for this. I give below the alterations in the reading as suggested by him :—

Line 2— चस्यनुग्धबधू
इन्द्रोपेन्द्र

Line 4— काननैक

हन्स

Line 5— यशोधौ

Line 6— स्नाहारय

Line 7— मण्डले

Line 8— शचोः द्रुत
 Line 9— श्रुत्वा सर्प
हर्षाद्भवर्षुक लोचनान्तविगदास्या
 सुतरां जू
पायते

The meaning would then be as follows :—“ Whose good deeds bright as the beam of the autumn moon, the recital of which by the Nāga damsels has attracted praise of the three worlds and has caused tear drops to flow from the eyes (of the people hearing the songs of the Nāga damsels) forming into a pond wherein Vāsuki the king of serpents himself has been charmed and stupefied.”

If this be the sense then the idea of the term Bhujāṅgama-purī as meaning Kakodarpur as suggested by me shall have to be rejected.

Line 10— क्रुधस्तरुफणो

क्षेपाक्षीप्त

This is the most important of the alternative readings suggested. The meaning would then be :—“ Who by the display of his angry glance like the display of the hood of an angry serpent devastated the city of the enemy of the Ganga dynasty and turned it into a jungle full of lions, wild fire, cruel serpents, proud boars, dancing peacocks whose tails eclipse the rays of the sun, roaring elephants from whose chins drops out *mada* water, and rhinoceros.”

In that case it would be presumed that Vaidyanātha, the constructor of the temple was really a commander under the renowned Gaṅga dynasty of Orissa, and not a king of a different dynasty.

Line 11— निर्मलाद्विजयति ...

Line 14— विश्वं तर्पयता

Line 18— स्फायत्सान्द्र

Line 23— शिवाय खात

उत्कण्ठा

ध्वानो

Line 24— पुरतो ब्राह्म (Brāhma—son of
Brahmā=Nārada)

Line 26— प्रातिष्ठद्वनं

Line 27— कण्ठद्वयो युक्तिवा

P.S.—In page 33 of the original article the sentence “At least the use....., the Capitals of Orissa”, occurring above the text should be treated as cancelled.

S. PATNAIK, B.A.

VI.—Note on an Oriya Copperplate Inscription of Ramachandra Deo, Śaka 1728.

By R. Ch. Panda.

There is an article on the above subject by Rai Bahadur M. M. Chakraverty, in the December issue of Vol. ii, Part iv, of this Journal.

The learned Rai Bahadur was unable to identify 'Nandapur' the capital of the donor and it is unfortunate that he could not get the actual information even from the 'Gangāmata Mut' of Puri, wherein the descendants of the donee reside. I shall therefore, in this article, attempt to give a correct information of the Rajah's capital, the exact time of the Rajah's reign and a correct reading of the said copperplate.

Of the 32 districts in the Madras Presidency, Vizagapatam district is the biggest of all, nay, 'it is the largest in India, and the most populous in the Province, having an area of no less than 17,222 sqr. miles and containing in 1901, 29,33,650 inhabitants'. It is the second district from Orissa, the first being Ganjam, and forms part of the Northern Circars. Of the 17,222 sqr. miles over 12,000 sqr. miles belong to Jeypore or 'Jayapura'—the City of Victory—where an Oriya Maharajah reigns. The present Maharajah, as the State Chronicles say, claims his descent from one Vināyak Deo, the brother of the king of Kashmir and Jammu, who had left that country, rather than to hold a subordinate position under his elder brother, went to Benares, did penance to Kāśīviśveśvara there, and was told by that god in a dream, to go to the kingdom of Nandapur belonging to the SILAVAMSA line of which he would become the king.¹ Accordingly, Vināyak Deo went there, married the king's daughter and succeeded to the gadi of Nandapur in 1443 A.D. It is said that, prior to Vināyak Deo, 32 kings ruled

¹ *Vide* 'The Ruling Chiefs, Nobles and Zamindars of India; p. 458. By A. Vadelu.

the country of Nandapur, but so far no account of their rule has been found.

The present headquarters of the Maharajah is now at Jeypore, but formerly it was at 'Nandapur'. The present Nandapur is a small village containing only 1,051 inhabitants. 'In old records the property is always called the Nandapuram Zamindary. It still contains relics of its former importance. Remains may be seen of a mud fort which apparently surrounded the whole place; on the northern part of the village are two boulders on one of which are sculptured two figures in relief, while the other has been fashioned into an elephant, near the cutcherry of the *amīn* of the Jeypore estate is a stone bearing an inscription; about a mile to the south-east is a stone *Ganapati* some six feet high; the same distance to the north is the shrine of *Sarveśvara*, in which are more inscriptions (inscriptions are rarities in the hills); and in the village itself are the ruins of the famous 'Throne of the Thirty-two Steps'—a flight of this number of stone steps which leads to a roughly circular granite slab on which, it is said, the early chiefs of Jeypore were always installed. About three miles from this place is a still more ancient and curious relic namely, a small shrine in which are three stone images of nude individuals sitting cross-legged which appear to belong either to Buddhist or Jain times.'¹

Nandapur was once the Headquarters of the Pottangi Taluk of the Jeypore Agency, but now the headquarters has been changed to Pottangi, a small village of about 800 inhabitants situated on the Salur-Jeypore trunk road.

The donor of the copperplate was one Maharaj Ramachandra Deo of the Nandapur Raj family, and the plate was granted in the year 1728 ŚĀLĪVĀHĀNA śakābda, i.e., 1806 A.D., the exact date of issue of the plate corresponds to 30th June, 1806. The learned editor of this plate in his article writes:—

'Copperplates in Oriya characters are extremely rare.' The independent kings of Orissa issued thousands of copper-

¹ Vide 'Vizagapatam District Gazetteer', page 300 (1907 edn.).

plates in this country, but in Jeypore almost all the plates were in pure Oriya character. So far only three plates have been found and all of them were issued by this Ramachandra Deo. They are:—

1st Plate—issued in the year 1799 A.D. (unedited) is with the descendants of the donee now at Jeypore.

2nd Plate—issued in the year 1801 A.D. (edited by Mr. G. Ramadas Pantulu, B.A., M.R.A.S., of Jeypore *vide*—‘Andhra Historical Research Journal’—vol. 111, part 1, 1928).

3rd Plate—issued in the year 1806 A.D.—the one under review.

In plate No. 1—two dates are given, but in none the śaka year is mentioned. The first is Yovian year Bhava, Monday, 14th, of Dhanus mārگاśīrāsh, full-moon, when there was a lunar eclipse—it corresponds to 26th December, 1814 A.D. The second is Yovian year Sidharta, Friday, 28th, of Cancer, Śrāvāṇa śudha 8th tithi, i.e., 9th August, 1799 A.D. From these two dates Mr. Ramadas Pantulu concludes that, the donor of these plates was living in the years 1799–1814 A.D. But, it was not really so. From the following genealogy it is quite clear that Ramachandra Deo was ruling the Province of Nandapur between the years 1781–1825 A.D. and he was the second Ramachandra Deo of his family.

Genealogy.¹

1.	Vinayak Deo	..	..	1443–76	A.D.
2.	His son—Vijaya Chandrakhya	..	..	1476–1510	„
3.	„ Bhirava	..	..	1510–27	„
4.	„ Viswanath	..	..	1527–71	„
5.	„ Balaram—1st	..	..	1571–97	„
6.	„ Vesvant	..	..	1597–1637	„
7.	„ Vira Vikrama	..	..	1637–69	„
8.	„ Krishna	..	..	1669–72	„
9.	„ Visvambhara—1st	..	..	1672–76	„
10.	His brother—Mallakimardan Krishna			1676–81	„
11.	„ Hari	..	..	1681–84	„

¹ *Vide* ‘Vizagapatam District Gazetteer’, p. 264.

12. His Brother—Balaram—2nd	..	1684-86	A.D.
13. His adopted son, Raghunath Krishna		1686-1708	„
14. His son—Ramachandra—1st	..	1708-11	„
15. His brother—Balaram—3rd	..	1711-13	„
16. „ Visvambhara—2nd	..	1713-52	„
17. His step-brother, Lala Krishna	..	1752-58	„
18. His brother—Vikrama—1st	..	1758-81	„
19. His son—RAMACHANDRA DEO—2nd		1781-1825	„

* * * * *

Now, wherefrom did the donor issue the plate? or which was the capital of the donor when he was ruling the province of Nandapur? There is no doubt that the former capital of the Jeypore Kings was at Nandapur or Nandapuram. The ruins of the old fort, the famous throne of 32 steps, and the mention in the family records, etc., all prove that it was only at Nandapur, but still it is clear that, when the above plates were issued, the capital was shifted from Nandapur to the present Jeypore. 'Vināyak Deo and his six successors', say the family papers, 'had each only one son, and the sixth of them Vira Vikrama (1637-69) accordingly resolved to remove his residence elsewhere. The astrologers and wise men reported that the present Jeypore, was "a place of Kshatriya class" and it was accordingly made the capital and named after the famous Jeypore of the north.'¹

So, all these plates were issued from the new capital Jeypore, but still the donor did not mention himself as the 'Ruler of Jeypore'. He was only mentioned as the 'Nandapur-Bhūpati', i.e., Lord of Nandapur. He was the 19th ruler of his family, but so far no plates of the former rulers have been traced out.

Before stating the text of the plate, I may point out an interesting point in the copperplate grant of Ramachandra Deo. It is engraved on both sides, but, on the 1st side only two

¹ *Vide* 'Vizagapatam District Gazetteer', pages 264 and 265 (1907 edn.).

lines were written first, then the plate was turned to the 2nd side, on which 7 lines were engraved, then again the plate was turned to the 1st side but this time it was kept upside down. Then 4 lines were engraved, ending with the royal seal on the fourth line. The learned editor of this plate had taken up the 2nd side first, then the upturned side of the 1st side, and lastly he had edited the 1st two lines. Hence, the 1st line of the plate corresponds to his 12th line, and his 1st line corresponds to the 3rd line of the actual or corrected text given *infra*. Owing to this peculiarity in engraving the Rai Bahadur had been unable to read the plate correctly and had supposed that some lines were added afterwards. Readers of this article are specially requested to compare the following corrected text of the plate with that published on page 439 of vol. ii, part iv of this journal.

Correct reading of the Text.

1st side.

- Line 1. Akṣaya nāma samvatsara mithuna di 19 na
 āṣāḍha śuddha (śukla) 15 somavāre śrē Puruṣo-
 ,, 2. tma kṣatra śrē Gaṅgāmātā-tṭhāku rāṇiṅka matha
 śrē Bhagavān Dāsa Adhikāri Gosāiṅka

2nd side.

- Line 3. śisa (śiṣya) Rādhā charana-Dāsaṅku avadhāna-
 kalāra patā/patā nirṇaya Śrē Rasika śiroma-
 ,, 4. ṇi yugala-murttika amṛta monai nimante Jaya-
 pura-durga Mara kotapādi dvāra sma-
 ,, 5. ṇdha kakadāhāṇdi grāma e-dina chandra grahaṇa
 samayare ava dhāna kalāim je- e-
 ,, 6. grāma sajaḷa-sthaḷa-nidhi-nikhāta-kāṣṭha-pāṣāṇa-
 padara-paṅkāḷa chhāya-upachhāya sa-
 ,, 7. ndhi—simāntare yāvaśchandrārke bhaṣmāntake
 pāraṁ-paryante Śrē Rasika sē-
 ,, 8. romaṇi yugala murttiṅku amṛta monaē karāe
 nitya tini dhupa pāṇcha avakā
 ,, 9. sa re kalyāṇa karuthiva ethirē āna avadhāna
 nāhiṁ—Śrē Rājādhira-

1st side (upside down).


- Line 10. ja Mahārāja viradhi viravara pratāpa Śrē Nanda-
pura bhūpati Śrē Ramachandra-
,, 11. Deva Mahārājāṅkara sanamaṭṭa svadattaṁ digu-
naṁ punyaṁ paradattāṁ pālanam-
,, 12. paradattāpa hārēṇa svadattaṁ nisphalaṁ bhvet
Śālivāhana śakābda 1728 (Royal seal).

Translation.

This charter is granted to Rādhā Charan Dās, the disciple of Śrī Bhagavān Dās Adhikāri Gosayim of the muth (Temple) of Gaṅgāmātā Thakurani of Śrī Purusottam Khetra (Puri) on Monday the full-moon day of Āṣāḍha Mithuna 19 of the year Akṣaya.

Conditions of the charter are—that the said Rādhā Charan Dās will perform daily three bhogas (nectared food) and five ablutions to the god and goddess Śrī Rasika Siromani of the said temple and have the village Kokodhandi near Morokotpadi of the Jeypore fort, with all its land, water, forest, mines, wealth, hills and dales, upland and lowland shade and shadows, junction and boundaries, etc., they are granted on this lunar eclipse day, as long as the sun and moon last, and till the deluge takes place. On each occasion of the daily bhogas and ablutions he will pray to the gods for the good of the donor and there should be no deviation from this.

This charter has the assent of Śrī Rājādhirāja Mahārāja Virādhiviravara Pratāpa Śrī Nandapura Bhūpati Śrī Ramachandra Deo Mahārāja (sanskrit verse). To protect the gift of others is doubly meritorious. To confiscate other's gift means one's own gift becoming useless. Given in the year 1728 of Śālivāhana.

N.B.—One more point which the learned editor has forgotten to note is the significance of the Royal Seal, given at the end of the 12th line. The Royal Seal consists of two parts. The first is like the Roman figure 3 followed by a unit— I  : It is called 'Mukutam' or sign of Royalty. It is being used by all

the descendants of the donor even up-to-day. The second part is a loop followed by a lengthy line.



An interesting piece of story appears in the District Gazetteer, regarding this loop and the line :—

‘Not long after his (Vināyak Deo’s) accession, some of his own subjects rose against him, but he recovered his position with the help of a leader of Brinjaries (Cow-herd) and ever since then, in grateful recognition, his descendants have appended to their signatures a wavy line (called Valatradu) which represents the rope, with which Brinjaries tether their cattle.’

VII.—Two Brahmi Seals from Buxar.

By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.).

These two seals were discovered during excavations at Buxar by the present writer, the larger one in 1926 and the smaller one in 1927. They are at present in the Patna Museum.

They were found at a depth of 13 ft. above the river-bed and 39 ft. below the surface of the high bluff overlooking the Ganges midway between the Rāmrekḥā Ghāṭ and the Charitra-ban. The material is baked clay of a blackish colour. The larger one is about $\frac{1}{8}$ " and the smaller one about $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch in thickness. They are in a good state of preservation except for a small chip to the right of the larger one. The photographs show their actual size. The letters are in relief and in the positive.

The larger one reads :

Śadaśanaśa ‘ (the seal) of *Śadaśana* ’
(Skt.—*Sadaśana*) ;

the smaller one :

Hathikaśa ‘ (the seal) of *Hathika* ’
(Skt.—*Hastika*) ;

in both the seals the letters are quite clear.

Script. The second one (of *Hathika*) apparently belongs to the Aśokan type of the 3rd century B.C. The first one (of *Śadaśana*) is more archaic. All the letters, viz., *ś*, *d*, and *n* may be compared with the Jogīmārā¹ letters. As regards Pre-Mauryan Brāhmī, Konow² emphasises it ‘as the national alphabet of India’, and incidentally points out its antiquity by placing it earlier than the Kharoṣṭhī (c. 3rd century B.C.), ‘derived from Aramaic, and elaborated with the help of Brāhmī, which must accordingly have been in existence for some

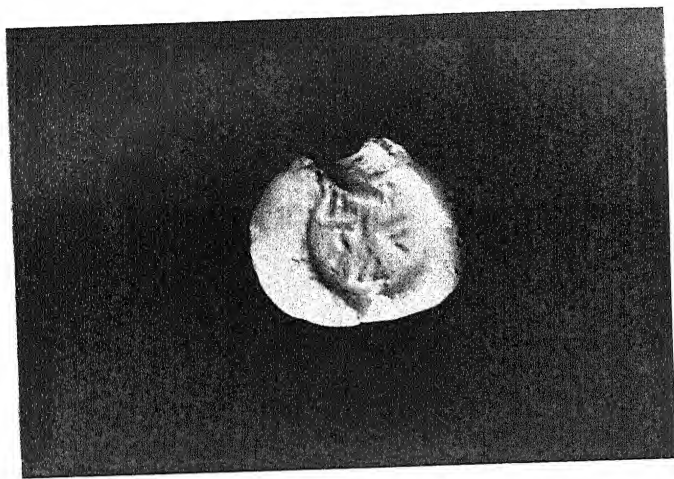
¹ *J.B.O.R.S.*, IX, p. 274 (Plate).

² *C.I.I.*, Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions, 1929, p. xiii.



a.

Buxar Brahmi Seals.



b.

J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XVII.



time previously.' Both Bühler¹ and Jayaswal² indicate practical instances. According to Bühler, Cunningham's³ three Patna seals are pre-Aśokan: similarly Jayaswal considers Ghose's Bulandibagh seal to be pre-Mauryan, 'may be even older than 300 B.C.'⁴ The Buxar seal of *Śadaśana* may be another indication in the same direction.

Language. The legend is in Māgadhi Prākṛit. It may be compared with the language of the Jogīmārā inscription, and with the Brāhmi seals at Patna. The Buxar seals within their limited scope of six letters *ś, d, n, h, th, and k*, and one grammatical form, viz., the possessive *śa*, entirely bear out the description of Māgadhi in Prākṛit grammars.⁵

Usage. Like the Patna seals,⁶ the Buxar ones, also, are private seals. They might have been used by individuals as token seals. There is a long range of such seals from the Mauryan till the Gupta and later times. Clay seals are among the oldest⁷ of their kind in India.

¹ *I.P.*, p. 8 (*I.A.*, 33).

² *J.B.O.R.S.*, X, pp. 191-92.

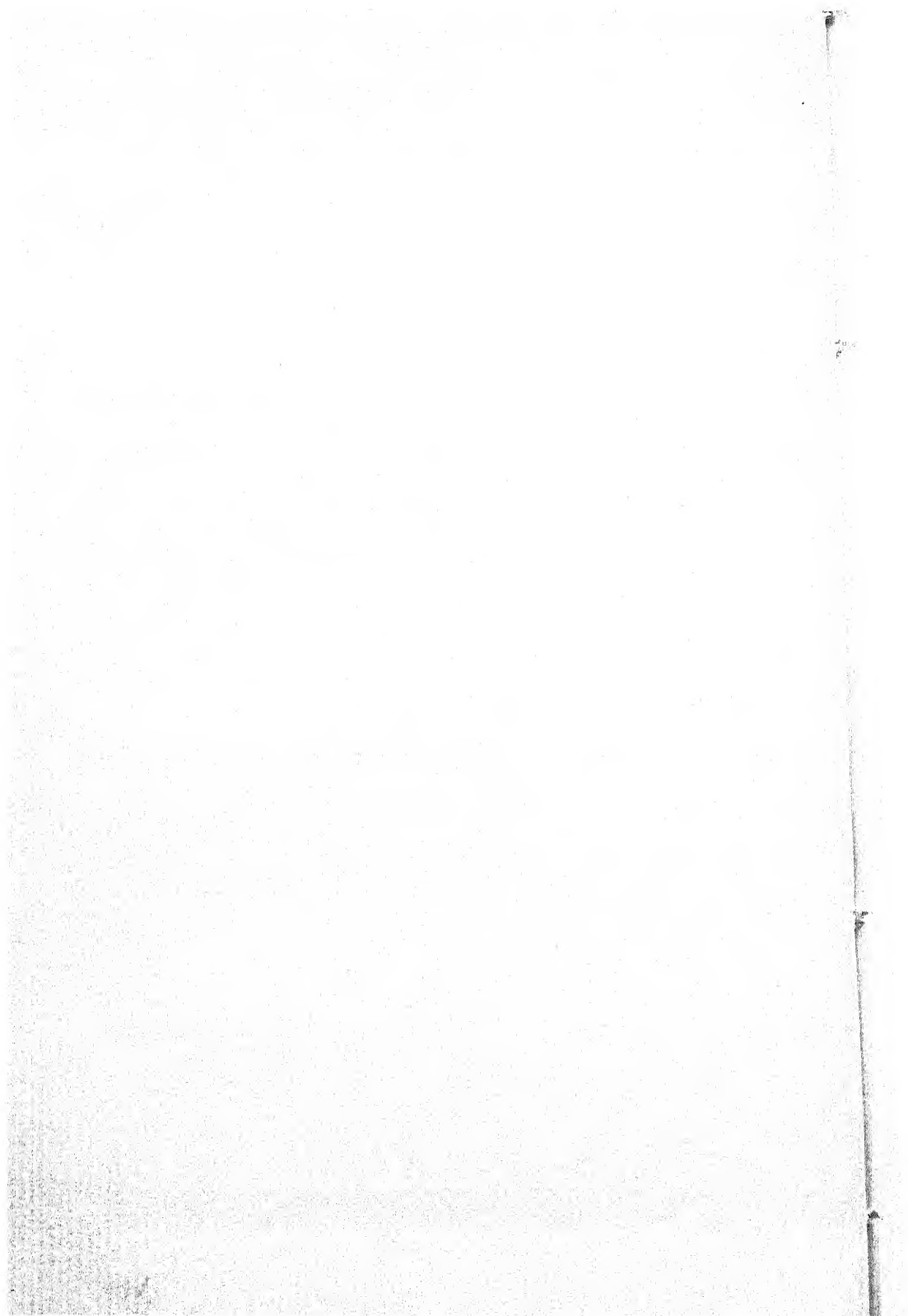
³ *A.S.R.*, XV, Plate III.

⁴ *J.B.O.R.S.*, X, p. 198.

⁵ Pischel, *Sitzungs. Preuss. Ak.d.W.*, 1906, p. 489ff.

⁶ *J.B.O.R.S.*, X, p. 192.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 193.



(Continued from Vol. XVII. Pts. II-III.)

तत्र विद्वद्वाक्यगतौ यजति प्रकृतानामग्नेयादीनामनुवदितारौ
उतापूर्वयोः कर्मणोर्विधाताराविति संग्रहे पूर्वाधिकरणन्यायेन
कर्मान्तरत्वमेव युक्तम् । “न चेह गुणफलनिमित्तानां मध्ये
किञ्चिच्छ्रूयते । यत्र विधिर्यापृतः कर्मस्वरूपविधानमुपेक्षेत । पञ्च-
मलकारस्य समिधो यजतीत्यादाविव कल्पः । सत्यपि यच्छब्दोपबन्धे
यदाग्नेयोऽष्टाकपाल इत्यादिविधिप्रत्ययनवलोपः । न च शाखा-
न्तरीयवद्विधिविकल्पः, शाखान्तराणां पुरुषान्तरं प्रति सार्थक्यात् ।
न च रूपालाभः यतः—

ध्रौवं साधारणं द्रव्यं देवता मान्त्रवर्णिकी ।

रूपवन्तावतो यागौ विधीयेते पृथक्तया^१ ॥

“चतुर्ध्रुवायां गृह्णाती”ति हि असंयुक्तोत्पन्नं ध्रौवमाज्यं प्रयो-
जनापेक्षम् । द्रव्यापेक्षिणां प्रकरणगतानां सर्वकर्मणां लिङ्गप्रकरणा-
भ्यामङ्गं भवत् उपांशुयाजादीनामिवानयोरपि कर्मणोर्लभ्यते ।
सर्वस्मै वा एतद्यज्ञाय गृह्यते यद्भुवायामाज्यमिति^२ वचनाद्वा ।
“तथा आज्यभागयोः क्रमे चतस्रोऽनुवाक्याः पथन्ते । द्वे आग्नेय्यौ द्वे
सौम्यौ अग्निर्वृत्रा जङ्घन त्वं राजोतवृत्रत्वा इत्यग्नेः सोमस्य च वृत्रह-
पदवत्यौ । कवि...णवावृधे वर्द्धयामो वचो विदः इति च वृद्धि-
प्रकाशकपदवत्यौ । तास्य बलीयसा वाक्येन तत आच्छिद्यानयोः
कर्मणोर्विधीयन्ते । वार्चस्नी पौर्णमास्यामनूच्येते वृधन्वती अमा-
वास्यायामिति । तेनानुवाक्यादयस्य तुल्यार्थतया विकल्प्यमान-
स्यानुरूपा याज्यापि कल्प्या । एवञ्च श्रुतिविहितमन्त्रकर्मसम्बन्धा-

१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ४६०-४६१ ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १२५-१२६ ।

न्ययानुपपत्त्याऽग्रीषोभौ देवता अध्ववसीयते^१ ” । तस्मादस्तिरूप-
लाभः । अतः कर्मान्तरविधानमिति प्राप्तेऽभिधीयते—

“ अरूपत्वाद्विधेयस्य प्रकृते शब्दशक्तिः ।

तत्रैव रूपलाभाच्च समुदायानुवादता^२ ” ॥

“ द्रव्यं कथंचित्क्षभ्येत देवता तु न लभ्यते ।

लभ्यते मन्त्रवर्णाच्चेन्नाज्यभागाङ्गता यतः ॥

लिङ्गक्रमाभ्यां मन्त्राणामाज्यभागाङ्गता स्थिता ।

वचनन्तु व्यवस्थार्थमन्यार्थत्वादवाधतः^३ ” ॥

सर्वत्र हि अविरोधेन वाक्ये निविशमाने विरोधपक्षस्तत्त्वः ।
इह च पौर्णमास्यमावास्याशब्दयोः कालपरतायां लिङ्गक्रमाविरोधे-
नापि अस्ति गतिः ।

किञ्च प्रथमं काल एवाभ्यां शब्दाभ्यां प्रतिपाद्यते । पश्चात्तु
कर्म तद्योगादतः कालोऽत्र गृह्यते । अपि च कालस्य सर्वाधारतया
सप्तम्युपपन्नतरा । तत्पक्षे तु कर्मणोऽधिकरणत्वानुपपत्त्या येन कर्मणे
तु एजयात् (?) जुहुयादिति अत्रैव यथा कथञ्चित् सप्तमी नीयते ।
तदिह आज्यभागौ प्रति तादर्थ्यं स्थिते संकरे प्राप्ते कालभेदेन
व्यवस्थामात्रं क्रियते वार्चग्री पौर्णमासीत्ययोराज्यभागयोः वृधन्वतो
अमावास्यास्थयोरिति । अतोऽरूपत्वान्न विधिः यः एवं विद्वानित्यनु-
वादसरूपत्वाच्च ।

यत्तु यदाग्नेय इत्यादिवद्भविष्यतीति—तन्न । या ईदृशी क्रिया
तां कुर्यात् इति क्रियात्वरूपानुवादेऽपि कर्त्तव्यत्वानुवादत्वेन क्रिया-
समानाधिकरणस्य यच्छब्दस्य विधिप्रत्ययप्रतिबन्धकत्वात् । इह तु
कर्मसमानाधिकरणस्य यच्छब्दस्य कर्त्तव्यत्वानुवादितया वैषम्यात् ।

१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ४६१-४६२ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ४८१ ।

३ भास्करदीपिका, पृ० १२८ ।

तदाहुः—

“ क्रियापदैकयोगित्वे यच्छब्दो न रुजेद्विधम् ।

कर्त्तृयुक्तः स एवान्यप्रापितार्थानुवादकृदिति^१ ” ॥

न चानुवादस्यानर्थक्यम् । यतः—

“ यथैवोत्पत्तिवाक्यानां प्रयोगवचनाङ्गता ।

तथैव तदुपादानात् द्विसिद्ध्याऽनयोरपि^२ ” ॥

“ वाक्यद्वयेन हि समुदायद्वये कल्पिते दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यामिति
द्विवचनं सिद्ध्यति^३ ” न त्वन्यथा, आग्नेयादीनां विप्रकीर्णत्वात् ।

आह च—

“ एककालाभिसंयोगात् भिन्नानामपि कर्मणाम् ।

समुदायार्पणं शक्यमेकदेशस्थवृत्तवदिति^४ ” ॥

“ यद्यथेतौ समुदायवाचिनौ तथापि तल्लक्षितसमुदायगतसंख्या-
द्वारेणैकवचनान्तत्वं विभ्राते^५ ” । न तु समुदायः संज्ञी । याग-
सामानाधिकरण्येन तन्नामधेयत्वात् । स्यादेतत्—विद्वद्वाक्यविहित-
कर्मानुवादेनाष्टकपालादिवाक्येषु गुणविधिः । अतो रूपलाभान्नानु-
वादत्वमिति । उच्यते—

“ प्राप्ते कर्मणि नानेको विधातुं शक्यते गुणः ।

अप्राप्ते तु विधीयन्ते बहवोऽप्येकयत्नतः^६ ” ॥

विशिष्टभावनां हि विदधानो विधिः “ सकृद्विधाय निवृत्त-
व्यापारः स्वार्थान्यथानुपपत्त्या सर्वविशेषणेषु प्रत्येकनिष्ठानि विध्यन्त-
राख्याविर्भावयन् समान्नातैकरूपेणैवासकृदुच्चारणफले वर्त्तते^७ ” ।

१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ४८० ।

२-५ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ४६८ ।

६ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ४७६ ।

७ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ४७७—‘समान्नायावगतैकरूपापरित्यागेनैव’ इति तन्त्र-
वार्त्तिकस्वीकृतः पाठः ।

अतो “नैकविध्यन्तरप्रसवसमर्थैकविशिष्टविधिप्रसादेनानेकगुणविधान-
मपूर्वभावनाविधिपक्षे सुलभं नेतरत्र । कथं—

प्रधानं नीयमानं हि तत्राङ्गान्यपकर्षति^१ ।

अङ्गमाकृष्यमाणं हि नाङ्गान्तरमसङ्गतेः ॥

यदा तु भावनान्यतः प्राप्ता भवति तदा तस्याः पिष्टपेषणवत्
प्रतिहतशक्तिर्विधायकः तामविद्धत् आनर्थक्यात्तदङ्गेष्वितिन्यायेन
भावनातोऽवतीर्थं तत्सम्बद्धानि कारकाण्युपसर्पति । तत्र यावन्त्येक-
पदोपात्तैककारकविशेषणानि जातिलिङ्गद्रव्यसंख्यादीनि तानि
विशिष्टभावनाविधिन्यायेन तत्कारकाक्षेपेण सर्वाणि विधियन्त इति
प्राप्तायामपि भावनायामनेकार्थविध्युपपत्तिः । यदा तु अनेक-
पदोपात्तमनेकं विधिरूपसर्पति तदा एकत्र गतो नेतरदाक्षेपुं
शक्नोतीति^२ ” विध्यावृत्तिलक्षणो वाक्यभेदः । “तदिहामेयोऽष्टा-
कपालः पौर्णमास्यामितिवाक्ये आग्नेयाष्टाकपालयोः सामानाधि-
करणात्तद्वितस्य सन्निहितद्रव्यवचनत्वात्पौर्णमासीसम्बन्धात् प्रागेव
संबन्धो यद्यपि लभ्यते तथाप्यपूर्वत्वादनैवासौ विधेयः पुनः पौर्ण-
मासीसम्बन्धोपि विधेय इति आवृत्तिप्रसङ्गः । न ह्येवं सम्भवति
य आग्नेयोऽष्टाकपालः स पौर्णमास्यामिति । अनुवाद्याप्रसिद्धेः ।
एवं वचनव्यत्यन्तरमपि दूषणीयम् । तस्मात् भावनान्तरं द्रव्य-
देवताविशिष्टं आचिन्तयजिकं यदाग्नेय इत्यत्र विधेयम्^३ ” । न तु

१ अपि कर्षतीति पाठभेदः ।

२ तन्त्रवार्तिक, ४० ४७७ । “यदा तु अनेकपदोपात्तानेककारकोपनिपातो
भवति तदा कारकाणां परस्परसंबन्धाभावात्तत्तत्पक्षेऽप्यसंबन्धमानेषु यद्येकत्र विधि-
र्गच्छति तदा नेतरत्र गतो भवति । यवमितरगमनेऽप्यन्यगमनानुपपत्तिरसंबन्धात् ।
एवं च न भावनावदेकेन विहितेनेतरदर्शदाक्षेपुं शक्यते ” । इत्थं तन्त्रवार्तिके
अन्यो दृश्यते ४० ४७८ ।

३ अत्र शास्त्रदीपिका, ४० १६१ द्रष्टव्या ।

विद्वद्वाक्यविहितकर्मानुवादः । तस्मादरूपत्वात् समुदायानुवाद एव
विद्वद्वाक्ये प्रयोजनन्तु पूर्वपक्षे फलवाक्यगतेन यजिना सन्निहिताः
सर्वे यागाः राजसूयवत् फलं प्रति विधीयमानाः समप्रधानाः ।
न च दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यामिति संकोचः । यतः—

“प्रकृतिप्रत्ययौ पूर्णौ विशेषुं यजति क्षमौ ।

आग्नेयाद्याज्यभागादावेकचैकार्थशून्यता^१” ॥

“यद्यथाग्नेयादिषु स्वाभिधेयकालयोगात् प्रातिपदिकं वर्त्तत
तथापि तेषां बद्धत्वात् द्वित्वानुपपत्तेरसमर्थं पदम्^२” । आज्य-
भागादौ तु द्वित्वोपपत्तावपि प्रातिपदिकमसमर्थम् । न च विद्व-
द्वाक्यविहितावेव यागौ फलाय विधीयेते इति वाच्यम् । आग्नेया-
दौनां षष्ठां अनयोश्च कालसम्बन्धसाम्येन विनिगमनाविरहात् । न
चाष्टौ यागाः कालगतद्वित्वापेक्षया लब्धविशेषणाः सन्तः फले विधौ-
यन्तामिति वाच्यम् । प्रकृतयागमात्रावलम्बिनाख्यातस्थास्फुटेनेदृशेन
सङ्कोचायोगात् । कालयागयोरत्यन्तभेदेन कालगतसङ्ख्याया याग-
सामानाधिकरण्यायोगात् । द्वितीयपूर्वपक्षे तु विद्वद्वाक्यविहित-
कर्मणोरेव फलसम्बन्धः । तत्र चोत्पन्नशिष्टस्य सान्नाय्यापुरोडाशादे-
र्विकल्पः स्यात् ।

“सिद्धान्ते तु शब्दद्वयेन समुदायद्वयापादनात् असमुदायी
कृतयागवैलक्षण्यात् समुदायसमुदायिनोश्चाव्यतिरेकात् द्वित्वयोगे
सम्भवति यागविशेषणत्वम्^३” । ततश्च प्रयाजादौनामङ्गत्वसिद्धिः ।
एवञ्च यद्वक्ष्यति चतुर्थे दर्शपूर्णमासयोः विज्याः प्रधानानीति तत्र
एतदधिकरणप्रसादात् सिद्धान्तसिद्धिः । इतरथा हि तत्पूर्वपक्ष एव

१-२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ४६३ ।

३ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ४६५ ।

स्यात् । एवं पौर्णमास्यां पौर्णमास्या यजेतामावास्यायाममावास्याया
यजेतेति कालसंयोगोऽपि समुदायानुवादप्रयोजनम् । “यद्यप्युत्पत्ति-
वाक्यादन्योन्यनिरपेक्षणामाग्नेयादीनां निरङ्गानां कालसंयोगः
सिद्धस्तथापि तृतीयासंयोगात् करणत्वं प्रयोगवाक्यादितरेतरयुक्ता-
नामङ्गसहितानाञ्चावगतमिति तादृशानामेवानुपादेयं कालं प्रत्यु-
पादानात् । साङ्गस्य त्रिकस्य पौर्णमास्यां अमावास्यायाञ्च तन्त्रेण
प्रयोगः सिद्धति । यथा चैतत्तथा एकादशे स्फुटम् । य इच्छा
पशुना सोमेन वा यजेत सोऽमावास्यायां पौर्णमास्यां वैत्येतत्(?)—
प्रकृतावकिञ्चित्करत्वात् सद्यस्कालतायै विद्यतीर्गच्छति^१ ॥

४ उपांशुयाजापूर्वताधिकरणम् ।

पौर्णमासीवदुपांशुयाजः स्यात् ॥ ६ ॥

“अतः परं समुदायानुवादापवादकतयाऽधिकरणत्रयमारभ्यते ।
दर्शपूर्णमासयोः श्रूयते—‘जामि वा एतद्यज्ञस्य क्रियते यदन्वञ्चौ
पुरोडाशावुपांशुयाजमन्तरा यजतीति विष्णुरुपांशु यष्ट्यो जामि-
त्वाय प्रजापतिरुपांशुयष्ट्योऽजामित्वायाग्रीषोमावुपांशुयष्ट्यावजामि-
त्वायेति’ । तत्र सन्देहः उपांशुयाजमन्तरा यजतीति किं विष्वादि-
गुणकानां^२ यागानां समुदायानुवादः आहोस्विदिधिरिति ।

तत्र विष्वादिवाक्येषु तत्प्रत्ययदर्शनात् ।

ऐकान्तिको विधिर्नात्र वर्त्तमानापदेशतः^३ ।

“वैश्वानरादिवाक्येषु हि यदष्टाकपालो भवतीत्यादिषु विधि-
पुरुषव्यापारयोरश्रवणात् यच्छब्दोपबन्धाच्च द्वादशकपालं निर्वपेदिति

^१ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ४७१-४७२ ।

^२ विष्वादिदिसंयुक्तानामिति तु पाठान्तरम् ।

^३ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १२१-१२२ ।

विधियुक्तभावनाश्रवणात् उपक्रमोपसंहारमध्यवर्त्तिनामष्टलादीनां^१
तदेकवाक्यत्वं न बाधितव्यमिति गुणफलविधानं निरस्तम् । इह
तु सत्यपि जामित्वाजामिलोपक्रमोपसंहारमध्यवर्त्तित्वे यच्छब्दाद्य-
नुपहतविधिअवणादजामित्वायेति च प्रत्येकं उपक्रमोपन्यस्तजामित्व-
दोषपरिहारप्रशंसावगमात् वाक्यं भित्वा विधिरेवाध्यवसीयते ।
जामित्वा एतदिति चोपक्रमस्त्रयाणामप्यनुषङ्गेण वाक्यशेषो भवति ।
उपांशुयाजमन्तरेति तु जामिलोपन्यासेन प्रस्तुतानां वक्ष्यमाणानां
विष्वादिद्यागानां समुदायानुवादः^२ न तु विधिः वर्त्तमानापदेशात्
रूपलाभाच्च । न चाग्नेयाग्नीषोमीयपुरोडाशयाज्यानुवाक्यायुगलयोर्मध्ये
शाखाभेदेन नान्नाता नावैष्णवप्राजापत्याग्नीषोमीयानां याज्या-
नुवाक्यायुगलानां बलेन मान्ववर्णिकदेवतालाभात् तत्स्वरूपत्वं नेति
वाच्यम् । लिङ्गक्रमाभ्यां विष्वादिदेवत्ययागेष्वेव तेषामङ्गत्वात्
समुदायानुवादप्रयोजनं तु उपांशुपौर्णमास्यां यजन्नित्यत्र एकीकृतानां
कालसम्बन्धे सति सर्वेषां प्राधान्यसिद्धिः । एवं प्राप्तेऽभिधीयते—

“ जामिलोपक्रमादेकमजामिलोपसंहृतेः ।

वाक्यं तन्मध्यपाताच्च विष्वादेरर्थवादता ॥ १

वाक्यशेषानुषङ्गश्च गतौ सत्यां न युज्यते ।

अनूचीननिमित्तश्च जामिदोषः प्रकीर्तितः ॥ २

तेनान्तरालसंयुक्तो विधिस्तत्रैव निश्चितः ।

अजामित्वञ्च तस्यैव प्रशंसेत्यवधारितम्^३ ॥ ३

“ पुरोडाशनैरन्तर्यं हि जामिता स्यात् । अतो यत्र कुत्र चित्
विष्वादयो यष्ट्या इत्युक्ते हि किं केन सङ्गतम् । तस्मादन्तरा-

^१ अष्टाकपालादीनामिति पाठभेदः ।

^२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १२२ ।

^३ यत्तास्त्रिः कारिकाः शास्त्रदीपिकाकारैरुद्धृताः, पृ० १२२-१२३ ।

लोपलक्षिते काले उपांशगुणको यागो विधीयते । तदर्थादस्य
विष्णुरूपांशुयष्ट्य इत्यादिमान्तरवर्णप्राप्तविष्वाद्यनुवादेन । एवञ्च
न वाक्यभेदो नवाऽनुषङ्गदूषणम् । तस्माद्विधिरयम् । न समु-
दायानुवादः^१ ” । तावन्नूतामिति तु कालविधिपरम् । तत्फलञ्च
प्राधान्यसिद्धिः । न च समुदायानुवादस्य प्रयोजनमस्ति । तथा हि—

“त्रयाणां वैष्णवादीनां समुदायेऽवधारिते ।

अग्नीषोमीय एवैकः पौर्णमास्यां विधीयते^२ ” ॥

सिद्धान्ते तु देवतोपलक्षितयागस्य कालसम्बन्धात् तस्य चैकत्वात्
वैकल्पिकदेवतान्तरसम्बन्धेऽपि प्राधान्यमुपपद्यते । एवञ्च हृदय-
मुपांशुयाज इति यज्ञपुरुषस्य प्रधानप्रायेणवयवेन सर्वोऽप्युपपद्यते ।
तदुक्तं सूत्रज्ञता—

प्राये वचनाच्चेति ॥ १२ ॥

५ आधाराद्यपूर्वताधिकरणम् ।

आधाराग्निहोत्रमरूपत्वात् ॥ १३ ॥

“‘अग्निहोत्रं जुहोति’ ‘आधारमाधारयती’ति निर्गुणं कर्म
संज्ञायुक्तं श्रुतम् । तत्सन्निधौ च दध्ना जुहोति पयसा जुहोतीत्यादि
ऊर्ध्वमाधारयति इत्यादि च श्रुतम् । तत्र संशयः किं दध्ना
जुहोतीत्यादिभिर्गुणविशिष्टा होमाधाराश्च विधीयन्ते तेषां चाग्नि-
होत्रं जुहोति आधारमाधारयतीति समुदायानुवादः उतायमेक
एव कर्मविधिरितरे तत्रैव गुणविधय इति ।

तत्र रूपापरिज्ञाने विशेषानवधारणात् ।

सामान्यस्याविधेयत्वात् नानयोर्विधिसम्भवः ॥

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १३३ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ४८९ ।

न च दध्यादिभिर्वाक्यैः प्राप्तकर्मानुवादतः ।
गुणमात्रं विधातयमव्यापारात्मकं यतः^१ ॥

किञ्च—

“विधित्वं प्रत्ययोपात्तं न नामपदमृच्छति ।
तद्विधिर्भावनतश्चेत् सैव पूर्वं विधीयताम्^२ ॥

अग्निहोत्रं जुहोतीति हि वर्त्तमानापदेशात् रूपाभावात् च
न विधिः । दध्नेत्यादयस्तु रूपालाभात् गुणविधिपक्षेऽपि लेट्परि-
ग्रहस्यावश्यकत्वात् केवलदध्यादेर्विधन्वयायोग्यत्वाच्च विशिष्टविधयः ।
तथा च विद्वद्वाक्यवत् समुदायीकरणार्थं अग्निहोत्रं जुहोतीत्यादि
तत्फलन्तु यावज्जीवमग्निहोत्रं जुहोतीति निमित्तचोदनायां अग्निहोत्रं
जुहुयात् स्वर्गकाम इति फलचोदनायाञ्चैकत्वसिद्धिः । “तथा इड
ऊर्ध्वो अध्वर इति मन्त्रविनियोगे तस्याधारमाघार्थ्येति च द्रव्य-
विधावेकत्वसिद्धिः^३ ॥” । एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमहे—

“प्रकृतानामसङ्गावात् कर्मणां नानुवादता ।
न हि दध्यादिवाक्येषु दध्याद्याच्छिप्रशक्तिना ॥
विधिना शक्यते कर्म विधातुमितरत्र तु ।
अनन्याच्छिप्रशक्तित्वाद्विधिः कर्मैकगोचरः^४ ॥”

“दध्याद्याच्छिप्रशक्तिको हि विधायकोऽनेकविधिनिमित्तगौरव-
परिजिहीर्षया कर्मानुवादं प्रार्थयमानो यदि कथञ्चिदपि प्राप्तं न
लभ्येत ततोऽगत्या विशिष्टं विदध्यात् । सत्यां त्वग्निहोत्रादिवाक्येन
कर्मणः प्राप्तौ तदनुवादेन गुणमात्रं विधत्ते लाघवात् । न तु

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १३२-१३४ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ४९० ।

३ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ४९१ ।

४ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १३४-१३५ ।

विशिष्टम् । अतश्चाविहितत्वात् होमानामग्निहोत्रादिवाक्यं विधाय-
कम् । यद्यपि तत्र रूपं न ज्ञातं तथापि विधिवशादेव सामान्य-
मतिक्रम्य तल्लक्षितः । होमविशेषोऽयमित्यवगते तस्यैव संज्ञोपबन्धः ।
रूपलाभस्तु दध्यादिवाक्यैः । यद्यपि क्रियां विहाय केवलदध्यादि-
विधिर्न प्रतीयते तथापि विशिष्टक्रियायां प्रतीतो विधिः प्राप्ता-
प्राप्तविवेकेन गुणपरतामवलम्बते । अतः फलतो गुणविधिः^१ ” । प्रती-
तिस्तु सर्वो विशिष्टविधिरेवेति तत्त्वम् । “ नन्वेवं सति विशेषणेष्वन-
वरतविधायको भावनाद्वारेणापूर्वकर्मविधिवत् प्राप्तकर्मविधानेऽप्यनेकं
विदध्यादिति चेत्—न, यत्परो विधिस्तस्यानेकतया वाक्यभेदापत्तेः ।

आह च—

विधिले भावनास्येऽपि तादर्थ्यं प्रविभज्यते ।

विशेषणफले चास्मिन् वाक्यभेदो भविष्यति^२ ” ॥

ननु यदग्नये च प्रजापतये च सायं जुहोति इत्यत्रानेकगुण-
विधानाद्विशिष्टाग्निहोत्रविधिरावश्यकः । एवं यत्सूर्याय प्रजापतये
च प्रातरित्यत्रापि । अतोऽग्निहोत्रं जुहोतीतिसमुदायानुवाद एवेति
चेत्—न । “ सायं जुहोति प्रातर्जुहोतीतिवाक्यान्तरात्तावत् कालः
प्राप्तः देवताव्यवस्थापरे वाक्ये संकीर्त्यते । न च कालविशिष्ट-
कर्मानुवादाद्वाक्यभेदः । प्रकरणेन लब्धे कर्मणि कालमात्रे देवता-
विधानात् । न च प्रकरणलभ्या विशेषा वाक्यं भिन्दन्ति ।
न च एवमपि देवताद्वयविधानात् वाक्यभेदः^३ ” । मान्त्रवर्णि-
काग्निसूर्ययोः स्तुत्यर्थमिहोपादानात् । प्रजापतेरेव च विधेयत्वात् ।
“ न च पूर्वपक्षे समुदायानुवादप्रयोजनमस्ति । राजसूयेन स्वाराज्य-

१ शास्त्रद्वैपिका, पृ० १३५-१३६ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ४८८ ।

३ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ५०२ ।

कामो यजेतेत्यादाविव वचनान्तरं विनापि फलवाक्यादेव समु-
दायसिद्धेः । दध्यादौ गुणविधिं निराकुर्वता तस्याधारमित्यादावपि
विशिष्टविधेरेव वाच्यत्वाच्च । दध्यादिवाक्यानामिव मन्त्रविधेरपि
विशिष्टविधित्वापत्तौ रूपालाभापत्तेश्च ।

नन्वेवमापरान्निकानामपि होमानां प्राधान्यं स्यादिति चेत्,
इष्टापत्तेः । समुदायानुवादेऽपि तस्य तुल्यत्वाच्च ।

सिद्धान्ते तु एकमेव कर्म सर्वेष्वग्निष्वभ्यस्तं क्रियेत ततश्च
तण्डुलादिवाक्यवदेव गार्हपत्यादिसंयोगस्य गुणार्थत्वात् न कर्मभेदः ।
न चैवं दध्यादिद्रव्यवदेवाग्नीनामपि विकल्पापत्तिः । गार्हपत्यान्वा-
हार्यपचनयोश्चतस्रश्चतस्र आहुतीराहवनीये च द्वे विधाय य एवं
विद्वान् विराटसमन्त्रमग्निहोत्रं जुहोतीति वचनात् संख्यायुक्तेषु
समुच्चयसिद्धेः ।

यत्तु निराधारस्यापि हि प्रक्षेपस्य सक्षवात् अदृष्टार्थोऽग्निरिति
समुच्चयः सिद्ध्यतीति केचित्—तत्र । पदादिभिरपि आहवनीय-
बाधापत्तेः । तत्र अग्नेरदृष्टार्थत्वेऽपि सप्तमीवलाधारत्वद्वारकमदृष्ट-
मिति प्रतीतेराधारत्वस्य च पदेनावरोधात् सङ्गत्श्रुतो होमो नावृत्ति-
मर्हतीति अग्निबाधश्चेत् । इहापि तत्तुल्यमिति विकल्पप्रसङ्गः ।

आह च—

अग्निभ्योऽपूर्वसिद्धिः स्यादाधारलोपलक्षिता ।

न चैकेनावरुद्धत्वादाधारान्तरसम्भवः^१ ॥ इति

तस्मात् संख्यावचनादेव समुच्चय इति तत्त्वम् । “न चैवं तिस्र
आहुतीर्जुहोतीतिवत् संख्यया कर्मभेदापत्तिः । यत्र ह्युत्पत्तिस्तथा
संख्या भेदिका । इह तूत्पत्तेः कर्मणि प्रतीयमाना एकादशप्रथाजा

इतिवदभ्यासेनैव पूर्यते । तेन एकमेव सर्वाग्निष्वभ्यस्तं कर्मेति सिद्धान्तः^१ ” । न चैवमपि सायंप्रातःकालयोर्विकल्पापत्तिः । स वै सायञ्च प्रातश्च जुहोतीतिवचनान्तरेण समुच्चयविधानात् । न च समुच्चये साहित्यापत्तिः । अनुपादेयत्वादिति दिक् ॥

ई पशुसोमापूर्वताधिकरणम् ।

द्रव्यसंयोगाच्चोदना पशुसोमयोः प्रकरणे ह्यनर्थको द्रव्यसंयोगो न हि तस्य गुणार्थेन ॥ १७ ॥

यो दौक्षितो यद्‘अग्नीषोमीयं पशुमालभेत’ इति श्रूयते । ‘हृद-
यस्याग्नेऽवद्यति । अथ जिह्वाया अथ वक्षस’ इति च । तथा ‘सोमेन यजेते’ति श्रुतम् । ‘ऐन्द्रवायवं गृह्णाति मैत्रावरुणं गृह्णाती’ति च । तत्र किमवद्यतिगृह्णातिभ्यां चोदितानां कर्मणां समुदायस्थालभति-
यजती अनुवदितारौ उतापूर्वयोः कर्मणोर्विधाताराविति संशयः ।

“ तत्र ‘अग्नीषोमीयं पशुमालभेत’ इत्यत्र यागविधौ सत्युत्पत्ति-
ग्निष्टपशुद्रव्यावरुद्धयागे हृदयादिनिवेशासम्भवात् हृदादिवाक्य-
विहितहृदयादिद्रव्यकथागानुवादेन देवताविधानमिति युक्तम् ।
‘हृदयादीनां क्वागस्य वपाया मेदसः’ इति मन्त्रवर्णात् क्वागप्रकृति-
कानां हृदयादीनां पशुशब्देनानुवादः । न च हृदयादिवाक्ये देवता-
सम्बन्धाश्रवणात् कथं यागकल्पनमिति वाच्यम् । हृदयाद्यवदानानां
सान्नाय्यावदानप्रकृतिकतया सान्नाय्यवत् हृदयादेरपि याग-
साधनत्वात् । अभिषवयुक्तप्रतीकवत्^२ ” । यद्वा अवदानमात्रे विहिते
तदाक्षिप्तस्पर्शनमालभतिनानूद्यते । पशुशब्देन चोपचारात् हृदयादि ।

^१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ५०९ ।

^२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १३८-१३९ ।

अग्नीषोमीयशब्देन तु हृदयादिद्रव्ये अग्नीषोमीयत्वेन विहिते
तत्रैव तावतो यागाः कल्प्यन्ते । तथा—

“ ऐन्द्रवायवमित्यादिद्रव्यदैवतसंगतेः ।

याग एव विधातव्यो गृह्णातौ न हि देवता ॥

न हि गृह्णेनैन्द्रवायवं कुर्यादिति वाक्यार्थः । यागादन्येन
देवतासम्पादनायोगात् । न चैन्द्रवायवं सन्तं गृह्णातीति । असिद्ध-
स्थानुवादायोगात्^१ । तस्मात्—

“ यथाग्नेयादिवाक्यानां न प्राक् यागानुमानतः ।

स्वार्थपर्यवसायित्वं तथा सोमेऽपि दृश्यताम्^२ ” ॥

“ न चायं ‘तस्येद’मिति सम्बन्धमात्रे तद्धित इति वाच्यम् ।
मरुत्वतीयादिषु तदसम्भवात् । देवतायामेव छविधानात् । तथा
चैन्द्रवायवादिष्वपि तथास्तु किमनिरूपितसम्बन्धमात्राश्रयणेन ।
सामान्याक्षिप्तं द्रव्यं नियम्यते । यद्वा अग्न्याधारया गृह्णातीति
गुणवाक्येन धारासमर्थद्रव्यमात्रावगमात् तत्प्रकृतित्वेन सोमो
विधीयते^३ ” । आह च—

“ यथैवाष्टाकपालादौ औतेऽपि सति वाक्यतः ।

ब्रीह्यादयो विधीयन्ते तथा सोमो विधास्यते^४ ” ॥

“ यद्वा सोममभिषुणोतीत्यादिभिः सोमरसस्य प्राप्तत्वात् सोम-
शब्दस्तत्प्रत्यन्यायेन नामधेयम् । सर्वथापि च यागभेदादैन्द्रवाय-
वादीनां समुच्चये सति ‘दशैतानध्वर्युः प्रातःसवने ग्रहान् गृह्णाति’,
‘आश्विनो दशमो गृह्णाते तं तृतीयं जुहोती’ति क्रमसमुच्चयदर्शन-

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १२७ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ५०६ । दृश्यतामित्यत्र गम्यतामिति पाठभेदः ।

३ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १२७ ।

४ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ५०६ ।

मप्युपपद्यते । अन्यथा तु यागस्यैक्यान्तर्दर्थानां देवतानां ग्रहणानाञ्च
विकल्पः स्यात्^१ ” ।

किञ्च—

“उत्पत्तिवचनात् सिद्धा लता चेद्यागसाधनम् ।

न सा वाक्यान्तरैः पश्चाद्रसौभवितुमर्हति^२ ” ॥

तथा च ऐन्द्रवायवादिवाक्यानि गुणविधित्वेनासंभवादनर्थकान्वेव
स्युः । एवं प्राप्तेऽभिधीयते—

“द्रव्यान्तरेण संयोगान्नानुवादोऽवकल्पते ।

तेन यागविधौ एतावन्वे गुणविधायिनः ॥

पशुशब्दो हि जातिवाची अतज्जातीयेषु लक्षणिकः स्यात् ।
न च पशुविशिष्टे यागे विहिते हृदयादिवाक्यानां गुणविधित्वा-
सम्भवः पशोरेव हृदयादिद्वारेण करणत्वोपपत्तेः । तुषपक्वा भवन्ती-
त्यादौ अग्न्यादिद्वारा तुषादीनामिव । तस्मात् पशुविशिष्टः अग्नौ-
षोमदेवत्योऽत्र यागो विधीयते । हृदयादिवाक्यानि तु तत्रैव
संस्कारविधायकानि, न तु यागविधायकानि । अवद्यतेः खण्डन-
मात्रपरत्वात् । न वाऽस्य यागद्रव्यार्थत्वमितिकर्तव्यता । येन
तदतिदिश्येत न चेदृशेऽर्थे सामान्यतो दृष्टं क्रमते । तथा सोमेन
यजेतेति सोमशब्दो लतावचनः । न चासौ प्रकृतेष्वैन्द्रवायवादिषु
हविष्वेन विधातुं शक्यते । धारया गृह्णातीति गुणवाक्येन सन्निधा-
पितस्य द्रवद्रव्यस्यैन्द्रवायवमिति तद्धितेन देवतासम्बन्धित्वेन श्रुत्या-
ऽविधानात् । नापि तत्प्रख्यन्यायेन नामधेयत्वम् । अस्माद्वाक्यात्
प्राक् सोमरसस्याप्राप्तेः । न ह्यस्मिन् पक्षे य एव क्रये सोमः स

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १३८ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ५१० ।

एवाभिषवे, यस्याभिषवे स एव पावने चेति नियमः सम्भवति । सर्वेषां क्रयादिवाक्यानां लौकिकसोमग्रहणेनारादुपकारकक्रयादिविधाधिनां मियोऽनपेक्षत्वात् । यदि हि तं सोममभिषुण्यादिति तच्छब्दः श्रूयेत ततः सा वैश्वदेवीतिवत् प्रकृतग्रहणं भवेत् । सोममात्रश्रवणे तु न प्रकृतगामित्वम् । एवं धारावाक्येऽपि ऐन्द्रवायवादिवाक्येषु प्रकृतगामित्वमपि धारासमर्थमेव द्रव्यं गृह्येत न सोमरसः । अतो न तत्प्रत्यन्यायेन नामधेयत्वम् । प्रकृतद्रव्यविधानं त्वग्नियते^१ । तच्च तदा स्यात् । यद्यैन्द्रवायवादिवाक्येषु यागो विधीयेत ततः स्यात्प्रकृतिद्रव्यविधिः । तेषु तु ग्रहणमात्रमेव देवताविशिष्टं यागे विधीयते । यद्यपि यागमन्तरेण तदनुपपत्तिः तथापि सोमेन यजेतेत्येतत् सर्वत्र यागान्तरकल्पनां निरुणद्धि । दशमुष्टौर्मिमीत इति च परिमाणश्रवणात् तावतश्च सोमस्याल्पपरिमाणैः पात्रैरसति समुच्चये ग्रहणासम्भवाद्यथागृहीतानामेव च होमात् क्रमसमुच्चयदर्शनमप्युपपन्नम्^२ ।

“ दशैतानध्वर्युः प्रातःसवने ग्रहान् गृह्णाति आश्विनो दशमो गृह्णाते तं तृतीयं जुह्वतीति तेन सिद्धमेककर्मत्वं प्रयोजनम् ।

पूर्वपक्षे सोमविकारेषु एकस्यैव ग्रहस्य धर्मैः सहदनुष्ठानेन च भवितव्यम् । सिद्धान्ते तु प्रकृतितुल्यमेवानुष्ठानमिति^३ ॥

७ संख्याकृतकर्मभेदाधिकरणम् ।

पृथक्कानिवेशात् संख्यया कर्मभेदः स्यात् ॥ २१ ॥

गतोऽभ्यासप्रसङ्गः । संख्यया भेद इदानीमभिधीयते । तिस्र

१ अत्र ‘तन्निराकरणार्थं च सूत्रं’—‘अचोदकाश्च संस्कारा’ इति । इति पाठोऽपेक्षितः ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १३९-१४१ ।

३ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ५१९ ।

आहुतौर्जुहोतीति श्रूयते । तत्र किमेकं कर्म त्रिरभ्यस्यते उत
चीणीतिसंग्रहे

“ आख्यातस्य सकृत् श्रुत्या कर्मैकत्वेऽवधारिते ।

संख्यासम्पत्तिरभ्यासात् प्रयाजैकादशत्ववत् ॥

इत्येवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

स्यादेवं यदि कर्मैक्यं प्रागस्मादवधारितम् ।

आख्यातमात्रात्तत्सिद्धोक्तावतश्चाप्रमाणता^१ ॥

निर्ज्ञातसंख्येषु हि प्रयाजेषु एकादशसंख्या श्रूयमाणा अभ्यासेन
पूर्यत इति युक्तम् । इह तु आख्यातमात्रस्याप्रमाणतया न ततः
कर्मैकत्वनिर्णयः । सहश्रुतपदान्तरैः संहृत्य विदधदेवाख्यातं संख्या-
सामानाधिकरण्यात् बह्वनि कर्माणि श्रुतसंख्याविशिष्टानि विधत्ते
इति सिद्धो भेदः । अत्र च कर्मण्येव संख्याश्रवणात् पूर्वपक्षो मन्द इति
मत्वा सप्तदशप्राजापत्यान् पशूनालभत इति वार्त्तिके उदाहृतम्^२ ।

अत्र संग्रहः । किं सप्तदशद्रव्यक एको यागः किं वा एकैक-
पशुद्रव्यकाः सप्तदश यागा इति । तदर्थञ्च किं प्रजापतिर्देवताऽस्येति
कृततद्धितप्राजापत्यपदैकशेषः उत प्रजापतिर्देवता येषामिति कृतैक-
शेषः यच्छब्दोक्तानां देवतासम्बन्ध इति । उक्तञ्च—

“ किं न्वयं तद्धितान्तानामेकशेषः कृतो भवेत् ।

किम्वा कृतैकशेषाणां पश्चात्तद्धितसङ्गतिः ” ॥

तत्र—

“ प्रत्ययार्थबहुलं हि प्रत्यक्षमुपलभ्यते ।

तत्कृतस्यैकशेषत्वमिति न प्रकृतौ भवेत्^३ ॥

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १४२ ।

२ अत्र शास्त्रदीपिकातन्त्रवार्त्तिकयोः ‘वार्त्तिके उदाहृत’मित्यस्य स्थाने ‘भाष्यकारेण
उदाहृत’मिति पाठः शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १४२, तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ५२० ।

३ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ५२१ ।

तस्मादेकं कर्मेति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

सप्तदश कर्माणीति । न ह्यर्थ एतद्वितसम्बन्धः(?) कृतैकशेषाणामिति निर्णीतम् । किन्त्वैकत्वस्यौत्सर्गिकत्वात् प्रजापतिर्देवताऽस्येति विग्रहार्थं तद्वितोत्पत्तौ पञ्चादेकशेषः आहोस्विदनेकापूर्वकल्पनाख्याभयात् कृतैकशेषः यच्छब्दार्थस्य तद्वितेन देवतासम्बन्ध इति सन्देहः ।

एवं संशये प्रकृतिवदिति वाक्यशेषाद्यस्य इत्येव युक्तम् ।

ननु येषामिति प्रकृतौ हि पञ्चावग्रीषोमीये एकादशहृदया-
द्यवदानद्वारेण साधनत्वमिति तथैव प्राजापत्ययागसाधनत्वं पशोरव-
गम्यते । तत्र यदि सप्तदशपशुद्रव्यक एको यागः कृतैकशेषतद्वितं
सम्बन्धित्वेनाभ्युपेयते तदा एकेन एकादशावदानगणेन यागनिष्पत्तौ
षोडश पशवो व्यर्थाः स्युः । यदि च एकैकमवदानमेकैकपशोः क्रियेत
तथाप्येकादशपशूपयोगे षट् पशवोऽनर्थकाः स्युः । न च प्रत्येकं
सर्वेषु पशुष्ववदानगण इति युक्तम् । यागसाधनीभूतस्यावदानात् ।
इह च सप्तदशानां साधनत्वे न प्रत्येकं तदभावात् । तस्मात्
प्रतिपशुयागभेदे हेतुः कृततद्वितस्यैकशेष इति निर्णीयते ।

आह च—

“ सन्दिग्धे वाक्यशेषेभ्यो निर्णयः प्राक् समर्थितः ।

सामर्थ्याच्च तदत्रास्ति द्वयनिर्णयकारणम्^१ ” ॥ इति

एवं ‘वसन्ताय कपिञ्जलानि’त्यादिष्वपि द्रव्यगतः कर्मभेदो
द्रष्टव्यः । प्रयोजनं तु एकस्मिन् पशौ न कृत्स्नः पशुगण आवर्त्तते
पूर्वपक्षे । सिद्धान्ते त्वेक एव पशुरावर्त्तते । न हि कर्मभेदे पशुः
पशुमाकाञ्चतीति ॥

८ संज्ञाकृतकर्मभेदाधिकरणम् ॥

संज्ञा चोत्पत्तिसंयोगात् ॥ २२ ॥

ज्योतिष्टोमं प्रकृत्य श्रूयते 'अथैष ज्योतिरथैष विश्वज्योतिरथैष सर्वज्योतिरेतेन सहस्रदक्षिणेन यजेते'ति । तत्र एतच्छब्दपरामृष्टानां ज्योतिरादीनां यजिना सामानाधिकरण्येन यागनामत्वं तावत् सिद्धम् । तत्र संशयः किं प्रकृतमेव ज्योतिष्टोमं ज्योतिरादिशब्दैरनूद्य सहस्रदक्षिणाख्यो गुणो विधियते उत एवंनामान्येवंदक्षिणानि च कर्मान्तराणि विधीयन्त इति ।

तत्र अथैषशब्दयोः पूर्वप्रकृतापेक्षत्वात् तत्समानाधिकरणां ज्योतिरादीनां प्रकृतहान्यप्रकृतकल्पनानुपपत्तेश्च पूर्वस्यैव गुणविधिः । न च ज्योतिःशब्दस्य ज्योतिष्टोमे प्रसिद्धिभावः । वसन्ते वसन्ते ज्योतिषा यजेतेत्यादौ प्रसिद्धेः । एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“ नामान्तरश्रूतावर्थभेदस्तावत् प्रतीयते ।

बलवद्वाधकाच्चासावन्यथात्वं प्रपद्यते^१ ” ॥

सर्वत्रैव हि अनेकार्थत्वानेकशब्दयोरन्याय्यत्वात् शब्दान्तरदर्शना-
दर्थान्तरबुद्धिर्भवति । सा चोत्पन्ना बलीयसा प्रत्यभिज्ञानेन बाध्यते^२ ।
न चेहास्ति बाधकम् ।

किञ्च अधिकार्थायशब्दबलेन प्रकृतकर्मबुद्धिर्विच्छिन्नैव । प्रकृतयागे
गुणविधाने तु अथशब्दानर्थक्यं स्यात् । एतच्छब्दस्तु प्रतिज्ञायमान-
कर्मपरत्वेऽप्युपपद्यते । तस्मात् पूर्वकर्मानिवेशिन्या संज्ञया एतेनेत्यादेः
कर्मात्पत्तिविधित्वावगमात् प्रथमप्रतीता संज्ञाभेदिकेति सिद्धम् ।

^१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १४६ ।

^२ 'अर्थान्तरदर्शनात् संज्ञान्तरमपेक्षते संज्ञान्तरदर्शनाच्चार्थान्तरत्वं, तच्चोभयमपि बलीयससहवाधकप्रत्यभिज्ञानाद्बाधते' इति तन्त्रवार्त्तिक पाठः, पृ० ५२८ ।

आह च—

“अनुक्ते कर्मशब्दे या संज्ञा पूर्वं प्रवर्त्तते ।

न वस्त्वन्तरबुद्धेः सा कथञ्चिदपनीयते^१ ” ॥

६ देवताभेदकृतकर्मभेदाधिकरणम् ।

गुणश्चापूर्वसंयोगे वाक्ययोः समत्वात् ॥ २३ ॥

चातुर्मास्येषु वैश्वदेव्यामिचेति द्रव्यदेवतासंयोगानुमितं यागं विधायान्नायते—‘वाजिभ्यो वाजिनमि’ति ।

तत्र सन्देहः—किमामिचावाक्यविहितयागे वाजिभ्यो वाजिनमिति गुणविधिः उतानेनापि द्रव्यदेवतासंयोगेन यागान्तरविधिरिति ।

तत्र प्राप्तकर्मानुवादेनोभयविधानायोगात् । वाजिनमेव केवलं पूर्वस्मिन् कर्मणि विधीयत इति प्राप्तम् । तथा हि—“वाजिनो नाम न के चिद्देवताविशेषाः प्रसिद्धाः । अतो ह्यु
... लाभेऽवयवप्रसिद्धिर्गृह्यते^२ । तदिह वैश्वदेव्यामिचेतिवाक्येना-
मिचावत्तया विश्वेदेवा वाजिनोऽवगताः । ते च तेन पूर्वा-
नुमितेन यागेनानुरक्ताः । अतो वाजिपदोक्तद्रव्यदेवतासम्बन्ध-
गम्यमानयागातिक्रमकारणाभावात्तत्सङ्गावे चान्यविषयार्थान्तरापत्त्य-
नुदयात्^३ ” । तस्मिन्नेव यागे वाजिनाख्यो गुणो विधीयत इति न कर्मभेदः । आह च—

“आनन्तर्यापदिष्टेन वाजेनाग्नेन वाजिनः ।

विश्वेदेवाः प्रतीयन्ते तच्च कर्मह वाजिनम्^४ ” ॥

१ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ५२८ ।

२ अत्र ‘न चाप्रसिद्धाः पदार्था वाक्यार्थं निष्पादयन्ति । सर्वत्र समुदायप्रसिद्धा-
वलम्बमानायासवयवप्रसिद्धिर्गृह्यते’ इत्यमरस्वी ग्रन्थस्तन्त्रवार्तिके दृश्यते पृ० ५२० ।

३ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ५२० ।

४ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ५२० । अत्र अनन्तरोपदिष्टेनेति पाठभेदः ।

इत्थेवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“अपूर्वः कर्मान्तरसंयोगानर्हो वा गुणः कर्मान्तरं कल्पयति^१” ।
अनर्हत्वं च द्वेधा—वाक्यभेदप्रसंजकत्वेन उत्पत्तिशिष्टगुणप्राबल्येन वा ।
तत्र विद्वद्वाक्यविहितकर्मानुवादेन आग्नेयादिवाक्यैर्गुणो न विधीयते ।
वाक्यभेदप्रसङ्गात् । किं तु विशिष्टविधिरेवेति पौर्णमास्यधिकरण
एव प्रसङ्गात् प्रपञ्चितम् । इह तु उत्पत्तिशिष्टेन बलीयसाव-
रोधात् । “उभौ हि द्रव्यदेवतासंयोगौ आत्मविरोधेनान्योन्याव-
काशमप्रयच्छन्तौ पृथक्कर्मणी कल्पयतः^२” । तथा हि—पूर्वकर्म-
देवतासम्बधितया वाजिनं न प्रत्येतुं शक्यम् । “तत्कार्यवृत्ति-
गुणावरोधात् । न च समुच्चयः एकार्थत्वात् । नापि विकल्पः
अतुल्यबलत्वात् । उक्तञ्च—

गुणान्तरावरुद्धत्वात् पूर्वकर्मण्यसम्भवात् ।

क्रियान्तरमतिं कुर्यादात्मसंगतये गुणः^३” ॥

इति कथं पुनरतुल्यबलत्वं इष्टम् । अतः विश्लेषां देवाना-
मामिचासम्बन्धस्तु वाक्येन न च औतेन निराकांक्षो वाक्यौघं
प्रतीच्छति त्रीह्यवादौ तु नान्यतरस्य प्रथमं सम्बन्धः । येन एका-
न्वये निराकांक्षा क्रिया द्वितीयं न गृह्येयात् ।

नन्वामिचाया अपि तत्पदसमभिव्याहारादेव विश्वदेवसम्बन्धाव-
गमात् कथं वाजिनसम्बन्धापेक्षया तस्य प्राथम्यमिति चेत् ? अस्त्येवं
तथापि विश्लेषां देवानां तद्धितेन देवताविशिष्टद्रव्याभिधायिना
आमिचया सम्बन्धावगमः । वाजिनस्य तु वाजिभ्य इति चतुर्थ्यात्
यजमानद्रव्योद्देश्यत्वप्रतिग्रहीत्वस्वरूपसंप्रदानत्वावाचित्या तदेकदेश-
देवतात्वस्य लक्षणया प्रतिपादनेन देवतासम्बन्धस्य दुर्बलत्वात् ।

अत एवोक्तम्—

“ तद्धितेन चतुर्थ्या वा मन्त्रवर्णेन चेत्यते ।

देवतासंगतिस्तत्र दुर्बलत्वं परस्परम्^१ ” ॥

तद्धितेन सर्वनामार्थवृत्तिना सन्निहितविशेषस्यैवामिच्छास्यस्य विश्वेदेवान्वितस्य प्रतिपादनाच्च । सन्निधायकत्वेन चामिच्छापदं उपयुज्यते । अतः सत्यामपि पदान्तरापेक्षायां यत्पदमेवामिधत्ते तस्य श्रुतित्वम् । उक्तञ्च—

“ नैव हि द्रव्यमात्रस्य तद्धितैर्देवतोच्यते ।

अस्य शब्दाभिधेयस्य विशेषस्यैव देवता^२ ” ॥

तथा—

“ आमिचां देवतायुक्तां वदत्येवैष तद्धितः ।

आमिच्छापदसान्निध्यात्तस्यैव विषयार्पणम् ॥

तथा च—

श्रुत्यैवोपपदस्यार्थः सर्वनाम्नाभिधीयते ।

तदर्थस्तद्धितेनैवं त्रयाणामेकवाच्यता^३ ” ॥

“ यदि तु द्रव्यमात्रस्य तद्धितो न देवतात्वं ब्रूयात्तथापि वैश्व-
देवोतिस्त्रीप्रत्ययेन समानपदगतेन स्त्रीद्रव्यमवगतम्^४ ” । वाजिनं तु
न तथेति विशेषः । किञ्च देवताया विधिगतशब्देनैवोद्देश्यत्वात्
वाजिशब्देनोद्देश्यानां भिन्नमेव देवतात्वम् । तथा च देवताभेदात्
द्रव्यदेवतयोर्द्वयोरपि विधानापत्तौ प्राप्तकर्मानुवादेनानेकगुण-
विधानाद्वाक्यभेदः । उक्तञ्च—

^१ तन्त्रवार्तिक, प्र० ५३१ । अत्रान्तिमपादे ‘दुर्बलञ्च परं पर’मिति तन्त्र-
वार्तिकपाठः ।

^२ तन्त्रवार्तिक, प्र० ५३२ ।

^३ तन्त्रवार्तिक, प्र० ५३२-५३४ ।

^४ तन्त्रवार्तिक, प्र० ५३५ ।

“ श्रुत्यैव समवायित्वं देवतानां स्वकर्मसु ।

विश्वदेवश्रुतिस्तत्र वाजिशब्देन दुर्लभा^१ ” ॥

१० द्रव्यविशेषानुक्तिरुक्तकर्मैक्याधिकरणम् ।

अगुणे तु कर्मशब्दे गुणस्तत्र प्रतीयेत ॥ २४ ॥

‘दध्ना जुहोति’ ‘पयसा जुहोती’त्यादावपि गुणानामेक-
कर्मनिवेशे सति विकल्पप्रसङ्गात् । अन्यतरावद्भेदे अन्यतरनिवेशा-
योगाच्च भेदकत्वमिति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

सर्वेषाममीषां अन्योन्यानालोचनेन अग्निहोत्रवाक्यावगतनिर्गुण-
कर्मणि पौर्वापर्यं विनैव निवेशात् । तत्रैव गुणमात्रविधानं युक्तं,
प्रमाणवशाच्च विकल्प इति ।

११ दध्यादिद्रव्यसफलत्वाधिकरणम् ।

फलश्रुतेस्तु कर्म स्यात् फलस्य कर्मयोगित्वात् ॥ २५ ॥

अग्निहोत्रं प्रकृत्य ‘दध्नेन्द्रियकामस्य जुहुया’दिति श्रूयते । तत्र
किमग्निहोत्रात् कर्मान्तरमुत तस्यैव गुणात् फलमिति संशयः ।

तत्र—

“ धात्वर्थात् फलमित्युक्तं भावना सन्निकर्षतः ।

विप्रकृष्टस्तु नामार्थस्तस्मान्नासौ फलान्वयी^२ ” ॥

भावार्याधिकरणन्यायेन हि धात्वर्थ एव करणत्वेन विधीयते ।
स च यदि यादृशो विधित्सितस्तादृश एवान्वेनोत्पन्नः प्रत्यभिज्ञायेत ।
ततः फले विधीयमानोपि न भिद्येत ‘सन्निधौ त्वविभागात् स्यात्’
इति न्यायात् स्वर्गयावज्जीववाक्ययोरिव । इह तु—

१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ५३९ ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १५० । अत्र ‘तदर्थो न फलान्वयी’ति पाठः ।

“होमो हि प्रकृतः शुद्धः स्ववाक्यादवधारितः ।

सोऽस्मिन् दधिविशिष्टत्वान्नाविभागेन गम्यते^१” ॥

न च दध्ना जुहोतीत्यनेन विशिष्टलाभः । तस्यानुत्पत्तिवाक्य-
त्वात् । उत्पत्तिवाक्येनैव हि सर्वाणि प्राकरणिकानि गुणफल-
वाक्यानि सम्बन्धन्ते न तु परस्परेण । न च सैवोत्पत्तिर्वाक्यान्तरेण
दधिमती कल्पिता सती इह उत्पत्तिविधिलकल्पनां निरूपणद्वीति
युक्तम् । यतः—

“वाक्यान्तरेण तत्कर्म यथा दध्ना विशेषितम् ।

तण्डुलादिभिरप्येवमिति नैकात्म्यं भवेत्^२” ॥

किञ्च—

“दध्यत्र दशमे पक्षे तद्धोमस्य विशेषणम् ।

नित्यं चेन्द्रियकामस्य तेनापि न निरूप्यते^३” ॥

तस्मात् दधिविशिष्टं कर्मान्तरमेवेदं फलाय विधीयत इति
प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“यावद्धि विधिसामर्थ्यं धात्वर्थादनपोद्धृतम् ।

तावद्यः फलसम्बन्धः स धात्वर्थस्य गम्यते ॥

भवेत्फलश्रुतिर्या तु गुणसंवरिते विधौ ।

सा तद्गतविधिस्पृष्टा तेन यात्येकवाक्यताम्^४” ॥

इह हि दध्याक्षिप्तो विधिर्धात्वर्थानुवादमाकांक्षते । न चा-
विधीयमानस्य फलसम्बन्धः । न च विशिष्टविधिः । यतः—

“स्याद्वक्त्र्यविधानं ते श्लोकार्थविधिसम्भवे ।

मत्वर्थस्योपलक्ष्येत पदत्यागोऽथवा भवेत्^५” ॥

१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ५४२ । अत्र ‘विभागेनैव गम्यते’ इति पाठः ।

२-३ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ५४३ ।

४ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ५४९ ।

५ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ५५० । अत्र ‘अथ वे’त्यस्य स्थाने ‘अन्यथे’त्यस्य वार्त्तिके पाठः ।

होमेनेन्द्रियं भावयेदिति हि करणीभूते होमे करणभूतेनैव दध्ना
सम्बन्धायोगात् दधिमता होमेनेति मत्वर्थो लक्षणीयः, अनर्थक एव
वा दधिशब्द इति कल्पनीयम् । गुणफलसम्बन्धे तु न कश्चिद्दोषः ।
न च जुहोतिपदवैयर्थ्यम् । दधीन्द्रियविशिष्टां भावनां विधातुं
प्रत्ययोच्चारणस्यावश्यकत्वे स्थिते साधुत्वार्थश्च कस्य चिद्भातोरावश्यकत्वे
प्रकरणलब्धाश्रयानुवादकस्य जुहोतेरेवोचितत्वात् । आह च—

“न दधीन्द्रियसम्बन्धो भावनावचनादिना ।

न चास्योच्चारणं शक्यं केन चिद्भातुना विना^१” ॥

तस्माद्भावनाभेदेऽपि धात्वर्थोऽनूद्यमानत्वान्न भिद्यते । तस्याश्च
भावनायां गुणे करणत्वेनावधारिते कथं भावाकांक्षायां अग्नि-
होत्रेति कर्त्तव्यतैव जुहोति चोदनालिङ्गकातिदेशात् सम्बध्यते ।
प्रयोजनं तु पूर्वपक्षे नैयमिकहोमव्यतिरिक्तमनियतकालं दधिसाधनकं
होमान्तरं दर्विहोमत्वादपूर्वं सकृदेव कर्त्तव्यम् ।

सिद्धान्ते तु सायंप्रातराहुत्योरेव दधिप्रयोक्तव्यमिति ॥

१२ वारवन्तीयादीनां कर्मान्तरताधिकरणम् ।

समेषु कर्मयुक्तं स्यात् ॥ २७ ॥

“पूर्वाधिकरणपवादोऽयम् । त्रिवृदग्निष्टुदग्निष्टोमस्तस्य वायव्या-
स्त्वेकविंशमग्निष्टोमसाम कृत्वा ‘ब्रह्मवर्चसकामो यजेते’त्येतमग्निष्टुतं
प्रकृत्य वारवन्तीयमग्निष्टोमसाम कार्यमिति च गुणं विधाय पुन-
रास्नायते— एतस्यैव रेवतीषु वारवन्तीयमग्निष्टोमसाम कृत्वा पशु-
कामो ह्येतेन यजेतेति । तत्र किं गुणविशिष्टं यागान्तरं किम्वा
पूर्वस्यैव गुणात् फलमिति संग्रहे पूर्वाधिकरणन्यायेन गुणात् फल-
मिति प्राप्तम् ।

१ तन्त्रवार्तिक, ४० ५५०-५५१ । अत्र द्वितीयचरणे ‘भावनाप्रत्ययादिना’ति पाठभेदः ।

तथा हि—

रेवतीवारवन्तीयसम्बन्धव्यापृते विधौ ।

श्रूयते फलमत्रापि यागोऽतो न विधीयते^१ ॥

“न चैवं रेवतीवारवन्तीयसम्बन्धोत्पत्तिविधानान्तस्थ च फलं प्रति विधानात् प्रत्ययावृत्तिलक्षणो वाक्यभेद इति वाच्यम् । रेवतीषु वारवन्तीयं कृत्वेति कृत्वाशब्देनैव सम्बन्धे निष्पादिते यजेः परेण लिङः फलोद्देशेन विधानात् । एवञ्च सति विपरिवृत्तिप्राप्तो यजिः प्रकृतार्थावलम्बी च एतच्छब्दः, तस्मात् परा षष्ठी प्रकरणप्राप्त-माश्रयाश्रयिसम्बन्धं वदन्ती प्रमाणाभावादेवाश्रयान्तरासम्बन्धात् तन्निरासप्रवृत्त एवकारः पूर्वोदाहृतेन वचनान्तरेण प्राप्तमग्निष्टोम-सामसम्बन्धि वारवन्तीयं चेत्यादि सर्वं नित्यप्राप्तमनूयते । कर्मान्तर-पक्षे तु सर्वं विधेयं स्यात् । तच्च न युक्तम् ।

आह च—

एकशक्तिः स्वभावेन सर्वदैव विधायकः ।

अल्पार्थविधिसन्तुष्टो नानेकार्थविधिचमः^२ ॥

तस्मात् रेवत्याधारं वारवन्तीयं तत्सम्बन्धो वा फलार्थं विधीयत इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“प्रकृतं कर्म गृह्णाति फलाय विहितो गुणः ।

यत्र तत्र गुणात् कामो यागः सान्ना न साध्यते^३ ॥

कारकभावापत्तिर्हि तदाश्रयत्वं तदपि प्रकरणप्राप्तमनुवदितव्यम् । वाक्येनाश्रयसम्बन्धकरणे वाक्यभेदापत्तेः । न चेह दध्ना होम इव वारवन्तीयसान्ना यागः शक्यो निर्वर्त्तयितुम् । अद्रव्यदेवतात्मकत्वात्

१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ५५५-५५६ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ५५६-५५७ ।

३ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १५५ ।

साधः । यत्तु तत्साध्यत्वयोग्यं “स्तोत्रं न तस्य प्रकरणमस्ति ।
अग्निष्टुतिस्तोत्राणामातिदेशिकत्वात् । आह च—

स्तोत्रसाधनभूतत्वं साध्नो योग्यतया स्थितम् ।

स्तोत्रं तु प्रकृतं नास्तीत्याश्रयो न प्रतीयते^१ ” ॥

न चायं सामर्थ्यव्यतदङ्गन्यायस्य विषयः । यो हि यदङ्गत्वेन
चोद्यते स तत्र साक्षादसम्भवात् अङ्गे निविशते । सम्भवति ह्यङ्ग-
द्वारेणाप्युपकारकत्वम् । न त्वाश्रयत्वभङ्गद्वारेण सम्भवति । न ह्यङ्गे
कारकीभावात् प्रधाने कारकत्वम् । आह च—

“तन्नामाङ्गेषु कल्प्येत यदङ्गत्वेन चोदितम् ।

प्राधान्यावस्थितं यत्तु तदङ्गं नोपसर्पति^२ ” ॥

किञ्च साध्नो गीतिरूपक्रियात्वात् आश्रयापेक्षैव नास्ति
यागादिवत् । आह च—

“आत्मना ह्यक्रियारूपैर्गुणैवाश्रीयते क्रिया ।

वारवन्तीयगीतेस्तु क्रियया किं प्रयोजनम्^३ ” ॥

तथा—

“फलाय विहितं साम स्वतन्त्रं रूपमात्रतः ।

वेदसाध्यायमेवैकमुत्पत्त्यर्थमपेक्षते^४ ” ॥ इति

“तस्माद्गुणफलसम्बन्धे यजेतेति अग्निष्टोम सामेति चानर्थकं स्यात्
अप्राप्तस्यानुवादासम्भवात् । विधाने च वाक्यभेदात् । तस्मादपूर्वो
यागः फले विधीयते कृत्वाशब्दकल्पितरेवतीवारवन्तीयसम्बन्ध-
विशिष्टः । तत्र साधः प्रकृतितोऽग्निष्टोमस्तोत्रस्थानप्राप्तेस्तदनुबद्धा
रेवत्योपि तत्स्थाना भवन्ति तेनाग्निष्टोमसामेत्यनुवादः । एतच्छब्दो-

१-२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ५५८ ।

३ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ५६१ ।

४ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ५५९ ।

ऽपि^१ ” “तद्धर्मलक्षणयानुवादः । न चानुवादे लक्षणादोषः । यद्वा प्रस्तूयमाना पूर्वयागे मुख्य एव । अथैव ज्योतिरितिवत्^२ ” । रेवतीषु वारवन्तीयं कृत्वा पशुकामो यजेतेत्येतावन्मात्रं तु विधीयत इति लाघवमेकवाक्यत्वञ्च । आह च—

“कृत्वाशब्दार्थमेवैकं गृह्णीते भावनोत्तरा ।

सोपि स्वगोचरप्राप्तं ग्रहीष्यति विशेषणम् ॥

नवेन क्रतुना पश्चात् चक्षुसामग्रहणे कृते ।

क्षुप्तस्थानेन साम्नैव रेवतीस्थानकल्पना^३ ” ॥

१३ सौभरनिधनयोः कामैक्याधिकरणम् ।

सौभरे पुरुषश्रुतेर्निधने कामसंयोगः ॥ २८ ॥

ज्योतिष्टोमे स्तोत्रं प्रकृत्य ‘यो वृष्टिकामो योऽन्नाद्यकामो यः स्वर्गकामः स सौभरेण सुवीते’ति स्तोत्राश्रितसौभरं फलत्रय-साधनत्वेनान्नातम् । “यद्यपि सौरभस्य साम्नो गीत्यात्मक्रियात्वा-द्वारवन्तीयवन्नाश्रयापेक्षा तथापि सुवीतेत्यनेन एकवाक्यत्वात्त-त्साधनभूतस्यैव फले विधानम् । तथा हि सौभरेणेत्येकपदोपात्तं सौभरविशिष्टं करणकारकं फले विधीयते^४ ” । फलभावनाकरणत्वं तु यागादिवदेव समभित्याहारात् सिद्धम् । न तु विभक्त्या करणं क्रियापेक्षमिति युक्तं प्रकृतस्तोत्राश्रयत्वम् । वारवन्तीयं तु द्वितीयान्तत्वाच्च करणीभूतमवगम्यते किन्तु कर्मीभूतम् । न च स्तोत्रे यागे वा साम्नः कर्मत्वं सम्भवति । अतो न तदपेक्षेति

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १५६ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ५६० ।

३ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ५६१ ।

४ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १५७-१५८ ।

वैषम्यम् । तदेवं फलत्रयसाधनं सौभरं प्रकृत्य आमनन्ति—‘ह्रीषिति वृष्टिकामाय निधनं कुर्यात् ऊर्गित्यन्नाद्यकामाय ऊ इति स्वर्ग-
कामाये’ति ।

तत्र संशयः—किं ह्रीषादयः फले विधीयन्ते उत सौभरस्यैव तत्तत्फलं साधयन्तस्तत्तन्निधनं नियम्यन्त इति^१ ॥

तत्र—

“वृष्टिकामपदेनात्र श्रुत्यैवाभिहितः पुमान् ।

साधनापेक्षिणस्तस्य ह्रीषादिपदसङ्गतिः^२ ॥

“पुरुषस्य हि श्रौतत्वान्तादर्थ्यमेव ह्रीषादीनां चतुर्थ्या विज्ञायते । तच्छेषता च तदभिलषितफलसाधनतयेति फलान्तरार्थत्वमेव ह्रीषादीनाम् । अन्यथा हि वृष्टिकामादिशब्दैः सौभरं लक्ष्येत । तस्मात् ह्रीषादयः फलान्तरार्था इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः^३—

“सौभरस्य समस्तस्य यः कामोऽभिहितः पुरा ।

नियन्तुं निधनं तस्य स एवायमनूयते^४ ॥

“वृष्ट्यादीनि हि पूर्वोक्तान्येव विपरिवर्तमानानि प्रत्यभिज्ञायन्त इति न फलान्तरावगमः । किञ्च ह्रीषितिशब्दमात्रे फलाय विहिते आश्रयो दुर्लभः । यद्वि सौभरं प्रकृतं न तच्छक्नोत्याश्रयत्वं प्रति-
पत्तुम्^५ ॥ । समस्तं हि साम सौभरम् । तच्च वङ्गचरसाध्यम् । न ह्रीषमात्रेण सुसाध्यं यच्च साधयितुं शक्यते निधनं न तस्य प्रकरणमस्ति । यदि तु वाक्यादेवाश्रयदानं ततो वाक्यभेदः ।

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १५८ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ५७३ ।

३ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १५८ ।

४ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ५७३ ।

५ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १५८ ।

तथा निधनमात्रानुवादेन ह्रीषादिसम्बन्धे सर्वसामप्रसङ्गः । तस्मान्निधनत्वेनानियतप्राप्ता ह्रीषादयो नियम्यन्ते । न च वृष्टि-
कामशब्दस्य सौभरलक्षकत्वप्रसङ्गः । “ह्रीषादयो हि सौभराङ्ग-
भूतास्तद्वारेण वृष्टिकामादीनां पुरुषाणामपि अनियमेन शेषभूताः
प्राप्तास्तानेव प्रति यथाप्राप्तरूपा नियम्यन्ते । दृष्टं हि फलकरणाङ्ग-
स्यापि पुरुषशेषत्वम् । तथा च प्रयुज्यते । वसिष्ठादीनां नाराशंसो
द्वितीयः प्रयाज इति । तस्मान्न लक्षणा । भाष्यवार्त्तिकयोस्तु
साधनद्वारेण तादर्थ्यं न तु साक्षादित्येतावन्मात्रेण लक्षणेत्युक्तम् ।
एवं स्थिते यथाप्राप्तानामेव नियम इति । तत्तन्निधनसहित एव
सौभरविशेषस्तत्तत्फलार्थत्वेन प्रयोक्तव्यः । न तु शाखान्तरगते सौभरे
शाखान्तरीयं निधनं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ।

तस्मात् फलान्तरार्थेन नैव ह्रीषादयो गुणाः ।

विधीयन्ते नियम्यन्ते यथाप्राप्ते तु सौभरे^१ ॥

इति श्रीमीमांसाशास्त्रसर्वस्वे द्वितीयस्याध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

द्वितीयाध्याये तृतीयः पादः ॥



१ ग्रहाग्रताया ज्योतिष्टोमाङ्गताधिकरणम् ।

गुणस्तु क्रतुसंयोगात्कर्मान्तरं प्रयोजयेत् संयोगस्या-
शेषभूतत्वात् ॥ १ ॥

“ज्योतिष्टोमे प्रथमं बृहद्रथन्तरे वैकल्पिके पृथक् पृष्टसाधनत्वेन
चोदिते । ततः पुनः श्रूयते—यदि रथन्तरसामा सोमः स्यात्
ऐन्द्रवायवायान् ग्रहान् गृह्णीयात् । यदि बृहत्सामा शुक्राया-

निति^१” । “तत्र किं रथन्तरसामा बृहत्सामेति च ज्योतिष्टोमात् कर्मान्तरं विधीयते किम्वा ज्योतिष्टोम एव रथन्तरेण बृहता चावच्छिन्नो ग्रहाग्रताविशेषं प्रति निमित्तत्वेनानुकीर्त्यत^२” इति संग्रहे कर्मान्तरमिति प्राप्तम् । तथा हि—

“समासः सति सामर्थ्यं तच्चापीष्टं विशेषणे ।

विशेषणं व्यवच्छेत्तु ज्योतिष्टोमे च नास्ति तत्^३” ॥

“सन्ध्यान्धपि सामानि गायत्रादीनि तत्र हि^४” ।

न चाव्यवच्छेदकत्वेऽपि सत्तथैव विशेषकत्वम् । कृत्स्नकृत्युत्पत्ति-
विरहात् । “तस्मात्पूर्वत्रासम्भवी रथन्तरसामत्वं नाम गुणः कर्मान्तरं
कल्पयति । यदिशब्दस्तु निपातत्वादनर्थकः^५” । रूच्यध्याहारेण
वा यदि रोचेतेति योज्यः । यद्वा व्यत्ययेन सम्बन्धः । यदि
गृह्णीयादिति । कामप्रवेदेन च लिङिच्छाविषयीभूतग्रहाग्रत्व-
विशिष्टं कर्म सोमः स्यादिति लिङैव विधीयते । “यद्वा सोमः
स्यादिति हेतौ लिङ् । गृह्णीयादिति विधौ । तेनैतदुक्तं भवति—
रथन्तरसाम सोमहेतुकानैन्द्रवायवाग्रहान् गृह्णीयादिति । अक्रिय-
माणस्य हेतुत्वासम्भवात् अर्थात् सोमविधिः । अथ वा हेतुमति
गृह्णीयादिति लिङ् । सोमः स्यादिति विधौ हेतुमदाक्षिप्तं च
हेतुत्वं सन्निधानात् सोमस्यैव एवं च ग्रहाग्रताविशेषरूपफलकारण-
भूतः सोमयागः कर्तव्य इति । आह च—

यदि शब्दपरित्यागो रूच्यध्याहारकल्पना ।

व्यवधानेन सम्बन्धो हेतुहेतुमतोऽस्य लिङ्^६” ॥

१ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ५७८ ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १५९-१६० ।

३ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ५७९ ।

४ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १६० ।

५-६ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ५८१ ।

किञ्च “प्रातःसवने ग्रहग्रता भवति । रथन्तरं तु माध्यंदिने ।
न चोत्तरभाविनो निमित्ततासम्भवः^१” । तस्य पाक्षिकतया असत्ता-
व्युदासेन सत्तयैव विशेषकत्वात् । “यदि तु सामान्तरमेव व्यव-
च्छेत्तव्यमित्याग्रहः तथापि वैकल्पिकयोर्दृष्टद्वयन्तरयोरेव परस्पर-
विरोधिनोर्यवच्छेदोस्तु न त्वविरोधिनां सामान्तराणाम् । न हि
नीलमुत्पलमित्युक्ते पीतादयद्रवदैर्घ्यादयोपि व्यवच्छिद्यन्ते^२” । अस्ति
“चानपेक्षस्यैव पृष्ठस्तोत्रसाधनत्वेन ज्योतिष्टोमान्वयः । तस्मात्तद्विशिष्टः
क्रतुर्निमित्तम् । बज्रब्रीहिणा तस्यैव प्राधान्येनाभिधानाच्च^३” । अस्तु
वा विशेषणमेव निमित्तं प्रथमप्रतीतत्वात्, अनित्यत्वात् आवश्यकत्वा-
च्चेति न यदिशब्दपरित्यागादिकल्प्यम् । न चेह निमित्तं स्वरूपे
लोपं करोति किं तु ज्ञायमानत्वेन अस्ति च वैकल्पिकानां क्रतुप्रक्रम
एवावधारणमिति सर्वमवदातम् ।

२ क्रत्वन्तरताधिकारताधिकरणम् ।

अवेष्टौ यज्ञसंयोगात् क्रतुप्रधानमुच्यते ॥ ३ ॥

“राजसूयप्रकरणे आग्नेयोऽष्टाकपालो हिरण्यं दक्षिणेत्यादिभि-
र्द्रव्यदेवतासंयोगैरवेष्टिं नामेष्टिं विधाय श्रूयते । ‘यदि ब्राह्मणो यजेत
बार्हस्पत्यं मध्ये निधायाहुतिमाहुतिं ऊत्वा तमभिघारयेत् यदि
राजन्य ऐन्द्रं यदि वैश्यो वैश्वदेव’मिति ।

तत्र किं राजसूयमध्यस्थाया एवावेष्टेर्वर्णविशेषसम्बन्धं प्राप्तमेव
निमित्तत्वेनोद्दिश्य तत्र नैमित्तिकं मध्ये निधानविशेषादि विधीयते
उताप्राप्तमेव ब्राह्मणादिसम्बद्धं प्रयोगान्तरमेव विधीयत इति संशयः ।

तत्र पूर्वाधिकरणन्यायेन निमित्तार्थानि ब्राह्मणादिश्रवणानि

१ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ५८९ ।

२-३ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १६१ ।

इति प्राप्तम् । राजसूयाधिकारो वर्णत्रयसाधारणः । न च राजोप-
पदवशात् चत्रियमात्रपरतेति वाच्यम् । राजशब्दस्य राज्ययोग-
निमित्तकतया त्रैवर्णिकसाधारण्यात् । आह च—

कर्त्ता राज्यस्य राजेति सर्वलोकेषु गीयते ।

महाविषयतैवञ्च शास्त्रस्यापि भविष्यति^१ ॥

एवञ्च यदिशब्दस्वरससिद्धा निमित्तत्वप्रतीतिरपि बाधनीया ।
“तस्मात्प्राप्तानामेव ब्राह्मणादीनां निमित्तार्थं श्रवणमिति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

क्रतुसम्बन्ध एवायं ब्राह्मणादेर्विधीयते ।

अप्राप्तवान्न राजा हि राज्ययोगात्प्रतीयते^२ ॥

राजानमभिषेचयेदिति ह्यभिषेकविधौ राज्ययोगात्प्रागेव चत्रिय-
मात्रे राजशब्दो वेदे प्रयुक्तः । तेन रूढमेव राजपदम् । न
च भाविसंज्ञाविज्ञानम् । भूतत्वेनैवोपपद्यमानत्वात् । यदिशब्दस्तु
निपातत्वाद्यथाकथञ्चिद्रुच्यध्याहारादिप्रागुक्तरीत्या नेयः । न च
राजस्य कर्त्तृत्वार्थं राजशब्दो व्युत्पादितः । किन्तु राज्ञः कर्मत्वार्थं
पत्यन्तपुरोहितादिभ्यो यगिति यकं विधाय राज्यशब्दो व्युत्पादितः ।
दृश्यते च चत्रियजातिमात्रेऽप्यान्ध्रविडादीनां राजशब्दप्रयोगः ।
शाब्दव्यवहारे च दृष्टार्थत्वात् स्नेच्छानामपि प्रामाण्यमिति पिक-
नेमाधिकरणे प्रतिपादितम् । बर्हिंराज्यादिशब्देषु च एकदेशेऽपि
जातिनिमित्तत्वे लभ्यमाने निमित्तान्तरं न कल्पनीयमिति निर्णीत-
प्रजापालनादिकर्त्तरि शूद्रादौ राजशब्दप्रयोगस्तु गौणः । अनेकार्थ-
त्वस्यान्याय्यत्वात् । तस्मात् चत्रियमात्रपरराजोपपदवशात् तस्मात्त्रा-
धिकारको राजसूयः । तदन्तर्गतायां चावेष्टौ ब्राह्मणादेः प्राप्त-

१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, प्र० ५८५-५८६ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, प्र० ५८८ ।

भावात् ब्राह्मणादिकर्तृकप्रयोगान्तरविधिरेवायमिति स्थितम् । न तु एतयान्नाद्यकामं याजयेदिति वर्णविशेषासम्बन्धेन प्रयोगवचनेन वर्णत्रयस्यापि प्राप्तौ निमित्तार्थश्रवणं किं न स्यादिति चेन्न । निश्चातश्च त्रिकर्तृकाया कर्त्तृन्तरे वचनान्तरेणाविधीयमानायाः पृथक् प्रयोगकारणाभावात् । राजसूयमध्यस्थाया एव संयोगपृथक्-
न्यायेन साधारणं स्वाराज्यं प्राप्तात्मिकां(?) चान्नाद्यं फलमिति हि प्राप्तम् । यथाध्ययनाधानयोर्निश्चातश्चैवर्णिककर्तृकत्वान्तदधीन-
सिद्धीनां अर्थिमात्रसम्बद्धानामपि कर्मणामपशूद्रविषयत्वं यथा वा राजकर्तृकत्ववशेन भोक्तृविशेषः । तत्र यदि ब्राह्मणमित्यनेन प्रयोगा-
न्तरे विहिते एतयान्नाद्यकाममित्यनेन तत्रैव फलं समर्थते ।

आह च—

“क्रतुमध्यप्रयोगो हि स्वाराज्येनैव पूरितः ।

साकाङ्क्षस्वितरस्तस्मात्तस्यैव फलसङ्गतिः^१ ॥

३ आधानस्य विधेयत्वाधिकरणम् ।

आधाने सर्वशेषत्वात् ॥ ४ ॥

‘वसन्ते ब्राह्मणोऽग्नीनादधीत ग्रीष्मे राजन्यः शरदि वैश्यः’ इति ।
तथा ‘वसन्ते ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत ग्रीष्मे राजन्यं शरदि वैश्यमिति ।

“तत्र किं ब्राह्मणादीनां आधानोपनयनयोः प्राप्तानां वसन्तादि-
कालं प्रति निमित्तार्थानि श्रवणानि उत प्रापकानीति संशयः ।

तत्र—

विना नैवाग्निविद्याभ्यां क्रतुमुष्ठानसम्भवः ।

अग्निविद्ये न च स्यातामाधानोपनयौ विना^२ ॥

१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ५८४ ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १६४ ।

न हि गुरुमनुपेत्य विद्या लभ्यते नाप्याधानमन्तरेणाहव-
नीयादयः । तदेकोपायत्वात् । ‘नक्तं गार्हपत्यमादधाति दिवा-
ऽऽहवनीय’मित्यादिगुणवाक्यालोचनेन ह्येतत् ज्ञायते नूनमाधाना-
धीनमाहवनीयत्वादिति । वसन्तादिवाक्यैराधानविधिरिति पक्षेऽपि
हि एषैव गतिः । वसन्तादिवाक्येष्वाहवनीयादिशब्दाभावेन गुण-
वाक्यालोचनेनैव तद्वगमात् । अतोऽग्निविद्यासाध्यैः क्रतुभिस्तदु-
पायभूतयोरुपनयनाधानयोरप्युपपत्तिः प्राप्तिः । अथ वा ‘य एवं
विद्वानग्निमाधत्ते’ इति सर्ववर्णनामाधानविधायकं गुणानप-
हृतविधिशक्तिकं वचनमस्ति । वसन्तादिविधयस्तु गुणापहृतशक्ति-
कत्वात् ब्राह्मणादिनिमित्तकं कालमात्रं विदधति ।

आह च—

“सामर्थ्याच्चित्तमाधानं सामान्यवचनेन वा ।

तस्माद्वर्णविशेषाणां निमित्तार्था पुनः श्रुतिः^१” ॥

एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमहे—

“प्रत्यक्षविधिसङ्गात्वात् लभ्यते नानुमानिकः ।

प्रापकत्वमतो नार्थवर्त्तमानापदेशयोः^२” ॥

न तावन्नित्यमर्थस्य प्रापकत्वम् । क्रतुविधयो हि अग्नि-
विद्यामात्रसाध्याः । अग्नयस्तु यद्यप्याधानसाध्यास्तथापि न तेनैव
निष्पाद्याः । अन्येन निष्पादितानां क्रयादिभिरपि प्राप्तिसम्भवात् ।

आह च—

“सत्यं प्रथममाधानादुत्पद्यन्तेऽग्नयस्त्रयः ।

पश्चात्तु ब्रीहिवत्तेषां नोपायान्तरवारणम्^३” ॥

१-२ तन्त्रवार्तिक, ४० ५८६ ।

३ तन्त्रवार्तिक, ४० ५८८ ।

तथा विद्यापि पुस्तकनिरीक्षणाद्युपायसम्भवात् नैकान्तत उप-
नयनमाक्षिपति ।

किञ्च प्रत्यक्षवचनेनैवान्यथानुपपत्तिलभ्यश्रुतिपरिग्रहो सङ्गतः ।
'य एवं विद्वानित्यपि वर्त्तमानापदेशः प्रत्यक्षायां लिङि लभ्य-
मानायां न विधिशक्तिं लभते । किन्तु सम्भारविधिं स्तौति ।
तस्मादसन्तादिवाक्यानि ब्राह्मणवसन्तादिविशिष्टस्याधानस्योपनयनस्य
च विधायकानीति । एवञ्च पूर्वोक्त्यन्तिविशिष्टगुणावरोधादुत्तरोत्तरो
गुणः कर्मान्तरं कल्पयति । तेन त्रीणाधानानि । स्वार्था एव
चाग्नयः । आत्मनेपदनिर्देशात् । शूद्रस्य चाप्राप्तिरिति सिद्ध्यति ।
पूर्वपक्षे तु सर्वं विपरीतं स्यात् ।

४ दाक्षायणादीनां गुणताधिकरणम् ।

अयनेषु चोदनान्तरं संज्ञोपबन्धात् ॥ ५ ॥

दर्शपूर्णमासयोः श्रूयते 'दाक्षायणयज्ञेन स्वर्गकामो यजेत तथा
साकंप्रस्थायीयेन यजेत पशुकाम' इति । तत्र किं कर्मान्तर-
विधिः उत दर्शपूर्णमासयोरेव गुणात् फलमिति संशये कर्मान्तर-
तेति प्राप्ता । तथा हि—दाक्षायणादिसंज्ञायुक्तस्य गुणस्याप्रसिद्धत्वा-
दुद्भिदादिवत्सामानाधिकरण्येन नामधेयत्वम् । नाम्ना च भेदो
ज्योतिरादिवत् ।

अपि च विधेयान्तराभावेन फलोद्देशेनेह कर्मण एव विधेयत्वा-
दभ्यासादपि भेद इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“ स्यादेवं नामधेयत्वे गुणस्त्वत्र विधीयते ।

फलाय साकं प्रस्थानमावृत्तिश्चेत्यभिन्नता^१ ” ॥

नामत्वे हि संज्ञालक्षणोऽभ्यासलक्षणो वा कर्मभेदः स्यात् । अयं तु गुणविधिः । यद्यपि लोकप्रसिद्धो गुणः तथापि वाक्यशेषा-
दवयवव्युत्पत्त्या चावृत्तिसहप्रस्थानलक्षणगुणवचनत्वमनयोरवगम्यते ।
त्रिंशत् वर्षाणि दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां यजेत । यदि दाक्षायण्याजा-
स्यादयोपि(?) पञ्चदश वर्षाणि यजेत अत्र ह्येवं सा सम्पत्सम्पद्यते ।
दे हि तत्र पौर्णमास्यौ द्वे अमावास्या इति वाक्यशेषः दक्षः
श्रीघ्नकारौ यजमानः तदीया ऋत्विजो दाक्षाः तेषामयनं पुनः
पुनः प्रयोगः । स च यज्ञाश्रितत्वाद्दाक्षायणयज्ञ इत्युच्यते । साकं
प्रस्थाप्ये तु सास्त्राव्यमनवदाय कुम्भीभ्यामेव साकं प्रस्थीयत इति
गुणवचनत्वनिर्णयः । अतः प्रकृतयागाश्रितौ गुणौ फलाय विधी-
येते दध्यादिवत् । इयानेव भेदः दध्यादेरर्थान्तरे निरूढत्वात्
न नामधेयत्वम् । दाक्षायणादेस्तु द्वे हीत्यादिवाक्यशेषबलेन
दर्शपौर्णमासिकगुणवचनत्वावगमादिति ।

५ द्रव्यदेवतायुक्तानां यागान्तराधिकरणम् ।

संस्कारश्चाप्रकरणेऽकर्मशब्दत्वात् ॥ १२ ॥

‘वायव्यं श्वेतमालभेत भृतिकामः । सौर्यं चरुं निर्वपेत्
ब्रह्मवर्चसकामः’ इत्यनारभ्याधीतम् । तथा ‘दर्शपूर्णमासयोरौषा^१-
मालभेत तथा चतुरो मुष्टीनिर्वपेदिति ।

तत्र किं दर्शपूर्णमासिकयोरौषालम्भमुष्टिनिर्वापयोः श्वेतचरु गुणौ
विधीयेते किं वा यावदुक्ते कर्मान्तरे आहोस्वित् यागौ विधीयेते
इति संशयः ।

“तत्र विधिगौरवान्न कर्मान्तरं यागस्त्वश्रुतः । न चासति यागे
देवतात्वम् । किन्तु सर्ववृक्षाणां वायुसम्बन्धात् कथंचिदीषाया एव

१ ईषा निर्वापार्थशकटावयवभूतदाक्षविशेषः ।

वायव्यमित्यनुवादः । तेजोदैवत्यसाम्याच्च । आग्नेयस्यैव सौर्यमित्य-
नुवादः । अतो दार्शपौर्णमासिकयोरालम्भनिर्वापयोः गुणौ विधीयते ।
यदालभेत तत् श्वेतमिति । सामान्ये नपुंसकम् । यन्निर्वपेत्
तच्चरमिति । चरुशब्दश्च त्रिवृच्चर्वधिकरणपूर्वपक्षन्यायेन स्थाली-
वचनः । सप्तम्यर्थं द्वितीया । स्थात्यां निर्वपेदित्यर्थः । भूतिकाम-
ब्रह्मवर्चसकामशब्दौ तु सार्वकाम्यप्राप्तानुवादाविति^१ ॥

नैतद्युक्तम् । नित्यवत् श्रुतयोः पात्तिकानुवादत्वायोगात् ।
आनर्थक्यायोगाच्च । तस्मात् गुणफलविशिष्टं कर्मान्तरं यावदुक्तं
विधीयते । देवतापदं तु प्राग्वदेव कथञ्चिन्नेयमिति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“देवतापदवैयर्थ्यं यावदुक्तविधौ भवेत् ।

तेन तत्कल्पितो यागो विधेयोऽत्राश्रुतोऽपि सन्^२ ॥

न हि यदेव प्रत्यक्षपठितं तदेव शाब्दम् । सामर्थ्यस्यापि
शब्दकल्पकताया उक्तत्वात् । अतो द्रव्यदेवतासम्बन्धकल्पितो यागो
विधीयते । आलम्भस्तु चोदकप्राप्तोऽनूद्यते । अग्नीषोमीयेऽप्यनेनैव
यजिमत्वसिद्धिः । पशुसोमाधिकरणे हि किमनुवादकत्वमुत विधा-
यकत्वमित्येव विचारितम् ।

सिद्धे तु विधायकत्वे किं तद्विधेयमित्याकाङ्क्षायामेतदधि-
करणाधीनो यागत्वनिर्णय इति न पौनरुक्त्यम् ।

ई वत्सालम्भादीनां संस्कारताधिकरणम् ।

विशये प्रायदर्शनात् ॥ १६ ॥

अग्निहोत्रदोहाधिकारे श्रुतम्—‘वत्समालभेते’ति । अत्रापि
पूर्ववद्वागविधिरिति मन्वानं प्रति उत्तरमुच्यते—द्रव्यदेवतासम्बन्धा-

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १६६-१६७ ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १६७ ।

न्ययानुपपत्त्या हि पूर्वं यजिः कल्पितः । न चेह सोस्ति न च प्राणि-
द्रव्यकालम्भनत्वसाम्याद्यागसिद्धिः, अप्रयोजकत्वात् । लौकिकालम्भे
यभिचाराच्च । आलभतिस्तु स्पर्शमात्रवाची । तस्मात् स्पर्शमात्रं
वत्ससंस्कारो विधीयते । एवञ्च दोहनादिसंस्कारकर्मप्राथदर्शन-
मप्युपपद्यते । दृष्टार्थलाभाच्च । गोप्रसूवनहेतुत्वात् । वत्सनिकान्ता
हि पशव इति वत्सप्रियत्वस्य हेतुवन्निगदोऽर्थवादोऽपि एवं संगच्छते^१ ।

७ नैवारचरोराधानार्थताधिकरणम् ।

संयुक्तस्त्वर्थशब्देन तदर्थः श्रुतिसंयोगात् ॥ १८ ॥

‘चरमुपदधाति वृहस्पतेर्वा एतदन्नं यन्नीवारा’ इति श्रूयते ।
तत्र किं चरोरुपधानमात्रमुत याग इति संग्रहे याग इति प्राप्तम् ।
आर्यवादिकद्रव्यदेवतासम्बन्धात् । तैत्तिरीयाणां तु बार्हस्पत्यो
भवतीति तद्धितेनैव वाक्यशेषे देवतात्वमुक्तम् । तस्माद्यागार्थश्वरः
उपधानं तु खिष्टकृदादिप्रत्याम्नायेन उपयुक्तस्य चरोः प्रतिपत्तिः ।
एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

विधुद्देशापेक्षितो हि विशेषो वाक्यशेषाद्गृह्यते न त्वनपेक्षितः ।
चरस्तु यागाङ्गभूताग्निधारणार्थं स्थण्डिलनिर्वृत्तिशेषत्वेन प्रत्यक्षविहितः
नार्थान्तरमपेक्षते । तैत्तिरीयवाक्यमपि वर्त्तमानापदेशत्वान्न देवता-
विधायकम् । न चोपधानस्य यागवद्देवतापेक्षा यतो वाक्यशेषगता
देवता गृह्यते । अतोऽर्थवादमात्रम् । न चेयं प्रतिपत्तिः प्रथमं
प्रयोजनवत्त्वानवगमात् । न च द्वितीयानिर्देशविरोधः । उपधान-
संस्कृतस्यैव चरोः स्थलनिर्वर्त्तकत्वात् उपधानं प्रति प्राधान्यात् ।
अध्ययनसंस्कृतस्य स्वाध्यायस्य त्वप्रत्ययोक्तकर्मत्ववदुपपत्तिः ।

८ पान्नीवतस्य पर्यग्निकरणगुणकत्वाधिकरणम् ।

पान्नीवते तु पूर्ववत्त्वादवच्छेदः ॥ १६ ॥

‘त्वाङ्गं पान्नीवतमालभेते’ति प्रकृत्य ‘पर्यग्निकृतं पान्नीवतसु-
सृजन्ती’ति श्रुतम् ।

तत्र किं पर्यग्निकरणान्ताङ्गविधिरुत तत्संस्थयागविधिरिति प्राप्तम् ।
तथा हि—पर्यग्निकृतं पान्नीवतं कुर्यादिति सम्बन्धः । न तु पर्यग्न-
िकृतसुसृजन्तीति व्यवहितान्वयापत्तेः । न च पान्नीवतशब्देन पूर्व-
यागप्रत्यभिज्ञानं त्वष्टा हि पन्नीवांस्तत्र देवता न केवलः पन्नीवान् ।
यथाग्नेयमित्यग्नीषोमीयस्याग्रहणं तथेहापि । किञ्च पूर्वत्र विधेयो
गुण इह दुर्लभः । न हि पर्यग्निकरणे विधेयम् । चोदकप्राप्तत्वात्,
पर्यग्निकरणविशिष्टपान्नीवतोद्देशेनोत्सर्गविधौ विशिष्टानुवादाद्वाक्य-
भेदः । न च पर्यग्नं कृत्वोत्सृजतीति क्रमः । तस्यापि चोदकप्राप्तेः ।
न च पर्यग्निकरणान्ताङ्गकलापः तस्यापि सिद्धेः । नाप्युत्तराङ्ग-
परिसंख्या त्रिदोषत्वात् । तस्मात् कर्मान्तरमिति प्राप्तेः—

“अभिधीयते—नात्राग्नेयवदसामर्थ्यं, उत्पत्तिवाक्ये हि त्वाङ्गं
पान्नीवतमिति प्रत्येकसुत्पन्नस्तद्धितः प्रत्येकमेव देवतात्वं गमयति ।
न चैवं विकल्पापत्तिः युगपदेकेन वाक्येन विधानात् । अतो
डित्य-डवित्ययोर्माता यथा डित्यमातेति शक्यते वक्तुं तथा पान्नी-
वतमपीति न कर्मान्तरत्वयुक्तम् । अत उत्सृजतिना पूर्वयागमनूद्य
पर्यग्निकरणान्ताङ्गकलापविधिः । तेन च कृत्प्रोपकारेण निराकाङ्क्षः
त्वाङ्गप्रयोगवचनो गृहमेधीयवन्नातिदेशमपेक्षते । उत्तराङ्गावच्छेदार्थ-
मिदं वाक्यमिति तु फलेनोच्यते । पर्यग्निकृतशब्दश्च प्राकृतपर्यग्न-

करणावस्थावचनस्तदन्ताङ्गकजापं गमयति । न हि पूर्वङ्गिष्वकृते-
स्वियमवस्था भवति ।

न च विशिष्टानुवाददोषः । प्राकृतोत्सर्गानुवादेन चाङ्ग-
रौतिविधौ पाद्वीवतशब्दस्य नित्यानुवादत्वात्^१ ” ।

६ अदाभ्यादीनां ग्रहनामताधिकरणम् ।

अद्रव्यत्वात् केवले कर्मशेषः स्यात् ॥ २० ॥

‘एष वै हविषा हविर्यजते योऽदाभं गृहीत्वा सोमाय यजते
परा वा एतस्यायुः प्राण एति योऽंशं गृह्णातीत्यनारभ्य श्रुतम् ।

तत्र किं ज्योतिष्टोमे ग्रहणविधिरुत यागान्तरविधिरिति
संशयः ।

“तत्र ग्रहणसंस्कारत्वात् अवघातादिवन्नामधेयानर्हतया याग-
नामधेयं अदाभं यजत इति । नाम च प्रकृतादपि भेदकं
किमुताप्रकृतात् ज्योतिष्टोमात् । अंगौ तु यद्यपि यजतिर्न श्रुतः
तथापि संज्ञयैव कर्मान्तरत्वे गृह्णातिचोदनासामान्यात् । ज्योति-
ष्टोमप्रकृतिकत्वे च तदीयविध्यन्तप्राप्तेर्द्रव्यदेवतासम्बन्धाद्यागो भवि-
ष्यति । तस्मात् यागान्तरे इत्येवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

संस्काराणां न नामानि वार्यन्ते राजशासनात् ।

आनन्तर्यादतः स्यातां ग्रहयोरेव नामनी ॥

अदाभ्ये श्रूयमाणोपि गुणसंक्रान्तशक्तिना ।

विधिना न विधातव्यो यागस्तेन न भिद्यते ॥

अंगौ त्वश्रुत एवेति विधेयौ केवलौ ग्रहौ ।

तयोर्गृह्णात्युपस्थानात् ज्योतिष्टोमेन संगतिः ॥

अथ वा तैत्तिरीयाणामनयोर्विनियोजकम् ।

अस्ति प्रकरणे वाक्यं तेन तादर्थ्यमेतयोः^१ ॥

“यथा हि साप्तदश्यस्थानारभ्यवादेन सामिधेनौसम्बन्धित-
(?भ)योत्पत्तिः प्राकरणिकैश्च विनियोगः तथेहापि बोध्यम्^२ ॥” ।

१० अग्निचयनस्यासंस्कारताधिकरणम् ।

अग्निस्तु लिङ्गदर्शनात् क्रतुशब्दः प्रतीयेत ॥ २१ ॥

‘य एवं विद्वानग्निश्चिनुते’ इति श्रुतम् । ‘ततोऽग्निमग्निष्टोमे-
नानुयजन्ति तमुक्थेन तमतिरात्रेणेत्यादि ।

तत्र संशयः— ‘अग्निं चिनुत’ इति किं यागविधिः उत
चयनमेव स्वतन्त्रं किं वा ज्योतिष्टोमादिषु गुणो विधियत इति ।

तत्र अग्निशब्दस्य तत्प्रत्ययन्यायेन नामधेयत्वात् संज्ञया कर्मान्तरे-
ऽवधारिते कौटुशं तत्कर्मत्याकाङ्क्षायां ‘अथातोऽग्नि’मिति संस्था-
विधिपरे वाक्ये यजतिनानुवादादुत्पत्तौ यागवचनोऽग्निशब्द इति
गम्यते । तेन हि अग्निष्टोमसंस्थेन यागेनाग्निमनुयजन्तीत्युच्यते ।
यदि चाग्निर्यागस्तदाऽसावनुयष्टुं शक्यते यथा देवदत्तमनुगच्छति
यज्ञदत्त इत्युक्ते यदि देवदत्तोऽपि गच्छति तदैवानुगमनमुपपद्यते ।
एवमनुयजनमपीति । तद्वलाद्यागसिद्धिरिति प्राप्ते—

अभिधीयते—

“अत्यन्तरूढिशब्दत्वाद्यागशब्दादिभिर्विना ।

ज्वलनं न परित्यज्य क्रतुरग्निः प्रतीयते^३ ॥” ॥

“यत्तु तत्प्रत्ययमस्तीति तत्तदा स्यात् यदि क्वञ्जत्वेनाग्नि-

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १७०-१७१ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० १६३ । अत्र ‘सामिधेनौसम्बन्धिभयोत्पत्तेः’ इति पाठः ।

३-४ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ६१५ । अत्र ‘वाक्यभेदादिभि’रिति पाठः ।

विधीयते । स तु प्राप्तकत्वज्ञभाव एव चयनसंस्कारतया श्रूयते । न च तादृष्येण कुतश्चित् प्राप्त इति तत्प्रत्ययशास्त्राभावः । तस्मादग्निशब्दस्य ज्वलनपरत्वात् चिनोतेश्च यागानभिधायकत्वात् चयनेनाग्निं संस्क्रयात् इति वाक्यार्थः । संस्कृतस्य च अथातोऽग्निमित्यादिभिः क्रतुसम्बन्धः । अनुयजतीतिशब्दः कथमिति चेत्,—

उच्यते—कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीया तेनाग्निचयनमनु अग्निष्टोमादिभिर्यष्ट्ये इति कत्वज्ञभावार्थमेव एतानि वचनानि, न चावश्यं तुल्यजातीययोरेव पौर्वापर्यमिति नियमः । पाकमनुसुक्त इति दर्शनात् । यत्र हि कर्तृमात्रमुपात्तं न तु क्रियान्तरं यथा देवदत्तं यज्ञदत्तोऽनुगच्छतीति तत्र तुल्यजातीयैव क्रिया कल्प्यत इत्युचितम् । इह तु अग्निशब्दस्य प्रकरणवशात् चयनसंस्कृतवह्निपरतया संस्कारोपात्तं चयनकर्मैव विद्यत इति वैषम्यम्^१ । तस्मान्न यागविधिर्नापि स्वतन्त्रं चयनं किन्तु ज्योतिष्टोमादिषु गुण इति सिद्धम् । चोदकेनैव प्राप्तानां विकृतिषु पुनः श्रवणस्य प्रयोजनं दृश्यमेव वक्ष्यते ।

११ मासाग्निहोत्रादीनां कृत्वनारताधिकरणम् ।

प्रकरणान्तरे प्रयोजनान्यत्वम् ॥ २४ ॥

कुण्डपायिनामयने श्रूयते—‘उपसद्भिश्चरित्वा मासमग्निहोत्रं जुह्वति, मासं दर्शपौर्णमासाभ्यां यजन्त’ इति ।

तत्र किं नैयमिकाग्निहोत्रादौ मासो विधीयते किं वा कर्मान्तरमिति संग्रहः । तत्र—

“अग्निहोत्रादिशब्देन पूर्वकर्मावरोधिनम् ।

न विप्रकर्षमात्रेण भेदरूपं प्रपद्यते^२ ॥

^१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ६१५-६१६ ।

^२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ६१७ ।

यथैव वलभ्यां पाटलिपुत्रे वा अग्निहोत्रशब्दो नार्थान्तरं प्रतिपादयति एवं प्रकरणान्तरेऽपि । तद्विशेषितश्च जुहोतिरपि नार्थान्तरे वर्त्तते । तत्र च मासो विधीयते अनुपादेयत्वेऽपि तस्याप्राप्तत्वेन विधेयत्वात् । कर्म तु यद्यप्युपादीयते तथापि न विधीयते प्राप्तत्वात् । किन्त्वनूद्यते विधिनिबन्धनश्च भेदो नोपादाननिबन्धनः । न च यावज्जीवकालावच्छेदे मासविद्य-सम्भवः । उत्पन्नशिष्टयोर्भयोस्तुल्यबलत्वेन विकल्पोपपत्तेः । काम्ये वा प्रयोगे कालविशेषविधानात् । न च प्रकरणबाधप्रसङ्गः । वाक्येन तद्बाधस्थेष्टत्वात् । न च जुहति इति कर्त्तृत्व इत्वेन कर्मभेदः । तावता प्रत्यभिज्ञानपाचात् । कर्मभेद इति प्राप्तेऽभिधीयते— कर्मान्तरमिति ।

तथा हि— यदि शुद्धो मासो विधीयेत ततः पूर्वकर्मानुवादे बुद्धिर्भवेत् । न त्वेतदस्ति उपसदुत्तरकालत्वश्रवणात् विद्यमानाभिरुपसङ्गिः कालो लक्षयितुं शक्यते । न च नैयमिकाग्निहोत्रे ताः सन्ति, तथा च तदुत्तरकालत्वमासलक्षणगुणद्वयविधाने वाक्यभेदादिति भाव्यकारः ।

आचार्यस्तु एवं सति गुणाद्भेद इत्युक्तं स्यात् । न तु प्रकरणान्तरात् । मासं दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां यजेतेत्यादावुक्तप्रकारासम्भवाच्च । न हि तत्राप्युपसदः श्रुताः । येन वाक्यभेदः । न च तत्राप्युपसङ्गिश्चरित्वेत्यस्यानुषङ्गः । अग्निहोत्रसम्बन्धेनैव तस्य नैराकाङ्क्षात् । तस्मादेवं समाधेयम्—

इह हि मासमित्यादिनाऽनुपादेयकालसम्बन्धोऽवगम्यते । न च तस्य विधेयता सम्भवतीति । तत्र कर्मैव विधेयं विधेयञ्चेत् कर्म अन्यदेव । अप्राप्तगोचरत्वात् विधेः । न चैवं सायं प्रातर्जुहोती-

त्यादावपि कर्मान्तरत्वप्रसङ्ग इति वाच्यम् । तत्प्रकरणवृत्तितया स्फुटतरेण प्रत्यभिज्ञानेन त्रैतुर्गिककर्मस्वरूपपरतामपोद्य साय-
मादिविनियोगमात्रपरत्वाभ्युपगमात् । कृते तु तद्वृद्धिविच्छेदादयं
वादाभावेन त्रैतुर्गिकाप्राप्तकर्मस्वरूपविषयत्वस्थापनेतुमशक्यत्वात् ।
न तु

“सन्निधानोपनीतं चेत् कर्म नोत्पद्यते पुनः ।

नामधेयोपनीतं तत्तत्र नोत्पद्यतेतराम् ॥

वाक्यान्तरगतमपि हि सन्निधानमात्रेण प्रत्यभिज्ञायमानं न
भिद्यत इति । यदि तर्हि स्ववाक्यगतेनाग्निहोत्रनाम्ना उपनीत-
मानं न प्रत्यभिज्ञास्यत इति कुत इति चेत्—न । एवमपि
भावनाभेदानपायात् । सामानाधिकरण्येन हि धात्वर्थस्यैव नाम-
धेयं न तु भावनायाः । तस्माद्भावनाभेद एव प्रयोजनान्वयम् ।

आह च—

नाम्ना धात्वर्थमात्रं च सन्निधायेत शक्तिः ।

भावना त्वनुपस्थानात् भिद्यमानावधार्यते^१ ॥

वस्तुतस्तु धात्वर्थोऽपि भिद्यते । नाम्नामाख्यातपरतन्त्रत्वेन
आख्यातवृत्तिं प्रतीक्षमाणेषु मासं जुहोतीति जुहोतिपदमात्रसंगता-
वालोक्यमानायामन्यस्य जुहोत्यादेरप्रत्यभिज्ञानं स्वप्रकरणेऽविपरि-
वर्तमानत्वात् ।

“किञ्च असत्त्वभूतो हि धात्वर्थोऽत्र जुहोतिना विधेरुपनीयते ।
अग्निहोत्रादिपदैस्तु न तादृशस्याभिधानात्^२” । किन्तु द्रव्यभूतस्य
लिङ्गसंख्यायोग्यस्यातः प्रत्यभिज्ञाभावाद्भेद एव ।

१ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ६९१ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ६९२ ।

आह च—

“ धात्वर्थोऽपि यथाऽऽख्यानं सत्त्वभूतः प्रतीयते ।

सत्त्वाभिधायिना नाम्ना तादृङ्गैवोपनीयते ॥

सत्रे तु यज्यश्रवणाङ्गाममात्रोपनीतप्रकृतयागप्रत्यभिज्ञानात्तद्-
भावनामात्रभेदः^१” । चत्वारोऽभिज्ञवा इत्यादौ न ह्यत्र नामविलक्षणो
धातुः श्रूयते ।

आह च—

“ भिद्यते भावनामात्रं धात्वर्थो नायजिश्रुतेः ।

नाम्ना हि तदुपादानं आत्मनोपायि चोदिते^२” ॥

१२ आग्नेयादिकाम्येष्ट्यधिकरणम् ।

फलं चाकर्मसन्निधौ ॥ २५ ॥

‘ आग्नेयमष्टाकपालं निर्वपेद् रुक्कामः ’ इत्यनारभ्य श्रुतं तथा
‘ चैधातव्या दीक्षणीये’त्यश्वमेधे श्रुतम् ।

तत्र किं प्रकृते आग्नेये फलविधिः काम्ये च चैधातव्ये कर्मणि
दीक्षणीया कार्यभूतयजमानसंस्कारविधिः उतोभयत्र कर्मान्तर-
विधिरिति संशयः ।

“ तदिह पूर्वत्र प्रकरणान्तरग्रहणान्तदेव भेदकं नासन्निधान-
मात्रमिति यो मन्यते । यो वा फलस्योपादेयत्वं मन्यते शक्यते
हि तद्दर्शपूर्णमासस्थेनापि कामयितुं न तु मासादिवदशक्यसंपादन-
मिति । तन्निरासायोच्यते । पूर्वत्राप्यविपरिवृत्तिकारणत्वादसन्नि-
धानमेव भेदका तच्चेहाप्यस्ति प्रकरणान्तरं तु कचित्सदपि न
व्याप्रियते । फलं तु यद्यपि कामयितुं शक्यते तथापि स्वरसा-

१ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ६१२ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ६१२ ।

देव तत्काममुद्दिश्य साधनमेवोपादेयं न तु फलम् । फलत्व-
व्याघातात् । विधीयमानं हि तदङ्गमेव स्यात् । एवं संस्कारेऽपि
द्रष्टव्यम् । न चाग्नेयेऽग्निहोत्रवन्नामधेयत्वमस्ति येनाभेदाशङ्काऽपि
तावत् स्यात्^१ । “यद्यपि चात्र अतिरात्रादिवदेव यज्यश्रवणं
तथापि प्राक् यज्यनुमानात् तद्वितान्तपदयुक्तवाक्यापरिसमाप्ते-
र्वाच्यान्तरस्थस्थानपेक्षणात् कर्मान्तरत्वम् । फलसंस्कार्ययोरिह
विचारः^२ । देशनिमित्ते तु पूर्वत्रैवोदाहरण्ये । दक्षिणेन तीरेण
सरस्वत्याः आग्नेयेनाष्टाकपालेन शस्यापरासमीयादिति देशोदा-
हरणम् । सत्ता यावज्जुर्विश्वजिता यजेतेति निमित्तस्योदाहरणम् ॥

१३ अवेष्टेरन्नाद्यफलकत्वाधिकरणम् ।

सन्निधौ त्वविभागात्फलार्थेन पुनः श्रुतिः ॥ २६ ॥

देशकालनिमित्तफलसंस्कार्याणामसन्निधिप्रत्युदाहरणार्थमिदम् ।
‘समे दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां यजेत, पौर्णमास्यां पौर्णमास्या यजेत,
यावज्जीवं दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां यजेत, एतयान्नाद्यकामं याजयेत शेषात्
स्विष्टकृते समवद्यती’ति श्रुतम् ।

“अत्रापि तावद्देशादेरुद्देशात् कर्म तत् प्रति ।

उपादेयं तथा च स्याद्विधेयं तेन भिद्यते^३ ॥

एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“सन्निधावविभक्तत्वं कर्मणः प्रत्यभिज्ञया ।

गम्यते तेन तस्यैव फलाद्यर्था पुनः श्रुतिः^४ ॥

“निर्देशगतस्वातन्त्र्यपारतन्त्र्यात्मके उद्देशोपादाने प्राप्यप्राप्तिवशौ

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १७५-१७६ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ६२३ ।

३-४ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १७७ ।

तु विध्यनुवादौ । अतस्तयोस्ताभ्यां भेदादुपादेयमपि कर्म देश-
कालयोः प्राप्तं तद्रूपमेव प्रत्यभिज्ञायत इत्यनुवादम् । तस्य च
देशकालसम्बन्धमात्रमप्राप्तं विधीयत इति न कर्मभेदः । न तु
देशकालयोर्विधेयत्वादस्येवम् । निमित्तफलसंस्कार्याणां तु अवि-
धेयत्वात् कर्मैव विधेयम् । अतो भिद्येतेति चेत्—

सत्यं कर्म विधातव्यं तथापि तु न भिद्यते ।

उत्पत्तिविधिभेदे हि भेदो नास्ति च सोऽत्र नः^१ ॥

“कर्त्तव्यतामात्रं ह्युत्पत्तिवाक्यादेवावगतम् । तत्र कस्मिन्निमित्ते
कस्मै वा कामायेति विशेषापेक्षायां उत्पन्नस्यैव कर्मणो नैमित्तिकी
कर्त्तव्यता निमित्तवाक्ये प्रतिपाद्यते । फलविनियोगश्च फलवाक्ये
संस्कारविनियोगश्च तद्वाक्ये इत्यकर्मकभेदः^२ ॥

आह च—

“भिन्ने हि विधिसामर्थ्ये उत्पत्तिविनियोगयोः ।

तत्र सत्यां गतावेकमसत्यां तद्व्यं भवेत्^१ ॥

१४ आग्नेयद्विरुक्तेः स्तुत्यर्थताधिकरणम् ।

आग्नेयस्त्वक्तहेतुत्वादभ्यासेन प्रतीयेत ॥ २७ ॥

दर्शपूर्णमासयोः ‘यदाग्नेयोऽष्टाकपालोऽमावास्यायां पौर्णमास्या-
ञ्चाच्युतो भवती’ति कालद्वययुक्तमाग्नेयस्यैकं वचनं, अपरन्तु यदा-
ग्नेयोऽष्टाकपालोऽमावास्यायां भवतीत्येव कालयुक्तम् ।

तत्र किमुभयत्र विहितादाग्नेयात् कर्मान्तरमिदममावास्यायां
विधीयते उत तस्यैवानुवाद इति संशये—अभ्यासात् कर्मान्तरमिति
प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

१-२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १७७ ।

३ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ६२४ ।

“कर्मणः प्रत्यभिज्ञानात् अविभागः प्रतीयते ।

ऐन्द्राग्नस्य प्रशंसार्था तस्यैवैषा पुनः श्रुतिः^१” ॥

इन्द्रस्य हितो ह्यग्निः समीचीनः । तस्मादैन्द्राग्नः कर्त्तव्यः ।
आग्नेयस्त्वष्टाकपालोऽमावास्यायां भवत्येव न केवलेनाग्निनेह साधुत्व-
मिति ॥

इति श्रीमौमांसाशास्त्रसर्वस्वे द्वितीयाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ।

अथ द्वितीयाध्याये चतुर्थः पादः ।



१ यावज्जीविकाग्निहोत्राधिकरणम् ।

यावज्जीविकोऽभ्यासः कर्मधर्मः प्रकरणात् ॥ १ ॥

भेदप्रसङ्गात् प्रयोगभेदाभेदचिन्ता ‘दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां स्वर्गकामो
यजेते’ति काम्यं प्रयोगं विधायान्नायते— यावज्जीवं दर्शपूर्ण-
मासाभ्यां यजेतेति ।

तच्च किं काम्यप्रयोग एव यावज्जीविकत्वं गुणो विधीयते
उत पुरुषार्थनियम इति संशयः ।

तच्च कर्माङ्गविधौ कर्म कथं भावसम्बन्धात् प्रकरणानुग्रहः ।
अतोऽभ्यासविधिः । यावज्जीविकालं यागमभ्यसेदिति ।

सिद्धान्तस्तु

“यावज्जीवपदे काललक्षणैवं प्रसज्यते ।

यजिना च तदभ्यासलक्षणा प्रक्रियावशात्^२” ॥

(To be continued.)

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Jasahara-chariu by Pushpadanta, edited by Dr. P. L. Vaidya, D.Litt. (Paris), Professor of Sanskrit and Allied Languages, Fergusson College, Poona, published by the Karanja Jain Publication Society, 1931 (*Karanja Jain Series*, No. 1), 9½" x 6", pp. 20 + 100 + 74 + 4, Introduction, Text, Glossary, and Notes. Price Rs. 6/8.

Mr. Hira Lal in his *C.P. Catalogue* brought out the importance of this and other Jaina texts in Apabhramśa preserved in the Bhāṇḍāra at Karañjā (Berar). Now, thanks to the liberality of Mr. Gopal Ambadas Chawre, a series has been started by a band of Digambara Jaina Scholars to publish the Karañjā Texts. Its first item is Pushpadanta's *Jasahara-chariu* (*Yaśo-dhara-charita*). Pushpadanta wrote this work at Mānyakheta in the latter half of the tenth century A.D. The Editor has utilized 7 MSS. in preparing the edition. He has executed his work with success. He has yet given us no discussion on Pushpadanta's language. Prof. H. L. Jain, the general editor of the Series, points out that this Western Apabhramśa is the immediate forerunner of three vernaculars, Hindī, Gujarātī and Marāṭhī. When samples of the Apabhramśa were published by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal in his *Catalogue*, its connection with Hindī was pointed in this Journal (J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XIII, p. 301) and elsewhere. Dr. Vaidya's results from the pointview of Marāṭhī will be awaited, for Pushpadanta wrote in the Maratha Country. This is the second book in Western Apabhramśa which has been printed, the first being Dhanapāla's *Bhavishyat-Kathā*, edited by Prof. Jacobi (1918).

The Digambara Jain Community is to be congratulated on starting a second series of theirs in this Karañjā Chawre Granthamālā. The Manikchand Jaina Granthamālā of Bombay has already published important Sanskrit and some Prakrit books. The peculiar feature attaching to the Karañjā Series is that it proposes to publish the literature in a special language which is yet to be studied.

K. P. J.

'The Kadamba Kula: A History of Ancient and Mediæval Karnāṭaka' by George M. Moraes, M.A., with a preface by Rev. H. Heras, S.J., Director, Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay; published by B. X. Furtado and Sons, Bombay, 1931, 9½" x 6", pp. 317 + appendices 157 pages, with 56 illustrations and 4 maps, index, etc. Price Rs. 15.

This is a history of the Kadamba Dynasty and a history of Karnāṭaka (including Kuntala) from the beginning of the fourth century to the middle of the fourteenth century, that is, to the rise of the Vijayanagara Empire. Both the author and his *guru* and guide, Father Heras, are to be congratulated on the production.

Mr. Moraes was not satisfied with the materials available for a history of the Kadamba Dynasties, considering the fact that they cover over a thousand years. He consequently undertook a tour of research under the guidance of Father Heras through the Districts of Belgaun, Dharwar, North Kanara, the state of Mysore, and Goa. He made searches for inscriptions, studied the topography, the architecture and sculptures of his period; he took 106 photographs of temples, forts, coin, etc. He has been able to utilize no less than twenty-three new inscriptions which he has now published as an appendix to his book. His new materials have enabled him to give proper value to the Kadamba history and Kadamba architecture—the basis of the Hoysala architecture.

The book is divided into eight sections: (1) Historical Introduction, (2) Early Kadambas, (3) Banavāsī under Foreign Domination (Chālukyas and Rāshtrakūṭas), (4) the Kadambas of Hangal, (5) the Kadambas of Goa, (6) the Minor Kadamba Dynasties (including the Kadambas of Kaliṅga), (7) the Internal History (Administration and Culture, pp. 245–319), (8) the Kadamba Geography. [Appendices on the Kadamba Lion (royal symbol), Kadamba coins, and unpublished inscriptions.] The work has been executed with labour and judgment. It will remain as one of the leading text-books of provincial histories. Provincial histories are needed. Therein an author finds a definite scope for an intensive study. Geographical problems,

trade, towns and ports, battlefields, forts and fortresses, temples, agrahāras, and monasteries, all receive their proper share of attention, as they have received in Mr. Moraes' volume. The value of such studies is well illustrated by the present work. Before Mr. Moraes' manual, the Kadambas were somewhat of a mere name. Now with the maps and other materials, they emerge as the link between the Gupta Empire and the South. The importance of the Kadamba kingdom and family, worthy enough of a marriage alliance with the Imperial Guptas, and the embassy of Kālidāsa from Chandragupta Vikramāditya to the Lord of Kuntala, become apparent when the whole picture is uncovered.

Mr. Moraes brings the history of Karnāṭaka down to the time where Father Heras takes it up directly and completes by his volumes on Vijayanagara.

The conclusion of the author on the origin of the *Kadamba-Kula* is one of those matters where dissent will be struck by others. He holds them to be Southern and Dravidian. But *Mayūrasarman*, the founder of the family, was avowedly a Brahmin, belonging to the *Mānavya Gotra* (Talagunda insc.). Our author regards *Kadamba* as 'a plant characteristic of the South' (p. 10). But really it is a common tree of the north, famous at Mathurā, on the bank of the Jumna, and in the United Provinces of Agra generally. It is not the *cinchona* of the Mysore planters. We have it at Patna in almost every second compound. There is no valid reason to disregard the records regarding their Brahmin and northern origin.

K. P. J.

The Mahābhārata. *For the First Time Critically Edited By Vishnu S. Sukthankar, Ph.D., Poona. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1931. Ādiparvan : Fascicule 5.*

Dr. Sukthankar continues his difficult task with conscientious devotion, in pp. 401-640, bringing it down to the 149th chapter of the Ādiparvan. The variants, more than ever justify the necessity of such a reconstruction. Opinion may differ regarding the authenticity of the reconstituted text considering time and stratification, but the analysis of tradition and sifting of detail, will remain of lasting interest. In our review of Fascicules 1 and 2, in the J.B.O.R.S., March-June, 1929, we drew attention to the risk of a synthesis that confines itself to no single family of texts but takes note of all the families, and the Editor in the current fascicule, seems alive to the drawback: 'In fact I am now fully persuaded that with the epic text as preserved in the extant Mahābhārata MSS. we stand at the wrong end of a long chain of successive syntheses of divergent texts carried out in a haphazard fashion through centuries of diaskeuastic activities, and that with the possible exception of the Kāśmīrī version all other versions are indiscriminately conflated' (pp. III). We entirely agree. In any case the present reconstituted text is as reliable as can be expected under the circumstances.

A scrutiny of the Mahābhārata MSS. material as divided into recensions and versions, reminds one of the weakest points in Pargiter's Prakrit original of the present Sanskrit text. Pargiter presumes that a concatenation of copies can finally be traced back to a single authentic (written) archetype. The conflation of codices of the Mahābhārata MSS. after all attempts at successive disentanglements, reaches back to—*no archetype*. A fluid oral tradition for the first time embodied in a late Sanskrit text, and the texts differ according to their age and locality. The same probably happened in the case of the Purāṇas. Pargiter would have been more convincing if he had tried to localise his so-called Prakrit original in space and time. He would be confronted by the same difficulties that lie in the path of Dr. Sukthankar. Perhaps more so. After all, in the interdependence

of 'Itihāsa-Purāṇa', the Purāṇa forms, to a large extent, the background of the Epos.

Dr. Sukthankar's work is proceeding steadily. All Sanskrit scholars will wish it success.

A. B.-Ś.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of
the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,
held in the Society's office on August
2nd, 1931.

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James (in the chair).

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Mr. H. R. Batheja.

Dr. Harichand Sastri.

Mr. H. Lambert.

Mr. J. L. Hill.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Society, held on March 27th, 1931.
2. The monthly accounts for the months March to June, 1931, were submitted by the Hon. Treasurer and passed.
3. The following new members were elected :—
 - Mr. Anant Kumar Bose, Student, Patna College.
 - Mr. Sahasrabudhe, Secretary, Saraswati Vidyaranya Free Library, Hubli.
 - Mr. P. C. Chaudhuri, I.C.S., Subdivisional Officer, Bihar.
 - Mr. R. C. Pandit, Manager, Bank of Bihar, Ltd., Patna.
4. Resolved that the Kern Institute, Leiden, be put on the Society's Exchange list.
5. Considered the Report of the Auditor on the Society's finances.
 - (i) Sanctioned the sum of Rs. 8-12-6 drawn by Pandit Nagendranath Mahapatra in excess of his legitimate train fare in September, 1930.
 - (ii) Sanctioned the sum of Rs. 5-8-0 drawn by Pandit

Nagendranath Mahapatra to defray his expenses on September, 1930.

- (iii) Sanctioned the following amounts for conveyance hire to Mithila, Oriya and Office Pandits :—

	Rs. A. P.		
Mithila Pandit on 24th, 25th, 28th and 30th April, 1930	3	0	0
Mithila Pandit on 1st, 7th and 8th Feb., 1931 ..	2	4	0
Oriya Pandit on 16th and 22nd March, 1931 ..	1	8	0
Office Pandit on 2nd June, 1930 ..	1	8	0

- (iv) Sanctioned the payment of Rs. 107-5 and Rs. 67-5 to Dr. Stella Kramrisch and Prof. Radhakrishnam respectively, for travelling allowance and for necessary expenses incurred in connection with their lectures.

- (v) Sanctioned the following amounts spent during the years 1929-30 and 1930-31 in excess of budget allotments :—

	1929-30.	Rs. A. P.		
Paper for Journals	42	3	0
Stationery	1	6	9
	1930-31.			
Oriya Pandit	43	15	0
Telephone	35	14	0

- (vi) Resolved that in view of Resolution No. 6 of the proceedings of the meeting held on November 24th, 1929, the deficits in the stock of Journals disclosed in the tabular statement be written off.

Resolved further that the Librarian be requested to check the stock of Journals.

- (vii) Resolved that the sum of Rs. 22-10 said to be due from Prof. C. C. Singh on account of the cost of 100 extra reprints of his article be written off.

Resolved further that in future authors who desire reprints of their articles in excess of the 30 presentation copies allowed shall bear the whole expense for paper and printing charges, etc.

- (viii) Resolved that the Model Account Rules for the Society forwarded by Government be adopted.

6. Passed the Budget Estimate for 1932-33 and the Revised Budget for 1931-32.

7. Passed the Annual Accounts for 1930-31.

8. Received the report of the Hon. Secretary that he had sanctioned excess daily allowance to the Mithila Pandit for 2 days in February, 20 days in March and 12 days in June, 1931.

9. Nominated Mr. K. P. Jayaswal as delegate to attend the first Bombay Historical Congress to be held in December, 1931.

10. Read Government's letter of July 24th, 1931, on the subject of the sale of Sir George Grierson's Library.

Resolved that Sir George Grierson be asked the price of his set of 'The Asiatic Register.'

11. Read Government's Memorandum, dated July 30th, 1931, on the subject of the Census Report of 1931.

Resolved that Government be informed that it is essential that the Society possess the Census Report of 1931.

12. Resolved that Rs. 6,000 be withdrawn from the Current Account and put on fixed deposit for six months with the Allahabad Bank.

J. L. HILL,

5th September, 1931.

Honorary General Secretary.

Actuals for the year 1930-31.

INCOME.		EXPENDITURE.	
	Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.
Sale of Mithila MSS.	.. 22 8 0	Establishment ..	.. 1,255 6 10
Government Grant	.. 6,623 0 0	Mithila Pandit ..	.. 1,104 7 8
Postage recovered	.. 32 5 0	Oriya Pandit ..	.. 813 15 0
Sale of Purnea Report:	..	Telephone ..	.. 260 14 0
Government Grant	..	Paper ..	.. 288 4 6
Sale ..	.. 1,000 0 0	Printing charges ..	.. 2,235 7 0
Subscription	.. 650 0 0	Postage ..	.. 265 4 0
Sale proceeds of Journal	.. 2,148 11 7	Stationery ..	.. 89 0 6
Miscellaneous ..	.. 1,319 15 0	Library ..	.. 1,000 0 0
Opening Balance	.. 5,138 0 9*	Furniture ..	.. 75 12 0
	.. 5,994 9 1	Electrical charges ..	.. 339 6 0
		Miscellaneous ..	.. 6,561 12 0†
		Huthwa Fund ..	.. 3,818 6 1
		Darbhanga Fund ..	.. .. ..
		Mayurbhanj Fund ..	.. 3,261 1 2
		Closing Balance	TOTAL .. 21,369 0 9
			.. 1,560 0 8
			TOTAL .. 22,929 1 5

* This includes Rs. 5,000 0 0 Fixed deposit received back.
135 11 9 Interest on fixed deposit.
2 5 0 Miscellaneous.

TOTAL .. 5,138 0 9

† This includes Rs. 6,000 0 0 Sent to Bank for fixed deposit.
561 12 0 Miscellaneous, in which Rs. 25 is recoverable from All-India Oriental Conference.

TOTAL .. 6,561 12 0

The 2nd August, 1931.

SHAM BAHADUR,

Honorary Treasurer,

Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

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The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1931.

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Review of Philosophy and Religion, March, 1931.

Abbott, J. Totemism and the Marāṭhā 'Devak'.

Mahdi, Ali. Al'Farabi.

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Stein, O. Neurre Forschungen zur altindischen Sozialgeschichte, Rechts-und Staatsrechtsliteratur.

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Winternitz, M. Ein Hymnus an Savitar.

Journal Asiatique. Juillet-Septembre, 1930.

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Devanāgarī.	Roman.	Devanāgarī.	Roman.
अ	a	त	t
आ	ā	थ	th
इ	i	द	d
ई	ī	ध	dh
उ	u	न	n
ऊ	ū	प	p
ऋ	r or ri	फ	ph
ॠ	r̄ or rī	ब	b
ऌ	l	भ	bh
ॡ	l̄	म	m
ए	e	य	y
ऐ	ai	र	r
ओ	o	ल	l
औ	au	व	v
क	k	श	ś
ख	kh	ष	ṣ or sh
ग	g	स	s
घ	gh	ह	h
ङ	ṅ	ळ	l
च	ch	· (Anusvāra)	m̄
छ	chh	ˆ (Anunāsika)	m̃
ज	j	: (Visarga)	ḥ
झ	jh	× (Jihvāmūliya)	ḥ
ञ	ñ	) (Upadhmāniya)	ḥ
ट	ṭ	₣ (Avagraha)	ˆ
ठ	ṭh	Udātta	—
ड	ḍ	Svarita	ˆ
ढ	ḍh	Anudātta	ˆ
ण	ṇ		

In Memoriam **BASANTA KUMAR MULLICK.**

Augustine Birrell has remarked that it is part of the melancholy of middle age that it dooms us to witness one by one the extinguishment of the lights that cast their radiance over youth. But the news of the sudden death of our late Vice-President on the 2nd of October last brought with it a specially poignant sense of loss, such as is afforded by the death of a contemporary or even younger man, for although **SIR BASANTA KUMAR MULLICK** was approaching within sight of the span of three-score years and ten, he appeared to have surprised the secret of perpetual youth. He retained to the end, to a degree which is rare among men, the freshness of mind and the ready sympathy of matured youth; and all members of the Society lament the loss of an honoured friend and a charming companion. His capacity for arduous and prolonged work, retained to the end, was but the manifestation of his essential youthfulness; and it was this quality, with a perfect urbanity, and a great sincerity of friendship, which endeared him to all who knew him. Few men have been so widely loved, or so sincerely mourned by friends in all quarters of the earth.

BASANTA KUMAR MULLICK was born on the 2nd of August, 1868. He was one of the sons of a prosperous Calcutta Barrister, Otool Churn Mullick, all of whom in due course distinguished themselves in the careers which they adopted. At the age of nine he was sent to England for his education; and he spent ten happy years there, at University College School and afterwards at King's College in Cambridge. He was indeed qualified by nature to gain the best possible advantages from such a training. In 1887 he entered the Indian Civil Service.

BASANTA KUMAR MULLICK went through the ordinary course, serving in various districts of Bengal, playing polo when he could, pigsticking when he could, losing his whole stud from anthrax on one occasion in Chittagong, and always doing his work conscientiously and efficiently. In 1913 he was appointed to officiate as a Judge of the Calcutta High Court. When these provinces were separated from Bengal, he came to Bihar as Legal Remembrancer; when the Patna High Court was founded he necessarily entered it as one of the original judges, and he continued to work as a Puisne Judge until 1928. After he left the High Court he acted for a short time as a Member of Council; and in the following year he was appointed to be a member of the Secretary of State's Council. He had been employed from time to time, when he happened to be in Europe on leave on work of a diplomatic nature with the League of Nations at Geneva, for which he was specially qualified by his natural gifts. In 1927 when we lost V. H. Jackson, he became our Vice-President; and his active interest in the Society continued to the end.

I was myself specially honoured with his friendship; and I worked in association with him for a long time. From this intimate association I can say (and no man could have a better epitaph) that the point of character which specially distinguished him was that, urbane and tolerant as Sir Basanta Kumar Mullick ordinarily was, the one thing which turned him into a man who was neither urbane nor tolerant was any act or any proposal savouring of meanness. We offer our respectful sympathy to Lady Mullick in her bereavement and ourselves mourn the loss of an honoured and beloved friend.

J. F. W. J.